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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

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WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
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ON THE BASIS OF THE VERSION OF
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IN NINE VOLUMES

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BOOK XLVI

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ τετταρακοστῷ ἕκτῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαϊκῶν

α. Ὡς Καλῆνος ὑπὲρ Ἀντωνίου Κικέρωνι ἀντεῖπεν.
β. Ὡς Ἀντώνιος ὑπὸ Καίσαρος καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων περὶ Μούτιναν ἡττήθη.
γ. Ὡς Καῖσαρ ἐς Ῥώμην ἦλθε καὶ ὕπατος ἀπεδείχθη.
δ. Ὡς Καῖσαρ καὶ Ἀντώνιος καὶ Λέπιδος συνώμοσαν.

Χρόνου πλῆθος ἔτος ἕν, ἐν ᾧ ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι οἵδε ἐγένοντο

Γ. Οὐίβιος[1] Γ. υἱ. Πάνσας Καπρωνιανός
Αὖλ. Ἵρτιος Αὔλ. υἱ. ὕπ.[2]

Τοιαῦτα τοῦ Κικέρωνος εἰπόντος ὁ Καλῆνος ὁ Κύιντος ὁ[3] Φούφιος ἀνέστη καὶ ἔλεξεν· "ἄλλως μὲν οὐδὲν οὔθ' ὑπὲρ Ἀντωνίου τι ἀπολογήσασθαι οὔτε Κικέρωνος καθάψασθαι ἐδεόμην. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ἡγοῦμαι δεῖν ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις σκέψεσιν οἷα ἡ παροῦσά ἐστιν οὐδέτερον αὐτῶν ποιεῖν, ἀλλ' ἁπλῶς ἅ τις φρονεῖ ἀποφαίνεσθαι· ἐκεῖνα μὲν γὰρ δικαστηρίου, ταῦτα δὲ συμβουλίας ἔργα ἐστίν. 2 ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὗτος τόν τε Ἀντώνιον κακῶς διὰ τὴν ἔχθραν τὴν ὑπάρχουσάν σφισι λέγειν ἐπεχείρησεν, ὃν ἐχρῆν, εἴπερ τι ἠδικήκει, ἐσηγγελκέναι,

[1] Οὐίβιος Xyl., λίβιος LM. [2] ὕπ. supplied by Bs.
[3] ὁ supplied by Bk.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

BOOK XLVI

The following is contained in the Forty-sixth of Dio's *Rome*:—

Duration of time, one year, in which there were the magistrates (consuls) here enumerated:—

B.C.
43 C. Vibius C. F. Pansa Capronianus, A. Hirtius A. F.

B.C. 43

When Cicero had finished speaking in this vein, Quintus Fufius Calenus arose and said:—"Ordinarily I should not care either to say anything in defence of Antony or to assail Cicero; for I do not think it at all necessary in such discussions as the present to do either of these things, but simply to make known one's own opinion; the former method belongs to the court-room, whereas this is a matter for deliberation. Since, however, this man has undertaken to speak ill of Antony on account of the enmity that exists between them, instead of lodging information against him, as he ought, in case Antony were guilty

καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐμοῦ διαβόλως ἐμνημόνευσεν, ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δεινότητα διαδείξας εἰ μή τινας ἀνέδην[1] προπηλακίσειε,
3 προσήκει καὶ ἐμοὶ τὰ μὲν ἀπολύσασθαι τὰ δὲ ἀνταιτιάσασθαι, ἵνα μήτε τοῦτον ἥ τε οἰκεία θρασύτης ἀντιλογίας ἁμαρτοῦσα καὶ ἡ ἐμὴ σιωπὴ πονηροῦ συνειδότος ὑποψίαν λαβοῦσα ὠφελήσῃ, μήθ' ὑμεῖς ἀπατηθέντες ὑφ' ὧν εἶπεν χεῖρον βουλεύσησθε, τὴν ἰδίαν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὀργὴν ἀντὶ τῶν κοινῇ συμφερόντων ἀντικαταλ-
2 λαξάμενοι. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλο γε οὐδὲν διαπρᾶξαι βούλεται ἢ ἵνα ἡμεῖς, τὸ τὰ ἀσφαλέστατα τῷ κοινῷ προϊδεῖν ἀφέντες, στασιάσωμεν αὖθις. τοῦτο γὰρ οὐ νῦν πρῶτον ποιεῖ, ἀλλὰ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, ἀφ' οὗπερ πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν προσῆλθεν, ἄνω
2 καὶ κάτω ταράττων διατετέλεκεν. ἢ γὰρ οὐχ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τόν τε Καίσαρα τῷ Πομπηίῳ συγκρούσας καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον τῷ Καίσαρι καταλλαγῆναι κωλύσας; ὁ πείσας μὲν ὑμᾶς ἐκεῖνα κατὰ Ἀντωνίου ψηφίσασθαι δι' ὧν παρώξυνε τὸν Καίσαρα, πείσας δὲ τὸν Πομπήιον τήν τε Ἰταλίαν
3 ἐκλιπεῖν καὶ ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν μετοικῆσαι; ὅπερ που αἰτιώτατον πάντων τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα συμβάντων ἡμῖν κακῶν ἐγένετο. οὐχ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τόν τε Κλώδιον διὰ Μίλωνος ἀποκτείνας καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα διὰ Βρούτου φονεύσας; ὁ τόν τε Κατιλίναν ἐκπολεμώσας ἡμῖν καὶ τὸν Λέντουλον
3 ἄκριτον ἀπολέσας; ὅθεν ἔγωγε καὶ πάνυ ἂν ὑμῶν θαυμάσαιμι, εἰ τότε ἐπ' ἐκείνοις μεταγνόντες καὶ δίκην παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβόντες, εἶτα καὶ νῦν ὅμοια

[1] ἀνέδην Bk., ἀναίδην LM.

B.C. 43

of any wrong-doing, and since, furthermore, he has made insulting reference to me, as if he could not have exhibited his own cleverness without indulging in unrestrained abuse of people, it behooves me also both to refute his accusations and to bring counter-charges against him. For, in the first place, I would not have him profit either from his own impudence, if allowed to go unchallenged, or from my silence, which might be suspected of coming from a guilty conscience; nor, again, would I have you be deceived by what he has said and come to an unworthy decision by letting his private grudge against Antony take the place of the public interest. For the purpose he wishes to accomplish is nothing else than that we should give up providing for the greatest safety of the commonwealth and fall into discord once more. Indeed, it is not the first time he has done this, but from the outset, ever since he entered politics, he has been continually turning things topsy-turvy. Is he not the one who embroiled Caesar with Pompey and prevented Pompey from becoming reconciled with Caesar? Or the one, again, who persuaded you to pass that vote against Antony by which he angered Caesar, and persuaded Pompey to leave Italy and transfer his quarters to Macedonia,—a course which proved the chief cause of all the evils that subsequently befell us? Is he not the one who killed Clodius by the hand of Milo and slew Caesar by the hand of Brutus? The one who made Catiline hostile to us and put Lentulus to death without a trial? Hence I should be very much surprised at you if, after changing your mind then about his conduct and making him pay the penalty for it, you should now heed him again, when his

2 αὐτῷ καὶ λέγοντι καὶ πράττοντι πεισθήσεσθε. ἢ οὐχ ὁρᾶτε ὅτι καὶ μετὰ τὸν τοῦ Καίσαρος θάνατον, ὅτε μὲν τὰ πράγμαθ' ἡμῶν δι' Ἀντώνιον ὅτι[1] μάλιστα, ὡς οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἀρνήσασθαι δύναται, κατέστη, ἀπεδήμησε, καὶ ἀλλότριον καὶ ἐπικίνδυνον ἑαυτῷ τὸν τῆς ὁμονοίας ἡμῶν βίον εἶναι νομίζων· ἐπεὶ δὲ τεταραγμένα αὐτὰ αὖθις ᾔσθετο, μακρὰ χαίρειν τῷ τε υἱεῖ καὶ ταῖς Ἀθήναις φρά-
3 σας ἐπανῆλθε; καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἀντώνιον, ὃν τέως ἀγαπᾶν ἔλεγεν, ὑβρίζει καὶ λοιδορεῖ, τῷ δὲ δὴ Καίσαρι, οὗ καὶ τὸν πατέρα ἀπέκτεινε, συναίρεται[2]; κἂν οὕτω τύχῃ, κἀκείνῳ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν
4 ἐπιθήσεται· ἄπιστός τε γὰρ φύσει καὶ ταραχώδης ἐστί, καὶ οὔτε τι ἕρμα ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ἔχει καὶ πάντα ἀεὶ κυκᾷ καὶ στρέφει, πλείονας μὲν τροπὰς τρεπόμενος τοῦ πορθμοῦ πρὸς ὃν ἔφυγεν, ἐφ' ᾧπερ καὶ αὐτόμολος ἐπωνομάσθη, πάντας δὲ ὑμᾶς ἀξιῶν καὶ φίλον καὶ ἐχθρὸν νομίζειν ὃν ἂν αὐτὸς κελεύσῃ.

4 "Διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα φυλάττεσθε τὸν ἄνθρωπον. γόης γάρ ἐστι καὶ μάγος, καὶ ἐκ μὲν τῶν κακῶν τῶν ἀλλοτρίων καὶ πλουτεῖ καὶ αὔξει, συκοφαντῶν ἕλκων σπαράττων τοὺς μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντας ὥσπερ οἱ κύνες, ἐν δὲ δὴ τῇ κοινῇ ὁμονοίᾳ ἀπορεῖ καὶ φθίνει· οὔτε γὰρ ἡ φιλία οὔθ' ἡ εὔνοια ἡμῶν ἡ πρὸς ἀλλήλους τοιοῦτον δύνανται τρέφειν ῥή-
2 τορα. ἐπεὶ πόθεν ἄλλοθεν πεπλουτηκέναι αὐτὸν οἴεσθε, πόθεν μέγαν γεγονέναι; οὐ γάρ που καὶ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῷ ὁ[3] κναφεύς, ὁ τάς τε σταφυλὰς καὶ

[1] ὅτι Xyl., ἔτι LM.
[2] συναίρεται Rk., συναίρειν L, συναίρει (corrected from συναίρειν) M. [3] ὁ added by Bk.

words and actions are similar. Or do you not observe how also after Caesar's death, when order had been restored in our state chiefly by Antony, as not even Cicero himself can deny, Cicero went abroad, because he considered our life of harmony alien and dangerous to him? And how, when he perceived that turmoil had again arisen, he bade a long farewell to his son and to Athens, and returned? Or, again, how he insults and abuses Antony, whom he was wont to say he loved, and coöperates with Caesar, whose father he killed? And if chance so favour, he will ere long attack Caesar also. For the fellow is naturally faithless and turbulent, and has no ballast in his soul, but is always stirring up and overturning things, shifting his course oftener than the waters of the strait [1] to which he fled,—whence his nickname of "turn-coat," [2]—yet demanding of you all that you consider a man as friend or foe according to his bidding.

B.C. 43

"For these reasons you must guard against the fellow; for he is a cheat and an impostor and grows rich and powerful from the ills of others, slandering, mauling, and rending the innocent after the manner of dogs, whereas in the midst of public harmony he is embarrassed and withers away, since love and good-will on our part towards one another cannot support this kind of orator. How else, indeed, do you imagine, has he become rich, and how else has he become great? Certainly neither family nor wealth was bequeathed him by his father, the fuller, who

[1] The reference is to the Euripus, the narrow channel between Euboea and the mainland of Greece.

[2] Cf. xxxvi. 44, 2; xxxix. 63, 5.

τὰς ἐλαίας ἀεί ποτε ἐργολαβῶν, ᾗ γένος ᾗ πλοῦτον κατέλιπεν, ἄνθρωπος ἀγαπητῶς ἔκ τε τούτων 3 καὶ ἐκ τῶν πλυνῶν διατρεφόμενος, καὶ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα τῶν αἰσχίστων ἀναπιμπλάμενος. ἐν οἷς αὐτὸς τραφεὶς οὐκ ἀπεικότως τοὺς κρείσσονας αὐτοῦ καὶ πατεῖ καὶ πλύνει, λοιδορίαις τισὶν ἐξ ἐργαστηρίων καὶ τριόδων ἐπιτετηδευμέναις χρώμενος.

5 "Εἶτα τοιοῦτος αὐτὸς ὤν, καὶ γυμνὸς ἐν γυμνοῖς αὐξηθείς, καὶ οἰσπώτας[1] καὶ ὑσπελέθους καὶ σπατίλας συλλέγων, ἐτόλμησας, ὦ μιαρώτατε, πρῶτον μὲν τὴν τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ὥραν διαβαλεῖν, ἀνθρώπου καὶ παιδαγωγοῖς καὶ διδασκάλοις κατὰ τὴν τοῦ γένους ἀξίαν κεχρημένου, ἔπειτα δὲ κατηγορῆσαι ὅτι τὰ Λυκαῖα τὴν πάτριον ἑορτὴν ποιῶν 2 γυμνὸς ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐσῆλθεν; ἀλλὰ τί, ὦ πάσαις μὲν ταῖς ἀλλοτρίαις ἐσθῆσι διὰ τὴν πατρῴαν τέχνην ἀεὶ χρησάμενος, ὑφ' ἁπάντων δὲ τῶν ἀπαντώντων καὶ γνωριζόντων αὐτὰς ἀποδυθείς, ἐχρῆν ποιῆσαι ἄνθρωπον μὴ μόνον ἱερέα ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡγεμόνα τῶν συνιερέων[2] ὄντα; μὴ πέμψαι τὴν πομπήν, μὴ ἑορτάσαι τὴν ἑορτήν, μὴ θῦσαι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, μὴ γυμνωθῆναι, μὴ ἀλείψα-3 σθαι[3]; 'ἀλλ' οὐ τοῦτ' αὐτῷ,' φησίν, 'ἐγκαλῶ, ἀλλ' ὅτι τε γυμνὸς ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ὅτι τοιαῦτα ἐδημηγόρησε.' πάνυ γὰρ πάντα τὰ προσήκοντα ἀκριβῶς ἐν τῷ κναφείῳ μεμάθηκεν, ἵνα καὶ ἁμαρτήματός τινος ἀληθινοῦ αἰσθάνηται καὶ ἐπιτιμᾶν αὐτῷ δικαίως δύνηται.

[1] οἰσπώτας Lambert Bos, οἰσπότας LM.
[2] συνιερέων R. Steph., συνερέων LM.
[3] ἀλείψασθαι Rk., ἀλεῖψαι LM.

was always trading in grapes and olives, a fellow who was glad enough to support himself by this and by his wash-tubs, who every day and every night defiled himself with the foulest filth. The son, reared amid these surroundings, not unnaturally tramples and souses his superiors, using a species of abuse practised in the workshops and on the street corners. B.C. 43

"Now when you yourself are of such a sort, and have grown up naked among naked companions, collecting clothes stained with sheep dung, pig manure, and human excrement, have you dared, most vile wretch, first to slander the youth of Antony, who had the advantage of attendants and teachers, as his rank demanded, and then to reproach him because in celebrating the Lupercalia, that ancient festival, he came naked into the Forum? But I ask you, you who always wore nothing but the clothes of others on account of your father's business and were stripped by whoever met you and recognized them, what ought a man who was not only priest but also leader of his fellow-priests to have done? Not conduct the procession, not celebrate the festival, not sacrifice according to the custom of our fathers, not appear naked, not anoint himself? 'But it is not for this that I censure him,' he answers, 'but because he delivered a speech, and that kind of speech, naked in the Forum.' Of course this fellow has become acquainted in the fuller's shop with all the nice proprieties, so that he may detect a real mistake and may be able to rebuke it properly!

6 "'Εγὼ δὲ ὑπὲρ μὲν ἐκείνων μετὰ ταῦτα ἃ προσήκει πάντα ἐρῶ, τοῦτον δὲ ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀνερέσθαι τι βούλομαι. οὐ σὺ μέντοι ἔν τε τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις κακοῖς ἐντέθραψαι καὶ ἐν ταῖς τῶν πέλας συμ-
2 φοραῖς ἐκπεπαίδευσαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐλευθέριον μὲν μάθημα οὐδὲν ἐπίστασαι, συνέδριον δέ τι κατασκευάσας ἐνταῦθα ὥσπερ αἱ πόρναι τὸν δώσοντά τι ἀεὶ ἀναμένεις, καὶ προσαγωγέας[1] τῶν λημμάτων πολλοὺς ἔχων πολυπραγμονεῖς τίς τίνα ἠδίκηκεν ἢ δοκεῖ γε ἠδικηκέναι, τίς τίνα μισεῖ, τίς
3 τίνι ἐπιβουλεύει; καὶ τούτοις συναίρῃ, καὶ διὰ τούτων τρέφῃ, πωλῶν μὲν αὐτοῖς τὰς παρὰ τῆς τύχης ἐλπίδας, ἐργολαβῶν δὲ καὶ τὰς τῶν δικαστῶν ἀποφάσεις, καὶ φίλον μὲν μόνον τὸν τὸ πλέον ἀεὶ διδόντα, ἐχθροὺς δὲ δὴ πάντας τοὺς ἀπράγμονας ἢ καὶ ἄλλῳ τινὶ συνηγόρῳ χρωμένους
4 νομίζων, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐν χερσὶν ἤδη ὄντας οὐδ' εἰδέναι δοκῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δι' ὄχλου ποιούμενος, τοὺς δ' ἄρτι προσιόντας σαίνων καὶ γελῶν ὥσπερ αἱ πανδοκεύτριαι.

7 "Καὶ πόσῳ κρεῖττον ἦν καὶ σὲ Βαμβαλίωνα γεγονέναι, εἴ γέ τις ὁ Βαμβαλίων οὗτός ἐστιν, ἢ τοιοῦτον ἐπανῃρῆσθαι βίον ἐν ᾧ πᾶσα ἀνάγκη ἤτοι τὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δικαίου λόγον πωλεῖν ἢ καὶ
2 τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας σώζειν; καίτοι σύγε οὐδὲ ταῦτα καλῶς ποιεῖν, καίπερ τρία ἐν 'Αθήναις ἔτη κατατρίψας, δύνασαι. ποῦ; πόθεν; ὅστις ὑποτρέμων

[1] προσαγωγέας Naber, προαγωγέας LM.

"With regard to these matters, however, I will say later all that need be said, but just now I want to ask this fellow a question or two. Is it not true, then, that you have been reared amid the ills of others and been educated in the midst of your neighbours' misfortunes, and hence are acquainted with no liberal branch of knowledge, but have established here a kind of council where you are always waiting, like the harlots, for a man who will give something, and with many agents always to attract profits to you, you pry into people's affairs to find out who has wronged, or seems to have wronged, another, who hates another, and who is plotting against another? With these men you make common cause, and through them you support yourself, selling them the hopes that depend upon the turn of fortune, trading in the decisions of the jurors, considering him alone as a friend who gives the most at any particular time, and all those as enemies who are peaceably inclined or employ some other advocate, while you even pretend not to know those who are already in your clutches, and even find them a nuisance, but fawn and smile upon those who at the moment approach you, just as the women do who keep inns? B.C. 43

"Yet how much better it would be for you, too, to have been born Bambalio[1]—if this Bambalio really exists—than to have taken up such a livelihood, in which it is absolutely inevitable that you should either sell your speech on behalf of the innocent, or else save the guilty also! Yet you cannot do even this effectively, though you spent three years in Athens. When, then, did you ever do so? Or how could you? Why, you always come to the courts trembling,

[1] See xlv. 47, 4.

ἀεὶ πρὸς τὰ δικαστήρια προσέρχῃ καθάπερ ὁπλομαχεῖν μέλλων, καὶ φθεγξάμενος ταπεινόν τι καὶ τεθνηκὸς ἀπαλλάττῃ, μήθ' ὧν οἴκοθεν ἐσκεμμένος ἥκεις μνημονεύων, μήτε ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμά τι 3 εἰπεῖν εὑρίσκων. ἐς μὲν γὰρ τὸ φῆσαι καὶ ὑποσχέσθαι τι θρασύτητι πάντας ἀνθρώπους ὑπερβάλλεις, ἐν δὲ δὴ τοῖς ἀγῶσιν αὐτοῖς, ἔξω τοῦ λοιδορῆσαί τινα καὶ κακῶς εἰπεῖν, καὶ ἀσθενέστατος καὶ δειλότατος εἶ. ἢ οἴει τινὰ ἀγνοεῖν ὅτι μηδένα τῶν θαυμαστῶν σου τούτων λόγων οὓς ἐκδέδωκας εἴρηκας, ἀλλὰ πάντας αὐτοὺς μετὰ ταῦτα συγγέγραφας, ὥσπερ οἱ τούς τε στρατηγοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἱππάρχους τοὺς πηλίνους πλάτ- 4 τοντες; εἰ δ' ἀπιστεῖς, ἀναμνήσθητι πῶς μὲν τοῦ Οὐέρρου[1] κατηγόρησας, καίπερ καὶ ἐκ τῆς τέχνης τι τῆς πατρῴας αὐτῷ παρασχών, ὅτε ἐνούρησας.

"'Αλλὰ γὰρ ὀκνῶ μὴ τὰ προσήκοντά[2] σοι ἀκριβῶς λέγων αὐτὸς οὐ προσήκοντας ἐμαυτῷ 8 λόγους ποιεῖσθαι δόξω. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐάσω, καὶ νὴ Δία καὶ τὸν Γαβίνιον, ᾧ τοὺς κατηγόρους παρασκευάσας[3] ἔπειτα οὕτω συνεῖπες ὥστ' αὐτὸν καταδικασθῆναι, τά τε συγγράμματα ἃ κατὰ τῶν φίλων συγγράφεις, ἐφ' οἷς οὕτω σαυτῷ[4] ἀδικοῦντι σύνοισθα ὥστε μηδὲ δημοσιεύειν αὐτὰ τολμᾶν. καίτοι καὶ σχετλιώτατον καὶ ἐλεεινότατόν ἐστι μὴ δύνασθαι ταῦτα ἀρνήσασθαι ἃ πάντων[5] αἰ- 2 σχιστόν ἐστιν ὁμολογῆσαι. ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ταῦτα μὲν παραλείψω, τὰ δὲ δὴ λοιπὰ ἐπεξάξω.

[1] Οὐέρρου R. Steph., ἔρρου LM.
[2] προσήκοντά Reim., προσόντα LM.
[3] παρασκευάσας R. Steph., παρεσκεύασας LM.
[4] οὕτω σαυτῷ Bk., οὕτως ἑαυτῶι LM.
[5] ἃ πάντων M, ἁπάντων L.

as if you were going to fight as a gladiator, and after uttering a few words in a meek and half-dead voice you take your departure, without having remembered a word of the speech you thought out at home before you came, and without having found anything to say on the spur of the moment. In making assertions and promises you surpass all mankind in audacity, but in the trials themselves, apart from reviling and abusing people, you are most weak and cowardly. Or do you think any one is ignorant of the fact that you never delivered one of those wonderful speeches of yours that you have published, but wrote them all out afterwards, like persons who fashion generals and cavalry leaders out of clay? If you doubt my word, remember how you accused Verres, though, to be sure, you did give him an example of your father's trade—when you wetted your clothes.

B.C. 43

"But I hesitate, for fear that in saying precisely what suits your case I may seem to be uttering words that are unbecoming to myself.[1] These matters I will therefore pass over; yes, by Jupiter, and the case of Gabinius also, against whom you prepared accusers and then pleaded his cause in such a way that he was condemned; also the pamphlets which you compose against your friends, in regard to which you feel yourself so guilty that you do not even dare to make them public.[2] Yet it is a most miserable and pitiable state to be in, not to be able to deny these charges which are the most disgraceful conceivable to admit. But I will pass by all this and proceed to

[1] Dio in this sentence imitates closely the words of Demosthenes against Aeschines, in the *De Corona* (129).
[2] Cf. xxxix. 10.

ἡμεῖς μὲν γάρ, καίπερ δισχίλια τῷ διδασκάλῳ πλέθρα τῆς Λεοντίνων γῆς, ὥς φῄς, δεδωκότες, οὐδὲν ἄξιον αὐτῶν ἐμάθομεν· τὰ δὲ δὴ σὰ παιδεύ-
3 ματα τίς οὐκ ἂν θαυμάσειεν; τίνα δ' ἐστὶ ταῦτα; φθονεῖς ἀεὶ τῷ κρείττονι, βασκαίνεις ἀεὶ τὸν προήκοντα,[1] διαβάλλεις τὸν προτετιμημένον, συκοφαντεῖς τὸν δεδυνημένον, καὶ μισεῖς μὲν τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ὁμοίως πάντας, προσποιῇ δὲ δὴ φιλεῖν ἐκείνους μόνους δι' ὧν ἂν κακουργήσειν τι προσ-
4 δοκήσῃς. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τούς τε νεωτέρους ἐπὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ἀεὶ παροξύνεις, καὶ τοὺς πιστεύοντάς σοι καὶ ὁτιοῦν ἐς κινδύνους προαγαγὼν[2] προλείπεις.

9 "Τεκμήριον δέ, πρᾶξιν μὲν οὐδεμίαν πώποτε ἐλλογίμου ἀνδρὸς ἀξίαν, οὔτ' ἐν πολέμῳ οὔτε ἐν εἰρήνῃ, πέπραχας· ποίους μὲν γὰρ πολέμους ἐνικήσαμεν σοῦ στρατηγοῦντος, ποίαν δὲ χώραν ἐκτησάμεθα σοῦ ὑπατεύοντος; ἐξαπατῶν δὲ ἀεί τινας τῶν πρώτων καὶ σφετεριζόμενος ἰδίᾳ μὲν διὰ τούτων πολιτεύῃ καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα βούλει
2 διοικεῖς, δημοσίᾳ δὲ βοᾷς ἄλλως, κεκραγὼς τοὺς μιαροὺς ἐκείνους λόγους 'ἐγὼ μόνος ὑμᾶς φιλῶ,' καὶ εἰ οὕτω τύχοι,[3] 'καὶ ὁ δεῖνα, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πάντες μισοῦσι,' καὶ 'ἐγὼ μόνος ὑμῖν εὐνοῶ, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πάντες ἐπιβουλεύουσι,' καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἐξ ὧν τοὺς μὲν ἐπαίρων καὶ φυσῶν προδίδως, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐκπλήττων προστίθεσαι.
3 κἂν μέν τι χρηστὸν ὑφ' ὁτουδὴ τῶν πάντων γένηται, ἀντιποιῇ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ σεαυτὸν ἐπ' αὐτὸ ἐπιγράφεις,

[1] προήκοντα cod. Coisl. (Bekk. Anecd.), προσήκοντα LM.
[2] προαγαγὼν Dind., προάγων LM.
[3] τύχοι R. Steph., τύχηι LM.

the rest. Well, then, though we gave the professor, B.C. 43 as you admit, two thousand plethra of the Leontine lands, yet we learned nothing worth while in return for it.[1] But as to you, who would not admire your system of instruction? And what is that? Why, you always envy the man who is your superior, you always malign the prominent man, you slander him who has attained distinction, you blackmail the one who has become powerful, and, though you hate impartially all good men, yet you pretend to love only those of them whom you expect to make the agents of some villainy. This is why you are always inciting the younger men against their elders and leading those who trust you, even in the slightest degree, into dangers, and then deserting them.

"A proof of all this is that you have never accomplished any achievement worthy of a distinguished man either in war or in peace. What wars, for instance, did we win when you were praetor, or what territory did we acquire when you were consul? Nay, but you are continually deceiving some of the foremost men and winning them to your side, and then you privately use them as agents to carry out your policies and to pass what measures you choose, while publicly you indulge in vain rantings, bawling out those detestable phrases, 'I am the only one who loves you,' or, perchance, 'I and so-and-so; but all the rest hate you,' or 'I alone am your friend, but all the rest are plotting against you,' and other such stuff by which you fill some with elation and conceit and then betray them, and frighten the rest and thus bring them to your side. And if any service is rendered by any one in the world, you lay claim to it and

[1] Cf. xlv. 30, 2.

θρυλῶν 'ἐγὼ γὰρ εἶπον, ἐγὼ γὰρ ἔγραψα,[1] καὶ δι' ἐμὲ ταῦτα οὕτω πέπρακται' ἂν δέ τι συμβῇ οἷον οὐκ ἔδει, σαυτὸν μὲν ἐξαιρεῖς,[2] τοὺς δὲ δὴ ἄλλους πάντας αἰτιᾷ, λέγων 'μὴ γὰρ ἐστρατήγουν
4 ἐγώ; μὴ γὰρ ἐπρέσβευον; μὴ γὰρ ὑπάτευον;' καὶ λοιδορεῖς μὲν ἀεὶ πάντας πανταχοῦ, τὴν ἐκ τοῦ θρασέως παρρησιάζεσθαι δοκεῖν δύναμιν περὶ πλείονος τοῦ[3] τι τῶν δεόντων εἰπεῖν ποιούμενος,
10 ἔργον δὲ δὴ ῥήτορος οὐδὲν ἄξιον λόγου παρέχῃ. τί μὲν γὰρ τῶν κοινῶν ἢ σέσωσται ἢ ἐπηνώρθωται διὰ σέ; τίνα δὲ ἀδικοῦντα ὄντως τὴν πόλιν ἐσήγγελκας, τίνα ἐπιβουλεύοντα ἀληθῶς ἡμῖν ἐπι-
2 δέδειχας; ἵνα γὰρ τἆλλα ἐάσω, αὐτὰ ταῦθ' ἃ τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ νῦν ἐγκαλεῖς, τοιαῦτα καὶ τοσαῦτά ἐστιν ὥστε μηδένα ἂν δίκην ἀξίαν αὐτῶν ὑποσχεῖν. τί ποτ' οὖν, ὁρῶν ἡμᾶς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ὥς γε καὶ φῄς, ἀδικουμένους, οὐδέποτε ἐπεξῆλθες
3 αὐτῷ παραχρῆμα οὐδὲ κατηγόρησας, ἀλλὰ νῦν ἡμῖν λέγεις ὅσα δημαρχήσας παρενόμησε[4] καὶ ὅσα ἱππαρχήσας ἐπλημμέλησε καὶ ὅσα ὑπατεύσας ἐκακούργησεν, ἐξόν σοι τότε εὐθὺς καθ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν τὴν προσήκουσαν παρ' αὐτοῦ δίκην εἰληφέναι, ἵνα αὐτός τε φιλόπολις ὡς ἀληθῶς ὢν ἐπεφήνεις καὶ ἡμεῖς καὶ ἀβλαβῆ καὶ ἀσφαλῆ τὴν τιμωρίαν παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ ἀδικήματα ἐπεποιήμεθα.
4 καὶ μὴν ἀνάγκη δυοῖν θάτερον, ἢ πεπιστευκότα σε τότε ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχειν καθυφεικέναι τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀγῶνας, ἢ μὴ δυνηθέντα τινὰ αὐτῶν ἐξελέγξαι μάτην νῦν συκοφαντεῖν.

[1] ἔγραψα Rk., ἐπέγραψα LM. [2] ἐξαιρεῖς St., ἐξαίρεις LM.
[3] τοῦ supplied by Reim.
[4] παρενόμησε Cobet, παρηνόμησε LM.

attach your own name to it, prating: 'I moved it, I proposed it, all this was done as it was through me.' But if anything turns out unfortunately, you clear your own skirts of it and lay the blame on all the rest, saying: 'Look you, was I the praetor, or the envoy, or the consul?' And you abuse everybody everywhere all the time, setting more store by the influence which comes from appearing to speak your mind boldly than by saying what duty demands; but as to the function of an orator, you exemplify it in no respect worth speaking of. What public interest has been preserved or restored by you? Whom have you indicted that was really harming the city, and whom have you brought to light that was in truth plotting against us? Why (to pass over the other cases), these very charges which you now bring against Antony are of such a nature and so numerous that no one could ever suffer any adequate punishment for them. Why, then, if you saw that we were being wronged by him from the very outset, as you assert, did you never prosecute or even accuse him at the time, instead of relating to us now all his illegal acts as tribune, all his irregularities as master of the horse, all his crimes as consul? You might immediately at the time in each specific instance have inflicted the appropriate penalty upon him, and thus have yourself stood revealed as a patriot in very deed, while we should then have imposed the punishment in security and safety at the time of the offences themselves. Indeed, one of two conclusions is inevitable,—either that you believed these things were so at the time and yet shirked the struggle on our behalf, or else that you were unable to prove any of your charges and are now indulging in idle slanders.

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11 "Ὅτι γὰρ τοῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει, καθ' ἕκαστον ὑμῖν, ὦ πατέρες, διεξιὼν ἐπιδείξω. ἔλεγέ τινα ἐν τῇ δημαρχίᾳ Ἀντώνιος ὑπὲρ τοῦ Καίσαρος· καὶ γὰρ Κικέρων καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς ὑπὲρ τοῦ Πομπηίου. τί ποτ' οὖν τοῦτον μὲν αἰτιᾶται ὅτι τὴν φιλίαν τὴν ἐκείνου προείλετο, ἑαυτὸν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς τἀναντία αὐτῷ σπουδάσαντας ἀφίησιν; ἐκώλυσέ τινα ἐκεῖνος ψηφισθῆναι τότε κατὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος·
2 καὶ γὰρ οὗτος πάνθ' ὡς εἰπεῖν ὅσα ὑπὲρ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐγιγνώσκετο. 'ἀλλ' ἐμποδών,' φησίν, 'ἐγίγνετο τῇ κοινῇ τῆς βουλῆς γνώμῃ.' καὶ πρῶτον μὲν πῶς ἂν εἷς ἀνὴρ τοσοῦτον ἴσχυσεν; ἔπειτα δέ, εἰ καὶ κατεψηφίσθη διὰ τοῦθ', ὥσπερ λέγει, πῶς οὐκ ἂν καὶ ἐκολάσθη; 'ἔφυγε γάρ,
3 ἔφυγε πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀπελθών.' οὐκοῦν καὶ σύ, ὦ Κικέρων, οὐκ ἀπεδήμησας νῦν ἀλλ' ἔφυγες, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον. ἀλλὰ μήτι γε[1] καὶ ἐπὶ πάντας ἡμᾶς τὰ σεαυτοῦ ὀνείδη προπετῶς οὕτως ἄγε· φυγεῖν μὲν γάρ ἐστι τοῦτο ὃ σὺ πεποίηκας, τό τε δικαστήριον φοβηθεὶς καὶ τὴν τιμωρίαν
4 αὐτὸς σαυτοῦ[2] προκαταγνούς. ἀμέλει καὶ ἐγράφη σοι κάθοδος· πῶς μὲν καὶ διὰ τίνα, οὐ λέγω, ἐγράφη δ' οὖν, καὶ οὐ πρίν γε ἐπέβης τῆς Ἰταλίας πρὶν ἐκείνην σοι δοθῆναι. Ἀντώνιος δὲ καὶ ἀπῆλθε πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα μηνύσων αὐτῷ τὰ πεπραγμένα, καὶ ἐπανῆλθε μηδενὸς ψηφίσματος
5 δεηθείς, καὶ τέλος τήν τε εἰρήνην τήν τε φιλίαν τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ τότε

[1] μήτι γε Cobet, μήτοι γε LM [2] σαυτοῦ Bk., ἑαυτοῦ LM.

"That all this is true, Conscript Fathers, I shall show you by going over each point in detail. Antony did have something to say during his tribuneship on Caesar's behalf, as indeed did Cicero and some others on behalf of Pompey. Why, now, does he blame him for having preferred Caesar's friendship, but acquit himself and the rest who supported the opposite cause? Antony prevented some measures from being passed against Caesar at that time; and this was all right, since Cicero prevented practically everything that was to be decreed in his favour. 'But Antony,' he replies, 'thwarted the united will of the senate.' Well, now, in the first place, how could one man have had so much power? And, secondly, if he had really been condemned for it, as this fellow says, how could he have escaped punishment? 'Oh, he fled, he fled to Caesar and got out of the way.' Well, then, Cicero, what you also did a while ago was not 'taking a trip abroad,' but taking flight, as on the former occasion. Come now, do not be so ready to apply your own shame to us all; for flee you did, fearing the court and condemning yourself beforehand. To be sure, a measure was passed for your recall,—how and for what reasons I do not say,—but at any rate it was passed, and you did not set foot in Italy until the recall was granted to you. But Antony not only went away to Caesar to inform him what had been done, but also returned, without asking for any decree, and finally brought about peace and friendship with him for all those who were at the time found in Italy; and the rest,

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εὑρεθεῖσιν ἐπρυτάνευσεν· ἧς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἂν μετεσχήκεσαν, εἰ μὴ σοὶ πεισθέντες ἐπεφεύγεσαν.

12 "Εἶτα τούτων οὕτως ἐχόντων τολμᾷς λέγειν ὅτι τόν τε Καίσαρα ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἐπήγαγε καὶ τὸν ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον ἐκίνησε καὶ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα κακῶν αἰτιώτατος ἡμῖν ἐγένετο; οὐ μὲν οὖν, ἀλλὰ σύ, ὅστις Πομπηίῳ μὲν καὶ στρατεύματα ἀλλότρια καὶ ἡγεμονίαν ἔδωκας, Καίσαρα δὲ καὶ τῶν δεδομένων ἀποστερῆσαι ἐπεχείρησας· 2 ὅστις τῷ τε Πομπηίῳ καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις συνεβούλευσας τὰ μὲν προτεινόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος μὴ προσίεσθαι, τὴν δὲ δὴ πόλιν τήν τε Ἰταλίαν ὅλην ἐκλιπεῖν· ὅστις Καίσαρα μὲν οὐδὲ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλθόντα εἶδες, πρὸς δὲ τὸν Πομπήιον καὶ 3 ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἀπέδρας. καὶ οὐδὲ ἐκείνῳ μέντοι οὐδὲν συνήρω,[1] ἀλλὰ περιιδὼν τὰ γιγνόμενα ἔπειτ', ἐπειδὴ ἐδυστύχησεν, ἐγκατέλιπες αὐτόν. οὕτως οὐδὲ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὡς δικαιότερα αὐτῷ πράττοντι ἐβοήθησας, ἀλλὰ τήν τε στάσιν κινήσας καὶ τὰ πράγματα ταράξας εἶτ' ἐκ τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς 4 αὐτοῖς ἐφήδρευσας, καὶ τοῦ μὲν πταίσαντος ὡς καὶ ἀδικοῦντός τι διὰ τοῦτ' εὐθὺς ἀπέστης, πρὸς δὲ τὸν κρατήσαντα ὡς καὶ δικαιότερον ἀπέκλινας. καὶ οὕτω γε, πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις κακοῖς, καὶ ἀχάριστος εἶ ὥστε οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἀγαπᾷς ὅτι ἐσώθης ὑπ'[2] αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀγανακτεῖς ὅτι μὴ καὶ[3] ἱππάρχησας.

13 "Εἶτα ταῦτα σαυτῷ συνειδὼς τολμᾷς λέγειν ὅτι οὐκ ἐχρῆν τὸν Ἀντώνιον δι' ἔτους ἱππαρχῆσαι; οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸν Καίσαρα δι' ἔτους δικτατορεῦσαι.

[1] συνήρω M, συνηιρει L. [2] ὑπ' Xyl., ἀπ' LM.
[3] μὴ καὶ R. Steph., καὶ μὴ LM.

too, would have had a share in it, if they had not taken your advice and fled after Pompey. B.C. 43

"Then, when this is the case, do you dare to say he led Caesar against his country and stirred up the civil war and became, far more than any one else, responsible for the subsequent evils that befell us? No, indeed, but it was you yourself, you who gave Pompey legions that belonged to others, and the command also, and undertook to deprive Caesar even of those that had been given him; you, who advised Pompey and the consuls not to accept the offers made by Caesar, but to abandon the city and all Italy; you, who did not see Caesar even when he entered Rome, but ran off to Pompey and Macedonia. Yet not even to him did you prove of any assistance, but you allowed matters to take their course, and then, when he met with misfortune, left him in the lurch. Thus even at the outset you did not aid him as the one whose course was the more just, but after stirring up the strife and embroiling affairs you kept watch on events from a safe distance, and then promptly deserted the man who failed, as if that somehow proved him in the wrong, and went over to the victor, as if he were more in the right. And thus, in addition to your other base deeds, you are so ungrateful that you not only are not satisfied to have been spared by Caesar, but are actually displeased because you were not made his master of horse.

"Then, with this on your conscience, do you dare to say that Antony ought not to have been master of the horse for a whole year, because Caesar himself ought not to have been dictator for a whole

ἀλλ' εἴτε καλῶς εἴτε καὶ ἀναγκαίως ταῦτ' ἐγένετο, ἐψηφίσθη τε ὁμοίως ἀμφότερα καὶ ἤρεσε καὶ
2 ἡμῖν[1] καὶ τῷ δήμῳ. τούτοις οὖν, ὦ Κικέρων, ἐγκάλει, εἴ τι παρενόμησαν, μὴ μὰ Δία μὴ τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν τετιμημένοις ὅτι ἀξίους ἑαυτοὺς καὶ τῶν τηλικούτων τυχεῖν παρέσχον· ὡς εἴγε ὑπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων τῶν τότε ἡμᾶς περιστάντων ἠναγκάσθημεν[2] αὐτὰ οὕτω καὶ παρὰ τὸ προσῆκον ποιῆσαι, τί τοῦτο[3] Ἀντωνίῳ νῦν ἐπιφέρεις, ἀλλ' οὐ τότε ἀντέλεγες, εἴπερ ἐδύνασο; ὅτι ἐφοβοῦ νὴ[4]
3 Δία. εἶτα σὺ μὲν τότε σιωπήσας συγγνώμης διὰ τὴν δειλίαν τεύξῃ, οὗτος δὲ ὅτι σοῦ προετιμήθη, δίκην διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν ὑφέξει; καὶ ποῦ ταῦτα τὰ δίκαια ἔμαθες, ἢ που ταῦτα τὰ νόμιμα ἀνέγνως;

14 "'Ἀλλ' οὐκ ὀρθῶς τῇ ἱππαρχίᾳ ἐχρήσατο.' διὰ τί; 'ὅτι τὰ ὑπάρχοντα,' φησί, 'τὰ τοῦ Πομπηίου ἠγόρασε.' πόσοι δὲ ἄλλοι πόσα ἄλλα ἐπρίαντο, ὧν οὐδεὶς αἰτίαν ἔχει; καὶ γάρ που διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐδημεύθη τινὰ καὶ ἐς τὸ πρατήριον ἐξετέθη καὶ τῇ τοῦ κοινοῦ κήρυκος φωνῇ ἀπε-
2 κηρύχθη, ἵνα τις αὐτὰ ἀγοράσῃ. 'ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐχρῆν τὰ τοῦ Πομπηίου κτήματα[5] πεπρᾶσθαι.' οὐκοῦν ἡμεῖς ἡμάρτομεν καὶ κακῶς ἐποιήσαμεν δημεύσαντες αὐτά· ἤ, ἵνα σὲ καὶ ἡμᾶς τις ἀπολύσῃ, πάντως που ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπλημμέλησεν ὁ τοῦτο γενέσθαι κελεύσας· ᾧ οὐδὲν ἐπεκάλεσας.
3 ἀλλ' ἐν μὲν τούτῳ καὶ πάνυ μωραίνων ἐξελέγχεται.

[1] ἡμῖν Bk., ὑμῖν LM.
[2] ἠναγκάσθημεν Rk., ἠναγκάσθητε LM.
[3] τοῦτο R. Steph., τούτωι LM. [4] νὴ Cobet, μὰ LM.
[5] κτήματα L, χρήματα M (but corrected in margin to κτήματα).

year? But whether or not it was wise or necessary for this to be done, at any rate both measures alike were passed, and they suited both us and the people. Therefore censure these men, Cicero, if they have transgressed in any particular, but not, by Jupiter, those whom they have chosen to honour for showing themselves worthy of rewards so great. For if we were forced by the circumstances which then surrounded us to act in this way, even contrary to what was was fitting, why do you now lay this upon Antony's shoulders, instead of having opposed it at the time, if you were able? Because, by Jupiter, you were afraid. Shall you, then, who were silent at the time, obtain pardon for your cowardice, and shall he, because he was preferred before you, submit to punishment for his virtue? Where have you learned this kind of justice, or where have you read this kind of law? B.C. 43

"'But he made an improper use of his position as master of the horse.' Why? 'Because,' he answers, 'he bought Pompey's possessions.' But how many others are there who purchased countless articles, no one of whom is blamed! Why, that was the purpose, naturally, in confiscating goods and putting them up at auction and proclaiming them by the voice of the public crier, namely, that somebody should buy them. 'But Pompey's goods ought not to have been sold.' Then it was we who erred and did wrong in confiscating them; or—to clear us both of blame—it was Caesar anyhow, I suppose, who acted irregularly, since he ordered this to be done; yet you did not censure him at all. But in making this charge Cicero stands convicted of playing the utter

δύο γοῦν ἐναντιώτατα τοῦ Ἀντωνίου κατηγόρηκεν, ἓν μὲν ὅτι πλεῖστα τῷ Καίσαρι συμπράξας καὶ πάμπολλα διὰ τοῦτο παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβὼν ἔπειτα 4 τὴν τιμὴν αὐτῶν βιαίως ἀπῃτήθη, ἕτερον δὲ ὅτι μήτε τοῦ πατρὸς κληρονομήσας, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα ἐκτήσατο καταναλώσας ὥσπερ ἡ Χάρυβδις (ἀεὶ γάρ τι ἡμῖν ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας, καθάπερ ἐπιλελησμένοις ὅτι ἐς αὐτὴν ἔφυγε, παραφέρει), τὴν τιμὴν πάντων ὧν ἐπρίατο ἀπέδωκεν.

15 "Ἐν μὲν οὖν τούτοις οὕτω τὰ ἐναντιώτατα αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ λέγων ὁ θαυμαστὸς οὗτος ἐξελέγχεται, καὶ νὴ Δία καὶ ἐν ἐκείνοις, ὅτι τοτὲ μὲν πάντα αὐτὸν τὰ τῷ Καίσαρι πραχθέντα συνάρασθαι[1] καὶ πάντων διὰ τοῦτο τῶν ἐμφυλίων κακῶν αἰτιώτατον γεγονέναι λέγει, τοτὲ δὲ ἐγκαλεῖ αὐτῷ, δειλίαν ὀνειδίζων, ὅτι μηδενὸς ἄλλου πλὴν 2 τῶν ἐν τῇ Θεσσαλίᾳ πραχθέντων μετέσχε. καὶ ἔγκλημά τε[2] αὐτοῦ ποιεῖται λέγων ὅτι τῶν φευγόντων τινὰς κατήγαγε, καὶ μέμφεται αὐτὸν ὅτι μὴ καὶ τῷ θείῳ τὴν κάθοδον ἔδωκεν, ὥσπερ τινὸς πιστεύοντος ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ἐκεῖνον πρῶτον, εἴπερ γε καὶ ὁντινοῦν ἠδυνήθη[3] καταγαγεῖν, ἐπανήγαγε, μήτε τι ἐγκαλῶν αὐτῷ μήτε ἐγ-3 καλούμενος, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς οὗτος οἶδεν· ἀμέλει πολλὰ καὶ[4] σχέτλια αὐτοῦ καταψευσάμενος οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον εἰπεῖν ἐτόλμησεν. οὕτω μὲν οὖν οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν αὐτῷ διαφέρει πᾶν ὅ τι ποτ' ἂν ἐπὶ τὴν γλῶτταν αὐτοῦ ἐπέλθῃ, καθάπερ τι πλύμα,[5] ἐκχέαι.

[1] συνάρασθαι R. Steph., συναίρασθαι LM.
[2] ἔγκλημά τε Bk., ἐγκλήματι L, ἐγκλήματι M.
[3] ἠδυνήθη St., ἐδυνήθη LM.

fool. In any event he has brought against Antony two B.C. 43 utterly contradictory charges—first, that after helping Caesar in very many ways and receiving in return vast gifts from him, he was then required under compulsion to surrender the price of them, and, second, that, although he inherited naught from his father and swallowed up all that he had acquired 'like Charybdis' (the speaker is always offering us some comparison from Sicily, as if we had forgotten that he had gone into exile there), he nevertheless paid the price of all he had purchased.

"So in these charges this remarkable fellow stands convicted of violently contradicting himself—yes, by Jupiter, and in the following statements also. At one time he says that Antony aided Caesar in everything he did and by this means became more than any one else responsible for all our internal evils, and then he reproaches him with cowardice, charging him with having shared in no other exploits than those performed in Thessaly. And he brings a complaint against him to the effect that he restored some of the exiles, and finds fault with him because he did not secure the recall of his uncle as well—as if any one believes that he would not have restored him first of all, if he had been able to recall whomsoever he pleased, since there was no grievance on either side between them, as this man himself knows; at any rate, he did not dare to say anything of that sort, although he told many brazen lies about Antony. So utterly reckless is he about pouring out anything that comes to his tongue's end, as if it were mere soapsuds.

[4] πολλὰ καὶ Bk., πολλάκις LM.
[5] πλύμα Naber, πνεῦμα LM.

16 "Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν τί ἄν τις ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐπεξίοι; ἐπεὶ δὲ τραγῳδεῖ περιιών, καὶ νῦν γε εἰπέ που λέγων ὅτι βαρυτάτην τὴν τῆς ἱππαρχίας ὄψιν παρέσχετο, πανταχοῦ καὶ διὰ πάντων τῷ τε ξίφει ἅμα καὶ τῇ πορφύρᾳ τοῖς τε ῥαβδούχοις καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις χρώμενος, εἰπάτω μοι σαφῶς, πῶς [1] καὶ τί ἐκ τούτων ἠδικήμεθα. ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοι· εἰ γὰρ εἶχεν, οὐδὲν ἂν τούτου πρότερον 2 ἐξελάλησεν. πᾶν γὰρ τοὐναντίον οἱ μὲν στασιάσαντες τότε καὶ πάντα τὰ κακὰ ἐργασάμενοι Τρεβέλλιός τε καὶ Δολοβέλλας ἦσαν, Ἀντώνιος δὲ καὶ οὕτως οὔτε τι ἠδίκησε καὶ πάνθ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἔπραττεν ὥστε καὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τῆς πόλεως παρ' ὑμῶν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους, οὐχ ὅπως ἀντιλέγοντος τοῦ θαυμαστοῦ τούτου ῥήτορος (παρῆν γάρ) ἀλλὰ 3 καὶ συναινοῦντος, ἐπετράπη. ἢ δειξάτω, τίνα φωνὴν ἔρρηξεν ὁρῶν τὸν ἀσελγῆ καὶ μιαρόν, ὥς αὐτὸς λοιδορεῖ, πρὸς τῷ μηδὲν αὐτὸν τῶν δεόντων ποιεῖν καὶ ἐξουσίαν τοσαύτην παρ' ὑμῶν προσλαμβάνοντα. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι δεῖξαι. οὕτω που ὁ μέγας οὗτος καὶ φιλόπολις ῥήτωρ, ὁ παν-4 ταχοῦ καὶ ἀεὶ θρυλῶν καὶ λέγων 'ἐγὼ μόνος ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀγωνίζομαι, ἐγὼ μόνος ὑπὲρ τῆς δημοκρατίας παρρησιάζομαι· ἐμὲ οὔτε χάρις φίλων οὔτε φόβος ἐχθρῶν ἀπείργει τοῦ μὴ οὐ τὰ συμφέροντα ὑμῖν προσκοπεῖν· ἐγώ, κἂν ἀποθανεῖν ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν λόγοις δεήσῃ, καὶ μάλ' ἡδέως τελευτήσω' οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν τούτων ὧν νῦν βοᾷ τότε

[1] πῶς supplied by Cobet.

"But why should one pursue this subject further? B.C. 43 Still, inasmuch as he goes about declaiming tragically, and has but this moment said, in the course of his remarks, that Antony rendered the sight of the master of the horse most odious, by using everywhere and always the sword and the purple, the lictors and the soldiers at one and the same time, let him tell me clearly how and in what respect we have been wronged by this. But he will have nothing to say; for if he had, he would have blurted it out before anything else. In fact, the very reverse is true: those who were quarrelling at that time and causing all the trouble were Trebellius and Dolabella, whereas Antony was so far from doing any wrong and was so active in every way in your behalf that he was even entrusted by you with the guarding of the city against those very men, and that, too, without any opposition on the part of this remarkable orator (for he was present), but actually with his approval. Else let him show what word he uttered when he saw that 'the licentious and accursed fellow' (to quote from his abuse) not only performed none of the duties of his office but also secured from you all that additional authority. But he will have nothing to show. So it looks as if not a word of what he now shouts so loud was ventured at that time by this great and patriotic orator, who is everywhere and always saying and repeating: 'I alone am fighting for freedom, I alone speak out boldly for the republic; I cannot be restrained by favour of friends or fear of enemies from looking out for your advantage; I, even if it should be my lot to die in speaking on your behalf, will perish very gladly.' And his

5 εἰπεῖν ἐτόλμησεν. καὶ πάνυ εἰκότως· λογίζεσθαι γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐπῄει τοῦτο, ὅτι τοὺς μὲν ῥαβδούχους καὶ τὸ ἔσθημα τὸ περιπόρφυρον κατὰ τὰ πάτρια τὰ περὶ τῶν ἱππάρχων νενομισμένα εἶχε, τῷ δὲ δὴ ξίφει καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις κατὰ τῶν στασιαζόντων ἀναγκαίως ἐχρῆτο. τί γὰρ οὐκ ἂν τῶν δεινοτάτων ἐποίησαν εἰ μὴ τούτοις ἐκεῖνος ἐπέφρακτο, ὁπότε καὶ οὕτως αὐτοῦ κατεφρόνησάν τινες;

17 "Ὅτι τοίνυν καὶ ταῦτα καὶ τἆλλα πάντα ὀρθῶς καὶ κατὰ τὴν γνώμην ὅτι μάλιστα τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐγένετο, δηλοῖ τὰ ἔργα· ἥ τε γὰρ στάσις οὐ περαιτέρω προεχώρησε, καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος οὐχ ὅσον οὐ δίκην ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἔδωκεν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὕπατος 2 μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπεδείχθη. καί μοι καὶ ταύτην αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν θεάσασθε ὡς διέθετο· εὑρήσετε γὰρ αὐτήν, ἂν τἀκριβὲς σκοπῆτε, πάνυ πολλοῦ ἀξίαν τῇ[1] πόλει γεγενημένην. ὅπερ που καὶ αὐτὸς εἰδὼς οὐκ ἤνεγκε τὸν φθόνον, ἀλλ' ἐτόλμησεν ἐπὶ τούτοις αὐτὸν διαβαλεῖν ἃ καὶ αὐτὸς ἂν 3 πεποιηκέναι εὔξατο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτό γε καὶ τὴν γύμνωσιν αὐτοῦ τήν τε ἀλοιφὴν τούς τε μύθους τοὺς παλαιοὺς ἐκείνους ἐπεσήγαγεν, οὐχ ὅτι τι προσέδει νῦν αὐτῶν,[2] ἀλλ' ἵνα τήν τε περιτέχνησιν[3] αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν κατόρθωσιν τοῖς ἔξωθεν 4 ψόφοις συσκιάσῃ. ὅστις,[4] ὦ γῆ καὶ θεοί (μεῖζον γὰρ σοῦ βοήσομαι καὶ δικαιότερον αὐτοὺς ἐπικαλέσομαι), τυραννουμένην ἤδη τῷ ἔργῳ τὴν πόλιν ἰδὼν τῷ πάντα μὲν τὰ στρατόπεδα ἀκούειν

[1] τῇ Xyl., ἐν τῇ LM. [2] αὐτῶν Leuncl., αὐτῶι LM.
[3] περιτέχνησιν Bk., ἐπιτέχνησιν LM.
[4] ὅστις R. Steph., ἅσ τις LM.

silence at that time was very natural, for it occurred to him to reflect that Antony possessed the lictors and the purple-bordered clothing in accordance with the custom of our ancestors in regard to the masters of the horse, and that he was using the sword and the soldiers perforce against the rebels. For what outrages would have been too terrible for them to commit, had he not been hedged about with these protections, when some showed such scorn of him as it was?

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"That these and all his other acts, then, were correct and most thoroughly in accord with Caesar's intention, the facts themselves show. For the rebellion went no farther, and Antony, far from suffering punishment for his course, was subsequently appointed consul. Notice also, now, I beg of you, how he administered this office of his; for you will find, if you examine the matter carefully, that his tenure of it proved of great value to the city. His traducer, of course, knows this, but not being able to control his jealousy, has dared to slander him for those deeds which he would have longed to do himself. That is why he introduced the matter of his stripping and anointing and those ancient fables, not because any of them was called for on the present occasion, but in order to drown out by irrelevant noise Antony's consummate skill and success. Yet this same Antony, witness earth and gods! (I shall call louder than you and invoke them with greater justice), when he saw that the city was already in reality under a tyranny, inasmuch as all the legions

τοῦ Καίσαρος, πάντα δὲ αὐτῷ τὸν δῆμον μετὰ
5 τῆς βουλῆς εἴκειν, οὕτως ὥστε τά τε ἄλλα καὶ δικτάτορα αὐτὸν διὰ βίου εἶναι τῇ τε σκευῇ τῇ τῶν βασιλέων χρῆσθαι ψηφίσασθαι, καὶ ἐξήλεγξε σοφώτατα καὶ ἐπέσχεν ἀσφαλέστατα, ὥστε καὶ αἰδεσθέντα καὶ φοβηθέντα μήτε τὸ ὄνομα τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως μήτε τὸ διάδημα, ἃ καὶ ἀκόντων ἡμῶν αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ δώσειν ἔμελλε,
6 λαβεῖν. ἄλλος μὲν γὰρ ἄν[1] τις ὑπό τε ἐκείνου ταῦτ' ἔφη ποιῆσαι κεκελεῦσθαι, καὶ τήν τε ἀνάγκην ἂν προυτείνατο καὶ συγγνώμης ἐπ' αὐτῇ ἔτυχε, πῶς γὰρ οὔ, τοιαῦτά τε ἡμῶν τότε[2] ἐψηφισμένων καὶ τοσοῦτο τῶν στρατιωτῶν δε-
7 δυνημένων; Ἀντώνιος δέ, ἅτε καὶ τῆς διανοίας τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος διαπεφυκὼς[3] καὶ πάντα ἀκριβῶς ὅσα παρεσκευάζετο συννοῶν, φρονιμώτατα αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπέτρεψεν[4] ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπέσπευσε.
8 τεκμήριον δὲ ὅτι οὐδὲν ἔτι τὸ παράπαν ὡς καὶ δυναστεύων ἔπραξε, καὶ προσέτι καὶ κοινῶς καὶ ἀφυλάκτως πᾶσιν ἡμῖν συνῆν· ἀφ' οὗπερ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἠδυνήθη παθεῖν ἃ ἔπαθε.

18 "Ταῦθ' οὕτως, ὦ Κικέρων ἢ Κικέρκουλε ἢ Κικεράκιε ἢ Κικερίσκε[5] ἢ Γραίκουλε, ἢ ὅ τι ποτὲ καὶ χαίρεις ὀνομαζόμενος, ἔπραξεν ὁ ἀπαίδευτος,
2 ὁ γυμνός, ὁ μεμυρισμένος· ὧν οὐδὲν σὺ ἐποίησας ὁ δεινός, ὁ σοφός, ὁ πολὺ πλείονι τῷ ἐλαίῳ τοῦ οἴνου χρώμενος, ὁ καὶ μέχρι τῶν σφυρῶν τὴν ἐσθῆτα σύρων, οὐ μὰ Δία οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ ὀρχησταὶ οἱ τὰς ποικιλίας τῶν ἐνθυμημάτων διδάσκοντές

[1] ἂν supplied by Rk. [2] τότε M, τότ' L.
[3] διαπεφυκὼς Pflugk, διαπεφοιτηκὼς M, διαπεφοιτηκῶς L.
[4] ἀπέτρεψεν Reim., ἀπέστρεψεν LM.
[5] Κικερίσκε Cobet, Κικέριθε LM.

obeyed Caesar and all the people together with the senate submitted to him to such an extent that they voted, among other measures, that he should be dictator for life and use the trappings of the kings—this Antony, I say, convinced Caesar of his error most cleverly and restrained him most prudently, until Caesar, abashed and afraid, would not accept either the name of king or the diadem, which he had in mind to bestow upon himself even against our will. Any other man, now, would have declared that he had been ordered by his superior to do all this, and putting forward the compulsion as an excuse, would have obtained pardon for it—and why not, considering that we had passed such votes at that time and that the soldiers had gained such power? Antony, however, because he was thoroughly acquainted with Caesar's intentions and perfectly aware of all he was preparing to do, by great good judgment succeeded in turning him aside from his course and dissuaded him. The proof is that Caesar afterwards no longer behaved in any way like a monarch, but mingled publicly and unprotected with us all; and for this reason more than for any other it became possible that he should meet the fate he did.

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"This is what was accomplished, O Cicero,—or Cicerculus, or Ciceracius, or Ciceriscus, or Graeculus,[1] or whatever you delight in being called,—by the uneducated, the naked, the anointed man; and none of it was done by you, so clever, so wise, you who use much more oil than wine,[2] who let your clothing drag about your ankles—not, by Jupiter, as the dancers do, who teach you intricacies of reasoning

[1] Various diminutive forms, expressing contempt.

[2] A reference to his abstemiousness and to his burning of the midnight oil.

σε τοῖς σχήμασιν, ἀλλ' ἵνα τὰ αἴσχη σου τῶν
3 σκελῶν συγκρύπτῃς. οὐ γάρ που καὶ ὑπὸ σωφροσύνης τοῦτο ποιεῖς ὁ τὰ πολλὰ ἐκεῖνα περὶ τῆς τοῦ Ἀντωνίου διαίτης εἰρηκώς. τίς μὲν γὰρ οὐχ ὁρᾷ σου τὰ λεπτὰ ταῦτα χλανίδια; τίς δ' οὐκ ὀσφραίνεται[1] τῶν πολιῶν σου τῶν κατεκτενισμένων; τίς δ' οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι τὴν μὲν γυναῖκα τὴν προτέραν τὴν τεκοῦσάν σοι δύο τέκνα ἐξέβαλες, ἑτέραν δὲ ἐπεσηγάγου παρθένον ὑπεργήρως ὤν, ἵν' ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας αὐτῆς τὰ δανείσματα ἀποτίσῃς;
4 καὶ οὐδὲ ἐκείνην μέντοι κατέσχες, ἵνα Καιρελλίαν[2] ἐπ' ἀδείας ἔχῃς, ἣν τοσούτῳ πρεσβυτέραν σαυτοῦ οὖσαν ἐμοίχευσας ὅσῳ νεωτέραν τὴν κόρην ἔγημας, πρὸς ἣν καὶ αὐτὴν τοιαύτας ἐπιστολὰς γράφεις οἵας ἂν γράψειεν ἀνὴρ σκωπτόλης ἀθυρόγλωσσος πρὸς γυναῖκα ἑβδομηκοντοῦτιν
5 πληκτιζόμενος. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἄλλως ἐξήχθην, ὦ πατέρες, εἰπεῖν, ἵνα μηδὲ ἐν τούτοις ἔλαττον[3] ἔχων ἀπέλθῃ. καίτοι καὶ συμπόσιόν τι ἐτόλμησε τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ προενεγκεῖν, αὐτὸς μὲν ὕδωρ, ὥς φησι, πίνων, ἵνα τοὺς καθ' ἡμῶν λόγους νυκτερεύων συγγράφῃ, τὸν δὲ υἱὸν ἐν τοσαύτῃ μέθῃ τρέφων ὥστε μήτε νύκτωρ μήτε μεθ' ἡμέραν σω-
6 φρονεῖν. καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ διαβάλλειν ἐπεχείρησε, τοσαύτῃ ἀσελγείᾳ καὶ ἀκαθαρσίᾳ παρὰ πάντα τὸν βίον χρώμενος ὥστε μηδὲ τῶν συγγενεστάτων ἀπέχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τήν τε γυναῖκα προαγωγεύειν[4] καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα μοιχεύειν.

[1] ὀσφραίνεται R. Steph., ὄσφρεται LM.
[2] Καιρελλίαν Bs., κερεαλίαν LM.
[3] ἔλαττον Bs., ἔλαττόν τι LM.
[4] προαγωγεύειν M (corrected from προσαγωγεύειν), προσαγωγεύειν L.

by their poses, but in order to hide the ugliness of your legs. Oh no, it is not through modesty that you do this, you who delivered that long screed about Antony's habits. Who is there that does not see these delicate mantles of yours? Who does not scent your carefully combed gray locks? Who does not know that you put away your first wife who had borne you two children, and in your extreme old age married another, a mere girl, in order that you might pay your debts out of her property? And yet you did not keep her either, since you wished to be free to have with you Caerellia, whom you debauched though she was as much older than yourself as the maiden you married was younger, and to whom, old as she is, you write such letters as a jester and babbler might write if he were trying to get up an amour with a woman of seventy. I have been led to make this digression, Conscript Fathers, in order that he might not get off on this score, either, without receiving as good as he gave to me. And yet he had the effrontery to find fault with Antony because of a mere drinking party, himself a drinker of water, as he claims,—his purpose being to sit up at night and compose his speeches against us,—even though he brings up his son amid such debauchery that the son is sober neither night or day. Furthermore, he undertook to make derogatory remarks about Antony's mouth—this man who has shown so great licentiousness and impurity throughout his entire life that he would not spare even his closest kin, but let out his wife for hire and was his daughter's lover.

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19 "Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐάσω, ἐπάνειμι δὲ ὅθεν ἐξέβην. ὁ γὰρ Ἀντώνιος ἐκεῖνος, ὃν οὗτος καταδεδράμηκεν, ἰδὼν τὸν Καίσαρα ὑπὲρ τὴν πολιτείαν ἡμῶν αἰρόμενον, ἐποίησεν αὐτὸν μηδὲν ὧν ἐνενόει πρᾶξαι, δι' αὐτῶν ὧν χαρίζεσθαι αὐτῷ ἐδόκει. 2 οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως ἀποτρέπει τινὰς ὧν ἂν μὴ ὀρθῶς ἐπιθυμοῦντες τυχεῖν διαπράσσωνται, ὡς τὸ τοὺς φοβουμένους αὐτὰ μὴ πάθωσιν ἐθελοντὰς 3 δὴ δοκεῖν ὑπομένειν. τοῦτο μὲν γάρ, ἐξ ὧν ἀδικοῦσιν ἑαυτοῖς[1] συνίσασιν, οὐ πιστεύουσι, πεφωρᾶσθαι δὲ νομίζοντες καὶ αἰσχύνονται καὶ φοβοῦνται, τὰ μὲν λεγόμενα ἄλλως, ὡς καὶ κολακείαν, μετ' ἐλέγχου λαμβάνοντες, τὰ δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀποβησόμενα, ὡς καὶ ἐπιβουλήν, μετ' αἰ-4 σχύνης ὑποπτεύοντες. ἅπερ που καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀκριβῶς εἰδὼς πρῶτον μὲν τά τε Λυκαῖα καὶ[2] τὴν πομπὴν ἐκείνην ἐπελέξατο, ἵν' ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔν τε τῷ ἀνειμένῳ τῆς γνώμης καὶ ἐν τῷ παιγνιώδει τῶν γιγνομένων ἀσφαλῶς σωφρονισθῇ, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ τὸ βῆμα, ἵνα ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν 5 χωρίων αἰσχυνθῇ· τάς τε ἐντολὰς τὰς παρὰ τοῦ δήμου συνέπλασεν, ἵν' αὐτὰς ἀκούσας λογίσηται οὐχ ὅσα τότε ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἔλεγεν, ἀλλ' ὅσα ἂν ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ῥωμαίων εἰπεῖν τινι ἐνετείλατο. πόθεν γὰρ ἂν ἐπίστευσε τὸν δῆμον ταῦτ' ἐπεσταλκέναι τῳ, μήτε ἐψηφισμένον τι τοιοῦτον αὐτὸν εἰδὼς μήτε

[1] ἑαυτοῖς R. Steph., ἑαυτοὺς LM.
[2] καὶ supplied by Rk.

"I propose, now, to leave this subject and to return to the point where I started. Well then, when Antony, against whom he has inveighed, saw that Caesar was becoming exalted above our government, caused him, by means of the very proposals which were supposed to gratify him, not to put into effect any of the projects he had in mind. For nothing so diverts persons from purposes which they cherish a wrongful desire to achieve and can put into effect, as for those who fear that they may have to submit to such things to pretend that they endure them of their own choice. For these persons in authority, being conscious of their own wrongful purposes, do not trust the sincerity of the others, and believing that they have been detected, are ashamed and afraid, construing to the opposite effect, in their distrust, what is said to them, counting it mere flattery, and regarding with suspicion, in their shame, the possible outcome of what is said, as if it were a plot. It was of course because Antony knew this thoroughly that he first of all selected the Lupercalia and its procession, in order that Caesar in the relaxation of his spirit and merriment of the occasion might with safety be rebuked, and that, in the next place, he selected the Forum and the rostra, that Caesar might be made ashamed by the very places. And he fabricated the commands from the populace, in order that Caesar, hearing them, might reflect, not on all that Antony was saying at the time, but on all that the Roman people would order a man to say. For how could he have believed that this injunction had been laid upon any one, when he neither knew of the people's having voted anything of the kind nor

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6 ἐπιβοῶντα αἰσθόμενος; ἀλλ' ἔδει γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ τῇ Ῥωμαίᾳ, ἐν ᾗ πολλὰ πολλάκις ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐβουλευσάμεθα, καὶ παρὰ τῷ βήματι, ἀφ' οὗ μυρία ἐπὶ μυρίοις ὑπὲρ τῆς δημοκρατίας ἐπολιτευσάμεθα, ἔν τε τῇ ἑορτῇ τῶν Λυκαίων, ἵνα ἀναμνησθῇ τοῦ Ῥωμύλου, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ὑπάτου, ἵν' ἐννοήσῃ τὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων ὑπάτων 7 ἔργα, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ δήμου ὀνόματι ταῦτα ἀκοῦσαι, ἵν' ἐνθυμηθῇ τοῦθ', ὅτι οὐκ Ἄφρων οὐδὲ Γαλατῶν οὐδὲ Αἰγυπτίων ἀλλ' αὐτῶν Ῥωμαίων τυραννεῖν ἐπεχείρει. ταῦτα αὐτὸν τὰ ῥήματα ἐπέστρεψεν, ταῦτ' ἐταπείνωσε· καὶ τάχα ἂν τὸ διάδημα, εἴπερ τις ἄλλος αὐτῷ προσήνεγκε, λαβών, ἔπειτα δι' ἐκεῖνα καὶ ἐκολούσθη καὶ ἔφριξε καὶ κατέδεισε.

8 "Τὰ μὲν οὖν Ἀντωνίου ἔργα σοι ταῦτά ἐστιν, οὐ σκέλος ἄλλως κατάξαντος ἵνα αὐτὸς φύγῃ, οὐδὲ χεῖρα κατακαύσαντος ἵνα Πορσένναν φοβήσῃ, ἀλλὰ τὴν τυραννίδα τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος σοφίᾳ καὶ περιτεχνήσει, καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸ δόρυ τὸ Δεκίου καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸ ξίφος τὸ Βρούτου, παύσαντος.

20 σὺ δ', ὦ Κικέρων, τί ἐν τῇ ὑπατείᾳ σου οὐχ ὅτι σοφὸν ἢ ἀγαθόν, ἀλλ' οὐ καὶ τιμωρίας τῆς μεγίστης ἄξιον ἔπραξας; οὐχ ἡσυχάζουσαν μὲν καὶ ὁμονοοῦσαν τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν καὶ ἐξετάραξας καὶ ἐστασίασας, τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἄλλων τέ τινων καὶ δούλων παρακλήτων πληρώ- 2 σας; οὐ τὸν Κατιλίναν σπουδαρχήσαντα μόνον, ἄλλο δὲ μηδὲν δεινὸν ποιήσαντα κακῶς ἀπώ-

heard them shouting their applause? But, in fact, it was necessary for him to hear this in the Roman Forum, where we have often joined in many deliberations for freedom, and beside the rostra, from which we have sent forth thousands upon thousands of measures on behalf of the republic, and at the festival of the Lupercalia, in order that he might be reminded of Romulus, and from the lips of the consul, that he might call to mind the deeds of the early consuls, and in the name of the people, that he might ponder the fact that he was undertaking to be tyrant, not over Africans or Gauls or Egyptians, but over very Romans. These words brought him to himself, they humiliated him; and whereas, if any one else had offered him the diadem, he might perhaps have taken it, as it was, through the influence of all these associations, he checked himself; he shuddered and felt afraid. B.C. 43

"Here, then, you have the deeds of Antony; he did not break a leg in a vain attempt to make his own escape, nor burn off a hand in order to frighten Porsenna, but by his cleverness and consummate skill, which were of more avail than the spear of Decius or the sword of Brutus, he put an end to the tyranny of Caesar. But as for you, Cicero, what did you accomplish in your consulship, I will not say that was wise and good, but that was not deserving of the greatest punishment? Did you not throw our city into confusion and party strife when it was quiet and harmonious, and fill the Forum and the Capitol with slaves, among others, whom you had summoned to help you? Did you not basely destroy Catiline, who had merely canvassed for office but had otherwise done nothing dreadful? Did you not

λεσας; οὐ τὸν Λέντουλον καὶ τοὺς μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ μήτ᾽ ἀδικήσαντάς τι μήτε κριθέντας μήτε ἐλεγχθέντας οἰκτρῶς διέφθειρας, καίτοι πολλὰ μὲν περὶ τῶν νόμων πολλὰ δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν δικαστηρίων ἀεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ θρυλῶν; ἃ εἴ τις ἀφέλοιτο
3 τῶν σῶν λόγων, τὸ λοιπὸν οὐδέν ἐστι. Πομπηΐῳ μὲν γὰρ ἐνεκάλεις ὅτι τῷ Μίλωνι παρὰ τὰ νενομισμένα τὴν κρίσιν ἐποίησε· σὺ δὲ οὔτε μικρὸν οὔτε μεῖζον οὐδὲν ἐκ τῶν περὶ ταῦτα τεταγμένων Λεντούλῳ παρέσχες, ἀλλὰ ἄνευ λόγου καὶ κρίσεως ἐνέβαλες ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἄνδρα ἐπιεικῆ γέροντα, πολλὰ μὲν καὶ μεγάλα πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα ἐκ προγόνων ἐνέχυρα φιλίας ἔχοντα, μηδὲν δὲ μήθ᾽ ὑπὸ τῆς ἡλικίας μήθ᾽ ὑπὸ τῶν τρόπων νεω-
4 τερίσαι δυνάμενον. τί μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ κακὸν παρῆν, ὃ τῇ μεταβολῇ ἂν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐξιάσατο; τί δ᾽ οὐκ ἀγαθὸν εἶχε, περὶ οὗ πάντως ἂν νεοχμώσας τι ἐκινδύνευσε; ποῖα ὅπλα ἠθροίκει, ποίους συμμάχους παρεσκεύαστο,[1] ἵν᾽ οὕτως οἰκτρῶς καὶ ἀνοσίως ἀνὴρ ὑπατευκώς, στρατηγῶν, μήτε τι[2] εἰπὼν μήτ᾽ ἀκούσας ἔς τε τὸ οἴκημα ἐμπέσῃ καὶ ἐκεῖ ὥσπερ οἱ κακουργότατοι φθαρῇ;
5 τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν ὃ μάλιστα ὁ καλὸς οὗτος Τούλλιος ἐπεθύμησεν, ἵν᾽ ἐν τῷ ὁμωνύμῳ αὐτοῦ χωρίῳ[3] τὸν ἔγγονον τοῦ Λεντούλου ἐκείνου τοῦ προκρίτου ποτὲ τῆς βουλῆς γενομένου ἀποκτείνῃ.
21 καίτοι τί ποτ᾽ ἂν ἐποίησεν ἐνοπλίου ἐξουσίας λαβόμενος ὁ τοιαῦτα καὶ τοσαῦτα ἐκ μόνων τῶν

[1] παρεσκεύαστο Bk., παρεσκευάσατο LM.
[2] μήτε τι L, μήτε ἔτι M.
[3] After χωρίῳ LM have τῷ Τουλλιείῳ ("the Tullianum"); Naber deleted.

pitilessly slay Lentulus and his followers, who were not only guilty of no wrong, but had neither been tried nor convicted, and that, too, though you are always and everywhere prating much about the laws and about the courts? Indeed, if one should take these phrases from your speeches, there is nothing left. You censured Pompey because he conducted the trial of Milo contrary to the established procedure; yet you yourself afforded Lentulus no privilege great or small that is prescribed in such cases, but without defence or trial you cast into prison a man respectable and aged, who could furnish in his ancestors abundant and weighty guarantees of his devotion to his country, and by reason of his age and his character had no power to incite a revolution. What evil was his that he could have cured by the change in the government? And what blessing did he not enjoy that he would certainly have jeopardized by beginning a rebellion? What arms had he collected, what allies had he equipped, that a man who had been consul and was then praetor should be so pitilessly and impiously cast into prison without being allowed to say a word in defence or to hear a single charge, and should there be put to death as are the basest criminals? For this is what our excellent Tullius here particularly desired, namely, that in the place that bears his name,[1] he might put to death the grandson of that Lentulus who once had been the leader of the senate. What would he have done now if he had laid hold of the power afforded by arms, seeing that he accomplished so much mischief by his words

B.C. 43

[1] *i.e.* the Tullianum, later known as the Mamertine prison.

λόγων εἰργασμένος; ταῦτα γάρ σου τὰ λαμπρὰ ἔργα ἐστί, ταῦτα τὰ μεγάλα στρατηγήματα· ἐφ' οἷς οὕτως οὐχ ὅπως ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων κατεγνώσθης, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς σαυτοῦ[1] κατεψηφίσω, ὥστε πρὶν
2 καὶ κριθῆναι φυγεῖν. καίτοι τίς ἂν ἑτέρα μείζων ἀπόδειξις τῆς σῆς μιαιφονίας γένοιτο ἢ ὅτι καὶ ἐκινδύνευσας ἀπολέσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐσκήπτου ταῦτα πεποιηκέναι, καὶ ἐφοβήθης αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους οὓς ἔλεγες ἐκ τούτων εὐηργετηκέναι,[2] καὶ οὐχ ὑπέμεινας οὔτ' ἀκοῦσαί τι αὐτῶν οὔτ' εἰπεῖν τι αὐτοῖς ὁ δεινός, ὁ περιττός, ὁ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις βοηθῶν, ἀλλὰ φυγῇ τὴν σωτηρίαν
3 ὥσπερ ἐκ μάχης ἐπορίσω; καὶ οὕτω γε ἀναίσχυντος εἶ ὥστε καὶ συγγράψαι ταῦτα τοιαῦτα ὄντα ἐπεχείρησας· ὃν ἐχρῆν εὔχεσθαι μηδὲ τῶν ἄλλων τινὰ αὐτὰ συνθεῖναι, ἵνα ἀλλὰ τοῦτό γε κερδάνῃς, τὸ συναπολέσθαι σοι τὰ πεπραγμένα καὶ μηδεμίαν αὐτῶν μνήμην τοῖς ἔπειτα παραδοθῆναι. καὶ ὅπως γε καὶ γελάσητε,
4 ἀκούσατε τὴν σοφίαν αὐτοῦ. προθέμενος γὰρ πάντα τὰ τῇ πόλει πεπραγμένα συγγράψαι (καὶ γὰρ σοφιστὴς καὶ ποιητὴς καὶ φιλόσοφος καὶ ῥήτωρ καὶ συγγραφεὺς εἶναι πλάττεται) ἔπειτ' οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς κτίσεως αὐτῆς, ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ τοῦτο ποιοῦντες, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπατείας τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἤρξατο, ἵνα ἀνάπαλιν προχωρῶν ἀρχὴν μὲν τοῦ λόγου ἐκείνην, τελευτὴν δὲ τὴν τοῦ Ῥωμύλου βασιλείαν ποιήσηται.

22 "Λέγε τοίνυν, τοιαῦτα γράφων καὶ τοιαῦτα πράττων, οἷα δεῖ τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα καὶ λόγῳ

[1] σαυτοῦ Bk., ἑαυτοῦ LM.
[2] εὐηργετηκέναι Bk., εὐεργετηκέναι LM.

alone? These are your brilliant achievements, these are your great exhibitions of generalship; and not only were you condemned for them by your associates, but you also cast your own vote against yourself by fleeing even before your trial came on. Yet what greater proof could there be that you were guilty of his blood than that you came within an ace of perishing at the hands of those very persons on whose behalf you pretended you had done all this, that you were afraid of the very men whom you claimed to have benefited by these acts, and that you did not wait to hear what they had to say or to say a word to them, you clever, you extraordinary man, you who can aid others, but had to secure your own safety by flight as from a battle? And you are so shameless that you undertook to write a history of these events, disgraceful as they are, whereas you ought to have prayed that no one else should so much as record them, in order that you might derive at least this advantage, that your deeds should die with you and no memory of them be handed down to posterity. And to give you, sirs, something to make you even laugh, I beg you listen to a piece of his cleverness. He set himself the task of writing a history of all the achievements of the city (for he pretends to be a rhetorician and poet and philosopher and orator and historian), and then began, not with its founding, like the other historians of Rome, but with his own consulship, so that he might proceed backwards, making that the beginning of his account and the reign of Romulus the end.

B.C. 43

"Tell me now, you whose writings and whose deeds are such as I have described, what a good man

δημηγορεῖν καὶ ἔργῳ ποιεῖν· ἀμείνων γὰρ εἶ ἑτέροις τισὶν ὁτιοῦν παραινεῖν ἢ αὐτὸς τὰ προσήκοντα πράττειν, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπιτιμᾶν ἢ 2 σεαυτὸν ἐπανορθοῦν. καίτοι πόσῳ σε κρεῖττον ἦν, ἀντὶ μὲν τῆς δειλίας ἣν Ἀντωνίῳ ὀνειδίζεις, αὐτὸν τὴν μαλακίαν καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἀποθέσθαι, ἀντὶ δὲ τῆς ἀπιστίας ἣν ἐκείνῳ προφέρεις, αὐτὸν μήτ' ἄπιστόν τι ποιεῖν μήτ' αὐτομολεῖν, ἀντὶ δὲ τῆς ἀχαριστίας ἧς[1] ἐκείνου 3 κατηγορεῖς, αὐτὸν μὴ ἀδικεῖν τοὺς εὐεργέτας; ἓν γάρ τοι καὶ τοῦτο τῶν κακῶν τῶν ἐμφύτων αὐτῷ ἐστιν, ὅτι μισεῖ μάλιστα πάντων τούς τι αὐτὸν εὖ πεποιηκότας, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἀεί τινας θεραπεύει, τούτοις δὲ ἐπιβουλεύει. ἵνα γοῦν τἆλλα ἐάσω, ἐλεηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ σωθεὶς ἔς τε τοὺς εὐπατρίδας ἐγγραφεὶς ἀπέκτεινεν, οὐκ αὐτοχειρίᾳ (πόθεν, δειλός τε οὕτω καὶ γύννις ὤν;) ἀλλ' ἀναπείσας καὶ παρασκευάσας 4 τοὺς τοῦτο ποιήσαντας. καὶ ὅτι ταῦτα ἀληθῆ λέγω, αὐτοὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἐδήλωσαν· ὅτε γοῦν γυμνοῖς τοῖς ξίφεσιν ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐσέδραμον, ὀνομαστὶ αὐτὸν ἀνεκάλεσαν συνεχῶς εἰπόντες, 'ὦ Κικέρων,' 5 ὥσπερ που πάντες ἠκούσατε. ἐκεῖνόν τε οὖν εὐεργέτην ὄντα ἐφόνευσε, καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου καὶ τῆς ἱερωσύνης καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας, ὅτ' ἀπολέσθαι ἐν τῷ Βρεντεσίῳ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐκινδύνευσε, τυχὼν τοιαύτας αὐτῷ χάριτας ἀνταποδίδωσι, κακηγορῶν τε αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἃ

[1] ἧς Dind., τῆς LM.

ought to say in addressing the people and to do in action; for you are better at advising others about any matter in the world than at doing your duty yourself, and better at rebuking others than at reforming yourself. Yet how much better it would be for you, instead of reproaching Antony with cowardice, yourself to lay aside your effeminacy both of spirit and of body; instead of bringing a charge of disloyalty against him, yourself to cease from doing anything disloyal against him and playing the deserter; and instead of accusing him of ingratitude, yourself to cease from wronging your benefactors! For this, I must tell you, is one of Cicero's inherent defects, that he hates above all others those who have done him any kindness, and that while he is always fawning upon men of the other kind, yet he keeps plotting against these. At any rate (to omit other instances), after being pitied and spared by Caesar and enrolled among the patricians, he then killed him, not with his own hand, of course—how could he, cowardly and effeminate as he is?—but by persuading and bribing those who did it. That I am speaking the truth in this matter was made plain by the murderers themselves; at any rate, when they ran out into the Forum with their naked blades, they called for him by name, crying 'Cicero!' repeatedly, as you, no doubt, all heard them. Therefore, I say, he slew Caesar, his benefactor, and as for Antony, the very man from whom he had obtained not only his priesthood but also his life, when he was in danger of perishing at the hands of the soldiers in Brundisium, he repays him with this sort of thanks, accusing him of deeds with which neither he himself nor any one else ever

μήτ' αὐτὸς μήτ' ἄλλος τις πώποτε ἐμέμψατο, καὶ
6 *κατατρέχων ἐφ' οἷς ἄλλους ἐπαινεῖ. τὸν γοῦν Καίσαρα τοῦτον, μήθ' ἡλικίαν ἄρχειν ἤ τι τῶν πολιτικῶν πράττειν ἔχοντα μήθ' ὑφ' ἡμῶν προκεχειρισμένον, ὁρῶν καὶ δύναμιν πεπορισμένον καὶ πόλεμον μήτε ἐψηφισμένων ἡμῶν μήτε προστεταχότων αὐτῷ ἀνῃρημένον, οὐ μόνον οὐκ*
7 *αἰτιᾶταί τι ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐγκωμιάζει. οὕτως οὔτε τὰ δίκαια πρὸς τοὺς νόμους οὔτε τὰ συμφέροντα πρὸς τὸ τῷ κοινῷ χρήσιμον ἐξετάζει, ἀλλὰ πάντα ἁπλῶς πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ βούλησιν διάγει, καὶ ἐφ' οἷς ἄλλους ἀποσεμνύνει, ταῦθ' ἑτέροις ἐγκαλεῖ, καὶ καταψευδόμενος ὑμῶν καὶ προσδιαβάλλων*
23 *ὑμᾶς. σύμπαντα γὰρ τὰ μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος τελευτὴν ὑπ' Ἀντωνίου πεπραγμένα εὑρήσετε ὑφ' ὑμῶν κεκελευσμένα. καὶ τὸ μὲν περί τε τῆς τῶν χρημάτων διοικήσεως καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν γραμμάτων ἐξετάσεως λέγειν περιττὸν εἶναι νομίζω.*
2 *διὰ τί; ὅτι τὸ μὲν τῷ κληρονομοῦντι αὐτοῦ τῆς οὐσίας προσῆκον ἂν εἴη πολυπραγμονεῖν, τὸ δέ,*[1] *εἴπερ τινὰ ἀλήθειαν κακουργίας εἶχε, τότε ἐχρῆν παραχρῆμα κεκωλῦσθαι. οὔτε γὰρ ὑπὸ μάλης τι αὐτῶν, ὦ Κικέρων, ἐπράχθη, ἀλλ' ἐς στήλας,*
3 *ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς φῄς, πάντα ἀνεγράφη· εἰ δὲ ἐκεῖνος φανερῶς οὕτω καὶ ἀναισχύντως τά τε ἄλλα ἐκακούργησεν ὡς λέγεις, καὶ τὴν Κρήτην ὅλην ἥρπασεν ὡς καὶ ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Καίσαρος γραμμάτων ἐλευθέραν μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Βρούτου ἀρχὴν ἀφειμένην, ἣν ὕστερον ἐκεῖνος παρ' ἡμῶν ἐπετράπη, πῶς μὲν ἂν σὺ ἐσιώπησας, πῶς δ' ἂν τῶν ἄλλων τις*

[1] At this point a quaternion has been lost from M; it resumes in the middle of chap. 43, 2.

found any fault and hounding him for conduct which he praises in others. At all events, when he sees that this young Caesar, who, although he has not attained the age yet to hold office or take any part in politics and has not been elected by you to office, has nevertheless equipped himself with an armed force and has undertaken a war which we have neither voted nor committed to his hands, he not only has no blame to bestow, but actually eulogizes him. Thus, you will perceive, he estimates neither justice by the standard of the laws nor expediency by the standard of the public weal, but manages everything simply to suit his own will, and what he extols in some he censures in others, spreading false reports against you and slandering you besides. For you will find that all Antony's acts after Caesar's death were ordered by you. Now to speak about Antony's disposition of Caesar's funds and his examination of his papers I regard as superfluous. Why so? Because, in the first place, it would be the business of the one who inherited Caesar's property to busy himself with it, and, in the second place, if there were any truth in the charge of malfeasance, it ought to have been stopped immediately at the time. For none of these transactions was carried out in secret, Cicero, but they were all recorded on tablets, as you yourself admit. But as to Antony's other acts, if he committed these villainies as openly and shamelessly as you allege, if he seized upon all Crete on the pretext that in Caesar's papers it had been left free after the governorship of Brutus,—although it was only later that Brutus was given charge of it by us—how could you have kept silent, and how could any one else have tolerated such

B.C. 43

4 ἠνέσχετο; ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μέν, ὥσπερ εἶπον, παραλείψω· οὔτε γὰρ ὀνομαστὶ τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν εἴρηται, οὔτ' Ἀντώνιος ὁ δυνάμενος ὑμᾶς ἀκριβῶς καθ' ἕκαστον ὧν πεποίηκε διδάξαι πάρεστι· περὶ δὲ δὴ τῆς Μακεδονίας τῆς τε Γαλατίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν τῶν τε στρατοπέδων ὑμέτερα ἔστιν, ὦ πατέρες, ψηφίσματα, καθ' ἃ τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ὡς ἕκαστα προσετάξατε καὶ ἐκείνῳ τὴν Γαλατίαν μετὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐνεχειρίσατε. καὶ τοῦτο καὶ Κικέρων οἶδεν· παρῆν γάρ, καὶ πάντα γε 5 αὐτὰ ὁμοίως ὑμῖν ἐψηφίζετο. καίτοι πόσῳ κρεῖττον ἦν τότε αὐτὸν ἀντειπεῖν, εἴπερ τι αὐτῶν μὴ δεόντως ἐγίγνετο, καὶ διδάξαι ὑμᾶς ταῦτα ἃ νῦν προΐσχεται, ἢ παραχρῆμα μὲν σιωπῆσαι καὶ [1] περιϊδεῖν ὑμᾶς ἁμαρτάνοντας, νῦν δὲ λόγῳ μὲν Ἀντωνίῳ ἐγκαλεῖν ἔργῳ δὲ τῆς βουλῆς κατηγορεῖν;

24 "Οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ τοῦτο δύναιτ' ἄν τις σωφρονῶν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι ἐκεῖνος ταῦθ' ὑμᾶς ψηφίσασθαι ἐβιάσατο. οὔτε γὰρ αὐτὸς ἰσχύν τινα στρατιωτῶν εἶχεν ὥστε παρὰ γνώμην ὑμᾶς ποιῆσαί τι καταναγκάσαι, καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως πέ-2 πρακται. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ προυπέπεμπτο [2] μὲν τὰ στρατεύματα καὶ συνειστήκει, δέος δὲ ἦν μὴ πυθόμενα τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος σφαγῆς στασιάσῃ καί τινα φλαῦρον προστησάμενα αὖθις πολεμήσῃ, ἔδοξεν ὑμῖν, ὀρθῶς καὶ καλῶς ποιοῦσι, τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐπ' αὐτὰ ἐπιστῆσαι, τὸν ὕπατον, τὸν τὴν ὁμόνοιαν πρυτανεύσαντα, τὸν τὴν δικτατορίαν 3 παντελῶς ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας ἐκκόψαντα. καὶ διὰ

[1] καὶ added by R. Steph.
[2] προυπέπεμπτο Pflugk, προύπεμπε L.

acts? But, as I said, I will pass over these matters; for the majority of them have not been specifically mentioned, and Antony, who could inform you exactly of what he has done in each instance, is not present. But as regards Macedonia and Gaul and the remaining provinces and as regards the legions, there are your decrees, Conscript Fathers, according to which you assigned to the various governors their several charges and entrusted Gaul, together with the troops, to Antony. And this is known also to Cicero, for he was present and voted for them all just as you did. Yet how much better it would have been for him to speak against it at the time, if any of these matters were not being done properly, and to instruct you in these matters that he now brings forward, than to be silent at the time and allow you to make mistakes, and now nominally to censure Antony but really to accuse the senate! B.C. 43

"And no sensible person could assert, either, that Antony forced you to vote these measures. For he himself had no band of soldiers, so as to compel you to do anything contrary to your judgment, and, furthermore, the business was done for the good of the city. For since the legions had been sent ahead and united, and there was fear that when they heard of Caesar's assassination they might revolt and, putting some worthless man at their head, go to war once more, you decided, rightly and properly, to place in command of them Antony, the consul, who had brought about harmony and had banished the dictatorship entirely from our system of govern-

τοῦτό γε καὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν αὐτῷ ἀντὶ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἀντεδώκατε, ἵν' ἐνταῦθα ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ὢν μήτε τι κακουργήσῃ καὶ τὸ προσταχθὲν εὐθὺς ὑφ' ὑμῶν ποιήσῃ.

25 "Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἶπον, ἵν' εἰδῆτε ὀρθῶς βεβουλευμένοι· πρὸς δὲ δὴ Κικέρωνα καὶ ἐκεῖνός μοι ὁ λόγος ἐξήρκει, ὅτι καὶ παρῆν πᾶσι τούτοις ὅτε ἐγίγνετο, καὶ μεθ' ἡμῶν αὐτὰ ἐψηφίσατο, μήτε στρατιώτην τινὰ Ἀντωνίου ἔχοντος, μήθ' ὅλως ἐνδείξασθαί τι φοβερὸν ἡμῖν δυναμένου, δι' ὃ καὶ τῶν συμφερόντων ἄν τι παρείδομεν. 2 ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ τότε ἐσιώπησας, νῦν γε εἰπέ, τί ἐχρῆν ἡμᾶς ποιῆσαι τούτων οὕτως ἐχόντων; ἀφεῖναι τὰ στρατεύματα ἄναρχα; καὶ πῶς οὐκ ἂν μυρίων κακῶν καὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν 3 ἐνέπλησεν; ἀλλ' ἑτέρῳ τινὶ προστάξαι; καὶ τίνα ἂν ἀναγκαιότερον καὶ ἐπιτηδειότερον τοῦ Ἀντωνίου εὕρομεν, τοῦ ὑπάτου, τοῦ πάντα τὰ τῆς πόλεως διοικοῦντος, τοῦ τοσαύτην φυλακὴν τῆς ὁμονοίας ἡμῶν πεποιημένου, τοῦ μυρία ἐπιδείγματα τῆς πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν εὐνοίας παρεσχη- 4 μένου; τινὰ τῶν σφαγέων; οἷς οὐδ' ἄλλως ἐν τῇ πόλει διατρίβειν ἀσφαλὲς ἐγίγνετο. τινὰ τῶν τἀναντία αὐτοῖς φρονούντων; οὓς πάντες ὑπώπτευον. τίς ἀξιώσει προέχων, τίς ἐμπειρίᾳ 5 προφέρων παρὰ τοῦτον ἄλλος ἦν; ἀλλ' ἀγανακτεῖς ὅτι μὴ σὲ προειλόμεθα. καὶ τίνα μὲν ἀρχὴν εἶχες, τί δ' οὐκ ἂν ἔδρασας ὅπλα καὶ στρατιώτας λαβὼν ὁ τοσαῦτα καὶ τηλικαῦτα ἐν τῇ ὑπατείᾳ ταράξας ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτετηδευμένων

ment. And this is the reason you gave him Gaul in place of Macedonia, namely, that remaining here in Italy, he should have no chance to do mischief and might promptly carry out your orders. B.C. 43

"To you I have said these things, that you may know that you have decided rightly. As for Cicero, that other point of mine was sufficient, namely, that he was present during all these proceedings and voted with us for the measures, although Antony had not a soldier at the time and was quite unable to bring to bear on us any intimidation that would have made us neglect any of our interests. But even though you were then silent, tell us now, at least, what we ought to have done in the circumstances? Leave the legions leaderless? Would they not have filled both Macedonia and Italy with countless evils? Entrust them, then, to another? And whom could we have found more closely related and suited to the business than Antony, the consul, the official who was directing all the city's affairs, who had kept so close a watch over our harmony, who had given countless examples of his loyalty to the common weal? Appoint one of the assassins, then? Why, it was not even safe for them as it was to live in the city. Appoint, then, a man of the party opposed to them? Why, everybody suspected the members of that party. What other man was there who surpassed him in public esteem or excelled him in experience? Nay, you are vexed that we did not choose you. What office, now, were you holding? And what act would you not have committed if you had obtained arms and soldiers, seeing that you succeeded in stirring up so much serious turmoil during your consulship when armed with only those antitheses of yours, the result

26 σοι[1] τούτων ἀντιθέτων, ὧν μόνων ἦς κύριος; ἀλλ' ἐκεῖσε ἐπάνειμι, ὅτι καὶ παρῆς τούτοις ὅτε ἐψηφίζετο, καὶ οὐδὲν ἀντεῖπες, ἀλλὰ καὶ συγκατέθου πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς ὡς καὶ ἀρίστοις καὶ ἀναγκαίοις δῆλον ὅτι οὖσιν. οὐ γάρ που καὶ παρρησίας ἐνδεὴς ἦσθα· πολλὰ γοῦν καὶ μάτην ὑλάκτεις. 2 οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐφοβήθης τινά· πῶς γὰρ ἂν ἔδεισας τὸν γυμνὸν ὁ μὴ φοβούμενος τὸν ὡπλισμένον; πῶς τὸν μόνον ὁ μὴ[2] τὸν τοσούτους στρατιώτας ἔχοντα; καίτοι σύγε καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ σεμνύνῃ, ὅτι πάνυ τοῦ θανάτου, ὥς γε καὶ φῄς, καταφρονεῖς.

3 "Οὕτω δὴ τούτων ἐχόντων πότερος ὑμῖν ἀδικεῖν δοκεῖ, Ἀντώνιος ὁ τὰς δυνάμεις τὰς δοθείσας αὐτῷ παρ' ἡμῶν διοικῶν, ἢ Καῖσαρ ὁ τοσαύτην ἰσχὺν ἰδίαν περιβεβλημένος; Ἀντώνιος[3] ὁ πρὸς τὴν ἐπιτραπεῖσαν αὐτῷ παρ' ἡμῶν[4] ἀρχὴν ἀπεληλυθώς, ἢ Βροῦτος ὁ κωλύων αὐτὸν τῆς χώρας 4 ἐπιβῆναι; Ἀντώνιος ὁ τοὺς συμμάχους ἡμῶν ἀναγκάσαι ἐθέλων[5] τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν ἡμῶν πεισθῆναι, ἢ ἐκεῖνοι οἱ τὸν μὲν πεμφθέντα ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἄρχοντα μὴ προσδεδεγμένοι, τῷ δὲ ἀπεψηφισμένῳ 5 προστεθειμένοι; Ἀντώνιος ὁ τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς ἡμετέρους συνέχων, ἢ οἱ στρατιῶται οἱ τὸν ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν ἐγκαταλελοιπότες; Ἀντώνιος ὁ μηδένα τούτων τῶν στρατιωτῶν τῶν ὑφ' ἡμῶν[6] αὐτῷ δοθέντων ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσαγαγών, ἢ Καῖσαρ ὁ τοὺς πάλαι ἐστρατευμένους ἀναπείσας χρήμασι 6 δεῦρο ἐλθεῖν; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ λόγου τινὸς ἔτι δεῖν ἡγοῦμαι πρὸς τὸ μὴ οὐκ ἐκεῖνον μὲν πάντα

[1] σοι Leuncl., σου L. [2] ὁ μὴ Bk., ὁ μὴ φοβούμενος L.
[3] Ἀντώνιος supplied by Bk. [4] ἡμῶν Bs., ὑμῶν L.
[5] ἐθέλων Bk., θέλων L. [6] ἡμῶν Bs., ὑμῶν L.

of your constant practice, of which alone you were master? But I return to my point that you were present when these measures were being voted and said nothing against them, but even assented to them all, obviously because you thought them excellent and necessary. For certainly you were not deprived of full freedom of speech; at any rate, you indulged in a great deal of barking, and to no purpose. And certainly you were not afraid of anybody, either. How could you have feared Antony unarmed when you do not dread him armed? How could you have feared him alone when you do not dread him with all these soldiers? Why, you are the man who actually pride yourself that you feel,—or at least say you feel,—nothing but contempt for death!

"Since all this is so, which of the two seems to be in the wrong—Antony, who is directing the forces granted him by us, or Caesar, who has surrounded himself with so large a band of his own? Antony, who has departed to assume the office committed to him by us, or Brutus, who is trying to prevent him from setting foot in the country? Antony, who wishes to compel our allies to obey our decrees, or the allies, who have not received the ruler sent them by us but have attached themselves to the man who was rejected by our vote? Antony, who keeps our soldiers together, or the soldiers, who have abandoned their commander? Antony, who has not brought into the city a single one of the soldiers who were granted him by us, or Caesar, who has bribed to come here the veterans who were long ago discharged from service? For my part, I do not think there is any further need of argument to answer the imputation that he is not properly performing all the

τὰ προσταχθέντα αὐτῷ ὑφ' ἡμῶν ὀρθῶς δοκεῖν διοικεῖν, τούτους δὲ καὶ δίκην ὧν αὐτοὶ καθ'
7 *αὑτοὺς ἐτόλμησαν ὑποσχεῖν ὀφείλειν. διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν παρὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν φυλακὴν ἐλάβετε, ἵν' ἀσφαλῶς ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων, οὐκ Ἀντωνίου ἕνεκα τοῦ μήτε ἰδίᾳ τι πεποιηκότος μήτ' ἔν τινι ὑμᾶς πεφοβηκότος, ἀλλ' ἐκείνου τοῦ καὶ δύναμιν ἐπ' αὐτὸν*[1] *συνειλοχότος*[2] *καὶ πολλοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει πολλάκις ἐσχηκότος, βουλεύσησθε.*

27 "*Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν διὰ Κικέρωνα εἶπον, ἐπειδήπερ ἀδίκων ἐς ἡμᾶς λόγων ὑπῆρξεν· οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλως φιλαπεχθήμων εἰμὶ ὥσπερ οὗτος, οὔτ' ἐμοὶ μέλει τὰ ἀλλότρια κακὰ πολυπραγμονεῖν, ὅπερ οὗτος ἀεὶ ποιῶν σεμνύνεται. ἃ δ' ὑμῖν παραινῶ μήτ' Ἀντωνίῳ τι χαριζόμενος μήτε Καίσαρα ἢ Βροῦτον διαβάλλων, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῇ συμφερόντων, ὥσπερ που προσήκει, βουλεύων, νῦν ἤδη φράσω.*
2 *φημὶ γὰρ δεῖν μήτε ἐχθρόν πω μηδένα τούτων τῶν τὰ ὅπλα ἐχόντων ποιήσασθαι, μήτ' ἀκριβῶς ἐξετάζειν τί καὶ πῶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν πέπρακται. οὔτε γὰρ ὁ παρὼν καιρὸς ἐπιτήδειός ἐστι πρὸς τοῦτο, καὶ πολιτῶν αὐτῶν ἡμετέρων πάντων ὁμοίως ὄντων, ἄν τέ τις πταίσῃ σφῶν, ἡμῖν ἀπολεῖται, ἄν*
3 *τε καὶ κατορθώσῃ, ἐφ' ἡμᾶς αὐξηθήσεται. δι' οὖν ταῦτα καὶ πολιτικῶς καὶ φιλικῶς αὐτοὺς ἡγοῦμαι χρῆναι μεταχειρίσασθαι, καὶ πέμψαι μὲν πρὸς πάντας ὁμοίως κελεύοντας αὐτοῖς ἔκ τε τῶν ὅπλων ἀπαλλαγῆναι καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῖν*[3] *καὶ ἑαυ-*

[1] αὐτὸν R. Steph., αὐτοῦ L.
[2] συνειλοχότος Reim., συνειλεχότος L.
[3] ἡμῖν H. Steph., ὑμῖν L.

duties laid upon him by us, and to show that these other men ought to suffer punishment for what they have ventured on their own responsibility. For it is on this very account that you also have secured the protection of the soldiers, that you might discuss in safety the present situation, not because of Antony, who has done nothing on his private responsibility and has not intimidated you in any way, but because of his rival, who not only has gathered a force against him but has often kept many soldiers in the city itself. B.C. 43

"So much I have said for Cicero's benefit, since it was he who began by making unjust accusations against us; for I am not generally quarrelsome, as he is, nor do I care to pry into others' misdeeds, as he prides himself in doing always. But I will now state the advice I have to give you, without either favouring Antony or calumniating Caesar or Brutus, but simply consulting the general good, as is proper. For I declare that we ought not yet to make an enemy of either of these men in arms nor to enquire too closely into what they have been doing or in what way. For the present is not a suitable occasion for such action, and as they are all alike our fellow citizens, if any one of them fails the loss will be ours, and if any one of them succeeds his advancement will be a menace to us. Wherefore I believe that we ought to treat them as citizens and friends and send messengers to all of them alike, bidding them lay down their arms and put themselves and

τοὺς καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα ποιήσασθαι, πόλεμον δὲ μηδέπω πρὸς μηδένα αὐτῶν ἐξενεγκεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἀπαγγελθησομένων τοὺς μὲν ἐθελήσαντας ἡμῖν πειθαρχῆσαι ἐπαινέσαι, τοῖς δ' ἀπειθήσασι 4 πολεμῆσαι. τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ δίκαιον καὶ συμφέρον ἡμῖν[1] ἐστι, μήτε ἐπειχθῆναι μήτε προπετῶς τι πρᾶξαι, ἀλλ' ἐπισχεῖν, καὶ καιρόν τινα καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐς τὸ μετανοῆσαι δόντας ἔπειθ' οὕτως, ἂν τοῦ πολέμου δεήσῃ, τοῖς ὑπάτοις αὐτὸν προστάξαι.

28 "Καὶ σοὶ δέ, ὦ Κικέρων, παραινῶ μήτε γυναικείως θρασύνεσθαι μήτε τὸν Βαμβαλίωνα μιμεῖσθαι, μηδὲ πολεμοποιεῖν, μήτε διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἔχθραν δημοσίᾳ πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν 2 ἐς κίνδυνον αὖθις καθιστάναι.[2] καλῶς μὲν γὰρ ποιήσεις, ἂν καὶ ἐκείνῳ συναλλαγῇς μεθ' οὗ πολλὰ δὴ πολλάκις φιλικὰ ἔπραξας· εἰ δ' οὖν ἀκαταλλάκτως αὐτῷ ἔχεις, ἀλλ' ἡμῶν γε φεῖσαι, μηδὲ ἐσηγητὴς ἡμῖν τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους φιλίας 3 γεγονὼς νῦν αὐτὴν καταλύσῃς, ἀλλὰ ἀναμνησθεὶς τῆς τε ἡμέρας ἐκείνης καὶ τῶν λόγων ὧν ἐν τῷ τῆς Γῆς τεμένει ἐποιήσω, χάρισαί τι καὶ τῇ Ὁμονοίᾳ ταύτῃ παρ' ᾗ νῦν βουλευόμεθα, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνα διαβάλῃς ὡς οὐκ ἀπ' ὀρθῆς διανοίας 4 ἀλλ' ἀπό[3] τινος ἄλλου τότε λεχθέντα· τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ τῇ πόλει συμφέρει καὶ σοὶ πλείστην δόξαν οἴσει. μὴ γάρ τοι νομίσῃς ὅτι τὸ θρασύνεσθαι ἢ εὐκλεές ἐστιν ἢ ἀσφαλές, μηδ' ἂν εἴπῃς ὅτι τοῦ θανάτου καταφρονεῖς, καὶ ἐπαινεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τούτῳ

[1] ἡμῖν H. Steph., ὑμῖν L.
[2] καθιστάναι R. Steph., καθεστάναι L.
[3] ἀπό Polak, ὑπό L.

their legions in our hands, and that we ought not yet to wage war on any one of them, but in accordance with the reports brought back to approve those who are willing to obey us and to make war upon the disobedient. This course is just and expedient for us—not to be in a hurry or to do anything rashly, but to wait, and after giving the leaders themselves and their soldiers an opportunity to change their minds, then, if in such case there be need of war, to give the consuls charge of it. B.C. 43

"And you, Cicero, I advise not to wax bold with the boldness of a woman, nor to imitate Bambalio,[1] nor yet to make war nor to satisfy your private grudge against Antony at the expense of the public and thus plunge the whole city into danger again. Indeed, it would be well if you actually became reconciled with him, with whom you have often enjoyed many friendly dealings; but even if you are irreconcilably opposed to him, at least spare us, and do not, after acting in the past as the promoter of mutual friendship among us, now destroy it. Remember that day and the speech which you delivered in the precinct of Tellus,[2] and concede also a little to this goddess of Concord in whose precinct we are now deliberating, lest you discredit what you said then and make it appear to have been uttered on that occasion from some other motive than an upright purpose; for such a course is not only to the advantage of the state but will also bring you most renown. Do not think that audacity is either glorious or safe, and do not assert that you despise death and expect to be praised for saying this. For

[1] Cf. xlv. 47, 4. [2] Cf. xliv. 22, 3.

5 πιστεύσῃς. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ τοιούτους ὡς καὶ κακὸν ἄν τι ὑπ' ἀπονοίας[1] τολμήσαντας καὶ ὑποπτεύουσι πάντες καὶ μισοῦσιν· οὓς δ' ἂν ἴδωσι περὶ πλείστου τὴν ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίαν ποιουμένους, καὶ ἐπαινοῦσι καὶ ἐγκωμιάζουσιν ὡς μηδὲν ἂν 6 ἑκόντας ἄξιον θανάτου ποιήσαντας. καὶ σὺ οὖν, εἴπερ ὄντως σώζεσθαι τὴν πατρίδα ἐθέλεις,[2] τοιαῦτα καὶ λέγε καὶ πρᾶττε ἐξ ὧν καὶ αὐτὸς σωθήσῃ, μὴ μὰ Δί' ἐξ ὧν καὶ ἡμᾶς συναπολεῖς."[3]

29 Τοιαῦτα τοῦ Καλήνου εἰπόντος ὁ Κικέρων οὐκ ἤνεγκεν· αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἀκράτῳ καὶ κατακορεῖ τῇ παρρησίᾳ ἀεὶ πρὸς πάντας ὁμοίως ἐχρῆτο, παρὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν ἄλλων οὐκ ἠξίου τὴν ὁμοίαν ἀντιλαμβάνειν. καὶ τότε οὖν ἀφεὶς τὸ τὰ δημόσια διασκοπεῖν ἐς λοιδορίας αὐτῷ κατέστη, ὥστε τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐχ ἥκιστα 2 μάτην κατατριβῆναι. τῇ δ' οὖν ὑστεραίᾳ καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ πολλῶν καὶ ἄλλων ἐφ' ἑκάτερα λεχθέντων ἐκράτησαν οἱ τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος πράττοντες, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ καὶ εἰκόνα καὶ τὸ βουλεύειν ἐν τοῖς τεταμιευκόσι, τό τε τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς δέκα ἔτεσι θᾶσσον παρὰ τὸ νενομισμένον 3 αἰτῆσαι, καὶ τὸ τὰ χρήματα ἃ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀναλώκει, παρὰ τῆς πόλεως, ὅτι δὴ καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς δὴ παρεσκεύασέ σφας, λαβεῖν, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις, καὶ ἐκείνοις καὶ τοῖς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐγκαταλιποῦσι,[4] τὸ μήτ' ἄλλον τινὰ πόλεμον πολεμῆσαι καὶ χώραν εὐθὺς δοθῆναι

[1] ἀπονοίας Bk., ἀνοίας L.
[2] ἐθέλεις Bk., θέλεις L.
[3] συναπολεῖς Bs., συναπολέσῃς L.
[4] ἐγκαταλιποῦσι H. Steph., ἐγκαταλείπουσι L.

all suspect and hate such men, as being likely to be influenced by desperation to venture some evil deed. Those, however, whom they see paying the greatest heed to their own safety they praise and laud, as men who would not willingly do anything that merited death. Do you, therefore, if you honestly wish your country to be saved, speak and act in such a way that you yourself will be saved and not, by Jupiter, in such a way as to bring destruction upon us as well as upon yourself!"

B.C. 43

Such language from Calenus Cicero could not endure; for while he himself always spoke out his mind intemperately and immoderately to all alike, he could not bring himself to accept similar frankness from others. So on this occasion, too, he dismissed the consideration of the public interests and set himself to abusing his opponent, with the result that that day was wasted, largely on this account. And on the next day and the day following many other arguments were presented on both sides, but Caesar's adherents prevailed. So they voted, first, a statue to Caesar himself and the right not only to sit in the senate among the ex-quaestors[1] but also to be a candidate for the other offices ten years sooner than custom allowed, and that he should receive from the city the money which he had spent on his soldiers, because he had equipped them at his own cost in its defence, naturally; and, second, they voted that both his soldiers and those that had abandoned Antony should have the privilege of not fighting in any other war and that land should be

[1] Inasmuch as the quaestorship was the regular stepping-stone to the senate, they conferred upon him the rank of an ex-quaestor in order that he might be eligible to membership in that body.

4 ἐψηφίσαντο. πρός τε τὸν Ἀντώνιον πρεσβείαν ἔπεμψαν κελεύσουσάν οἱ τά τε στρατόπεδα καὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν ἀφεῖναι καὶ ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἀπελθεῖν. καὶ τοῖς συστρατευομένοις αὐτῷ προεῖπον οἴκαδε ἐντὸς ῥητῆς ἡμέρας ἀναχωρῆσαι, ἢ εἰδέναι ὅτι ἐν πολεμίου μοίρᾳ γενήσονται. καὶ προσέτι καὶ τοὺς βουλευτὰς τοὺς ἀρχὰς τῶν ἐθνῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβόντας καταλύσαντες ἑτέρους
5 ἀντ' αὐτῶν ἀντιπεμφθῆναι ἔγνωσαν. τότε μὲν ταῦτ' ἐκυρώθη· ὕστερον δὲ οὐ πολλῷ, πρὶν καὶ τὴν γνώμην αὐτοῦ μαθεῖν, ταραχήν τε εἶναι ἐψηφίσαντο καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα τὴν βουλευτικὴν ἀπεδύσαντο, τόν τε πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι, στρατηγοῦ τινα ἀρχὴν
6 δόντες, προσέταξαν, καί σφισι καὶ τὸν Λέπιδον Λούκιόν τε Μουνάτιον Πλάγκον ἐν μέρει τῆς ὑπὲρ τὰς Ἄλπεις Γαλατίας ἄρχοντα βοηθῆσαι ἐκέλευσαν.

30 Οὕτω μὲν τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ ἄλλως πολεμησείοντι αὐτοὶ τὴν πρόφασιν τῆς ἔχθρας παρέσχον. ἄσμενος γὰρ τῶν ἐψηφισμένων λαβόμενος αὐτίκα τε τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἐξωνείδισεν ὡς οὔτ' ὀρθῶς οὔτ' ἴσως οἱ πρὸς τὸ μειράκιον, τὸν Καίσαρα λέγων, ἐχρή-
2 σαντο, καὶ ἀντιπέμψας ἑτέρους, ὅπως ἐς ἐκείνους τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ πολέμου περιστήσῃ, ἀντιπροετείνατό τινα, ἃ αὐτῷ μὲν εὐπρέπειαν ἔφερεν, ἀδύνατα δ' ἦν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων
3 τῶν συναιρομένων οἱ πραχθῆναι. ἔμελλε μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν τῶν προσταχθέντων ποιήσειν, εὖ δὲ ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνοί τι τῶν προβληθέντων

given them at once. To Antony they sent an embassy to order him to give up the legions, leave Gaul, and go back to Macedonia; and to his followers they issued a proclamation commanding them to return home before a given day or to know that they would be regarded in the light of enemies. Moreover, they removed from office the senators who had received from him governorships over the provinces and decided that others should be sent in their place. These were the measures ratified at that time; and not long afterwards, even before learning his decision, they voted that a state of disorder existed, laid aside their senatorial garb, entrusted the war against Antony to the consuls and to Caesar, granting the latter the authority of a praetor,[1] and they ordered Lepidus and also Lucius Munatius Plancus, who was governor of a part of Transalpine Gaul,[2] to render assistance. B.C. 43

In this way they themselves provided Antony with his excuse for hostility, although he was eager to make war in any case. He was glad to seize upon the pretext of the decrees, and straightway reproached the envoys with not treating him rightly or fairly as compared with the lad (meaning Caesar). And in order to place the blame for the war upon the senators, he sent an embassy in his turn, and made some counter-propositions which saved his face but were impossible of performance either by Caesar or by his supporters. For while he had no intention of carrying out any of the senate's commands and was well aware that the senators, too, would not do any-

[1] He was technically propraetor; cf. Cicero, *Philipp.* v. 17, xiv. 8.

[2] Gallia Narbonensis and Belgica were governed by others.

ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πράξουσιν, ὑπισχνεῖτο[1] δῆθεν πάντα τὰ δεδογμένα σφίσι ποιήσειν, ὅπως αὐτός τε ἀναφυγὴν ὡς κἂν πράξας αὐτὰ ἔχῃ, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων, ἀρνησαμένων ἃ ἐπήγγελλεν, αἴτια τοῦ
4 πολέμου φθάσῃ γενόμενα. τήν τε γὰρ Γαλατίαν ἐκλείψειν καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα ἀφήσειν ἔλεγεν, ἂν τούτοις τε τὰ αὐτὰ ἅπερ τοῖς τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐψηφίσαντο δῶσιν, καὶ τὸν Κάσσιον τόν τε Βροῦτον τὸν Μᾶρκον ὑπάτους ἕλωνται. καὶ γὰρ τοῦτ' ᾔτησε προσποιούμενος τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἵνα μηδεμίαν αὐτῷ ὀργὴν τῶν πρὸς τὸν Δέκιμον τὸν συνωμότην σφῶν πραττομένων ἔχοιεν.

31 Ἀντώνιος μὲν ταῦτα προΐσχετο, σαφῶς εἰδὼς μηδέτερον αὐτῶν ἐσόμενον· ὁ γὰρ Καῖσαρ οὐκ ἄν ποτε ὑπέμεινεν οὔτε τοὺς σφαγέας τοὺς τοῦ πατρὸς ὑπατεῦσαι, οὔτε τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς τοῦ Ἀντωνίου τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ λαβόντας
2 προσφιλεστέρους αὐτῷ μᾶλλον γενέσθαι. οὔκουν οὐδὲ ἐκυρώθη τι αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ τῷ τε Ἀντωνίῳ τὸν πόλεμον πάλιν ἐπήγγειλαν, καὶ τοῖς συνοῦσίν οἱ προηγόρευσαν αὖθις ἐγκαταλιπεῖν αὐτόν, ἑτέραν τινὰ ἡμέραν τάξαντες. τάς τε χλαμύδας τὰς στρατιωτικὰς πάντες, καὶ οἱ μὴ ἐκστρατεύσοντες,[2] ἠμπέσχοντο, καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις τὴν φυλακὴν τῆς πόλεως ἐπέτρεψαν, ἐκεῖνο δὴ τὸ εἰθισμένον τῷ δόγματι προσγράψαντες, τὸ μηδὲν ἀπ' αὐτῆς
3 ἀποτριβῆναι. ἐπειδή τε πολλῶν χρημάτων ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἐδέοντο, πάντες μὲν τὸ πέμπτον καὶ εἰκοστὸν τῆς ὑπαρχούσης σφίσιν οὐσίας ἐπέδωκαν, οἱ δὲ δὴ βουλευταὶ καὶ τέσσαρας ὀβολοὺς

[1] ὑπισχνεῖτο Rk., ὑπισχνεῖτε L.
[2] ἐκστρατεύσοντες Rk., ἐκστρατεύσαντες L.

thing that he proposed, he pretended to promise that he would carry out all their decrees, in order not only that he himself might take refuge in asserting that he would have done so, but also that his opponents' action, in refusing his proposals, might appear to have given the first occasion for war. For he said he would abandon Gaul and disband his legions, if they would grant these soldiers the same rewards as they had voted to Caesar's and would elect Cassius and Marcus Brutus consuls. His purpose in making this last demand was to win over these two men, so that they should not harbour any resentment against him for his operations against their fellow-conspirator Decimus. B.C. 43

Antony made these offers knowing well that neither of them would be accepted. For Caesar would never have endured that the murderers of his father should become consuls or that Antony's soldiers by receiving the same rewards as his own should feel still more kindly toward his rival. Accordingly, not one of Antony's proposals was ratified, but the senate again declared war on him and once more gave notice to his associates to leave him, setting another time limit. All, even such as were not to take the field, arrayed themselves in their military cloaks, and they committed to the consuls the care of the city, attaching to the decree the customary clause "that it suffer no harm." And since there was need of much money for the war, they all contributed the twenty-fifth part of the wealth they possessed and the senators also four obols [1] for each roof-tile of all

[1] Probably ten asses, inasmuch as Dio regularly takes the drachma (six obols) as the equivalent of the denarius (sixteen asses in his time).

καθ' ἑκάστην κεραμίδα τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει οἰκιῶν, ὅσας ἢ αὐτοὶ ἐκέκτηντο ἢ ἄλλων οὔσας ᾤκουν.
4 καὶ χωρὶς ἕτερα οὐκ ὀλίγα οἱ πάνυ πλούσιοι συνετέλεσαν, τά τε ὅπλα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν ἀναγκαῖα συχναὶ μὲν πόλεις συχνοὶ δὲ καὶ ἰδιῶται προῖκα ἐξεποίησαν· τοσαύτη γὰρ ἀχρηματία τὸ δημόσιον τότε ἔσχεν ὥστε μηδὲ τὰς πανηγύρεις τὰς ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ γενέσθαι ὀφειλούσας ἐπιτελεσθῆναι, ἔξω[1] βρα-
32 χέων τινῶν ὁσίας ἕνεκα. ταῦτα δὲ ὅσοι μὲν τῷ τε Καίσαρι ἐχαρίζοντο καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐμίσουν προθύμως ἔπραττον· οἱ δὲ δὴ πλείους, ἅτε καὶ ταῖς στρατείαις ἅμα καὶ ταῖς ἐσφοραῖς βαρούμενοι, ἐδυσχέραινον, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι ἄδηλον μὲν ἦν ὁπότερος αὐτῶν κρατήσει, πρόδηλον δὲ ὅτι τῷ
2 νικήσαντι δουλεύσουσι. συχνοὶ δ' οὖν καὶ τὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου βουλόμενοι, οἱ μὲν ἄντικρυς πρὸς αὐτόν, ἄλλοι τε[2] καὶ δήμαρχοι στρατηγοί τέ τινες, ἀπῆλθον, οἱ δὲ καὶ κατὰ χώραν μείναντες, ὧν καὶ ὁ Καλῆνος ἦν, ἔπραττον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πάνθ' ὅσα ἐδύναντο, τὰ μὲν ἐπικρυπτόμενοι, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκ
3 τοῦ φανεροῦ διαδικαιοῦντες. οὔκουν οὐδὲ τὴν ἐσθῆτα εὐθὺς ἠλλάξαντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔπεισαν αὖθις τὴν γερουσίαν πρέσβεις πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἄλλους τε καὶ τὸν Κικέρωνα πέμψαι, πρόφασιν μὲν ὡς καὶ πείσοντα αὐτὸν ὁμολογῆσαι, ἔργῳ δὲ ἵν'
4 ὑπεξαιρεθῇ σφισι. συννοήσας οὖν τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνος ἐφοβήθη καὶ οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν ἑαυτὸν ἐς τὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ὅπλα ἐκδοῦναι. κἀκ τούτου οὐδ' ἄλλος τις τῶν πρεσβευτῶν ἀπῆρεν.

33 Ἐν ὅσῳ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐπράττετο, τέρατα αὖθις οὐ

[1] ἔξω Xyl., ἐξ ὧν L. [2] τε Reim., δὲ L.

the houses in the city that they either owned themselves or occupied as tenants. Besides this, the very wealthy contributed not a little in addition, while many cities and many individuals manufactured the weapons and other necessary accoutrements for the campaign free of charge; for the public treasury was at the time so empty that not even the festivals which were due to fall during that season were celebrated, except some minor ones for form's sake. These contributions were given readily by those who favoured Caesar and hated Antony; but the majority, being burdened alike by the campaigns and the taxes, were irritated, particularly because it was doubtful which of the two would conquer, and yet quite evident that they would be slaves of the conqueror. Many of those, therefore, who favoured Antony's cause, went straight to him, among them a few tribunes and praetors; others remained where they were, including Calenus, and did all they could for him, sometimes acting in secret and sometimes openly justifying their conduct. Hence they did not even change their raiment immediately, but persuaded the senate to send envoys again to Antony, among them Cicero; in doing this they pretended that the latter might persuade him to make terms, but their real purpose was that he should be removed from their path. He perceived this, however, and became alarmed, and did not venture to expose himself in the camp of Antony. Consequently none of the other envoys set out, either. B.C. 43

While all this was going on, portents of no small

σμικρὰ καὶ τῇ πόλει καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ ὑπάτῳ τῷ Οὐιβίῳ[1] ἐγένετο. ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ, μεθ' ἣν ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἐξώρμησεν, ἄνθρωπός τις τὴν νόσον που τὴν ἱερὰν καλουμένην ἔχων δημη-
2 γοροῦντός τι αὐτοῦ κατέπεσεν· καὶ ἀνδριὰς αὐτοῦ χαλκοῦς ἐν τῷ τῆς οἰκίας προθύρῳ ἑστὼς ἀνετράπη αὐτόματος τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τε ὥρᾳ ᾗ ἐξεστράτευσεν. τά τε ἱερὰ τὰ προπολέμια οἱ μάντεις οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τοῦ αἵματος διαγνῶναι· καί τις ἐν τούτῳ φοίνικα αὐτῷ προσφέρων ἔν τε τῷ αἵματι τῷ προκεχυμένῳ ὤλισθε καὶ πεσὼν τὸν φοίνικα ἐμίανεν. ἐκείνῳ μὲν δὴ
3 ταῦτ' ἐγένετο. ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ἰδιωτεύοντί οἱ συνενήνεκτο, ἐς μόνον ἂν αὐτὸν ἔτεινεν, ἐπεὶ δ' ὑπάτευε, καὶ ἐς πάντας ὁμοίως ἤνεγκεν, ὥσπερ τό τε τῆς Μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν ἄγαλμα τὸ ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ ὄν (πρὸς γάρ τοι τὰς τοῦ ἡλίου ἀνατολὰς πρότερον βλέπον πρὸς δυσμὰς ἀπὸ ταὐτομάτου μετε-
4 στράφη) καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τὸ πρὸς τῇ Μουτίνῃ, παρ' ᾗ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐμαχέσαντο, τιμώμενον (αἷμά τε γὰρ πολὺ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ γάλα ἀνῆκε), καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὸ τοὺς ὑπάτους τὴν ἔξοδον πρὸ τῶν Λατίνων ἀνοχῶν ποιήσασθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ὁπότε τούτου γενομένου καλῶς ἀπήλ-
5 λαξαν. ἀμέλει καὶ τότε οἱ ὕπατοι ἀμφότεροι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ὁμίλου πάμπολυ πλῆθος, τὸ μὲν ἐν τῷ παρόντι τὸ δὲ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα, τῶν τε ἱππέων καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν πολλοί, καὶ οἱ μάλιστα ἀνὰ
6 πρώτους ὄντες, ἀπώλοντο. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ αἱ μάχαι, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ οἱ οἴκοι σφαγαὶ τὸν Σύλλειον

[1] Οὐιβίῳ Bk., οὐιουίωι L; before this word L has βιβίῳ, omitted by Xyl.

moment again occurred, significant both for the city and for the consul himself, who was Vibius. Thus, in the last assembly before he set out for the war a man with the disease called the sacred disease[1] fell down while Vibius was speaking. Also a bronze statue of him which stood in the vestibule of his house turned around of itself on the day and at the hour that he set out on the campaign, and the sacrifices customary before war could not be interpreted by the seers by reason of the quantity of blood. Likewise a man who was just then bringing him a palm slipped in the blood which had been shed, fell, and defiled the palm. These were the portents in his case. Now if they had befallen him when a private citizen, they would have pertained to him alone, but since he was consul, they had a bearing on all alike. So, too, these portents: the statue of the Mother of the Gods on the Palatine, which had formerly faced the east, turned around of itself toward the west; that of Minerva worshipped near Mutina, where the heaviest fighting occurred, sent forth a quantity of blood and afterwards of milk also; furthermore, the consuls took their departure just before the Feriae Latinae, and there is no instance where this has happened and the Romans have fared well. At any rate, on this occasion also, a vast multitude of the people, including the two consuls, perished, some immediately and some later, and also many of the knights and senators, including the most prominent. For in the first place the battles, and in the second place the murders at home which occurred again as in the

B.C. 43

[1] *i.e.* epilepsy, called also *morbus comitialis*, inasmuch as its occurrence was sufficient to postpone a meeting of the comitia.

τρόπον αὖθις γενόμεναι πᾶν ὅ τι περ ἦν[1] ἄνθος αὐτῶν, ἔξω τῶν δρώντων σφᾶς, ἔφθειραν.

34 Αἴτιοι δὲ τῶν κακῶν τούτων αὐτοὶ ἑαυτοῖς οἱ βουλευταὶ ἐγένοντο. δέον γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἕνα τινὰ τὸν τὰ ἀμείνω φρονοῦντα προστήσασθαι καὶ ἐκείνῳ διὰ παντὸς συνάρασθαι,[2] τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐποίησαν, ὑπολαβόντες δὲ δή τινας καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἑτέρους ἐπαυξήσαντες ἔπειτα καὶ ἐκείνους ἀντικαθελεῖν ἐπεχείρησαν, κἀκ τούτου φίλον μὲν 2 οὐδένα, ἐχθροὺς δὲ πάντας ἔσχον. οὐ γὰρ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον πρός τε τοὺς λυπήσαντάς τινες καὶ πρὸς τοὺς εὐεργετήσαντας διατίθενται, ἀλλὰ τῆς μὲν ὀργῆς καὶ ἄκοντες μνημονεύουσι, τῆς δὲ δὴ χάριτος καὶ ἑκόντες ἐπιλανθάνονται, τὸ μέν τι ἀπαξιοῦντες εὖ πεπονθέναι δοκεῖν ὑπό τινων, ὡς καὶ ἀσθενέστεροί σφων δόξοντες[3] εἶναι, τὸ δὲ ἀγανακτοῦντες εἴπερ ἀνατὶ κεκακῶσθαι[4] νομισθήσονται πρός τινος, ὡς καὶ ἀνανδρίαν ὀφλή-3 σοντες. καὶ ἐκεῖνοι οὖν ἕνα μὲν μηδένα προσδεξάμενοι, ἄλλῳ δὲ καὶ ἄλλῳ ἐν μέρει προσθέμενοι, καὶ τὰ μὲν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τὰ δὲ καὶ κατ' αὐτῶν καὶ ψηφισάμενοι καὶ πράξαντες, πολλὰ μὲν δι' 4 αὐτοὺς πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἔπαθον. ἡ μὲν γὰρ ὑπόθεσις τοῦ πολέμου μία πᾶσί σφισιν ἦν, τόν τε δῆμον καταλυθῆναι καὶ δυναστείαν τινὰ γενέσθαι· μαχόμενοι δὲ οἱ μὲν ὅτῳ δουλεύσουσιν, οἱ δὲ ὅστις αὐτῶν δεσπόσει, τὰ μὲν πράγματα ἀμφότεροι ὁμοίως ἔφθειρον, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὴν τύχην 5 διάφορον ἑκάτεροι δόξαν ἐκτήσαντο. οἱ μὲν γὰρ

[1] ὅ τι περ ἦν Hemsterhuis, ὅτι περιῆν L.
[2] συνάρασθαι Bs., συναίρασθαι L.
[3] δόξοντες flor., δόξαντες L.
[4] ἀνατὶ κεκακῶσθαι flor., ἀντικεκακῶσθαι L.

Sullan régime, destroyed all the flower of the citizens except those who perpetrated the murders. B.C. 43

The responsibility for these evils rested on the senators themselves. For whereas they ought to have set at their head some one man who had their best interests at heart and to have coöperated with him continually, they failed to do this, but took certain men into their favour, strengthened them against the rest, and later undertook to overthrow these favourites as well, and in consequence gained no friend but made everybody enemies. For men do not feel the same way toward those who have injured them and toward their benefactors, but whereas they remember their anger even against their will, yet they willingly forget their gratitude. This is because, on the one hand, they deprecate giving the impression that they have received benefits from others, since they will seem to be weaker than they, and, on the other hand, they are annoyed to have it thought that they have been injured by anybody with impunity, since that will imply cowardice on their part. So the senators, by not taking up with any one person, but attaching themselves first to one and then to another, and voting and doing, now something for them, now something against them, suffered much because of them and much also at their hands. For all the leaders had a single purpose in the war—the abolition of the popular government and the setting up of a sovereignty; and since the people were fighting to see whose slaves they should be, and the leaders to see who should be the people's master, both alike were ruining the state, and each side gained a reputation which varied with its fortune.

εὖ πράξαντες καὶ εὔβουλοι καὶ φιλοπόλιδες ἐνομίσθησαν, οἱ δὲ δὴ πταίσαντες καὶ πολέμιοι τῆς πατρίδος καὶ ἀλιτήριοι ὠνομάσθησαν.

Ἐς τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τότε τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πράγματα προήχθη, λέξω δὲ καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον 35 *τῶν γενομένων· καὶ γὰρ καὶ παίδευσις ἐν τούτῳ τὰ μάλιστα εἶναί μοι δοκεῖ, ὅταν τις τὰ ἔργα τοῖς λογισμοῖς ὑπολέγων τήν τε ἐκείνων φύσιν ἐκ τούτων ἐλέγχῃ καὶ τούτους ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνων ὁμολογίας τεκμηριοῖ.*

2 *Ἐπολιόρκει μὲν ὁ Ἀντώνιος τὸν Δέκιμον ἐν τῇ Μουτίνῃ ὄντα, ὡς μὲν τἀκριβὲς εἰπεῖν, ὅτι οὐ παρῆκεν αὐτῷ τὴν Γαλατίαν, ὡς δ' αὐτὸς ἐπλάττετο, ὅτι τῶν τοῦ Καίσαρος σφαγέων ἐγεγόνει. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὔτε κόσμον οἱ ἡ ἀληθὴς τοῦ πολέμου αἰτία ἔφερε, καὶ ἅμα καὶ τὰ τοῦ δήμου πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ τιμωρίᾳ ἀποβλέποντα ἑώρα, τοῦτο τὸ πρόσχημα τοῦ πολέμου* 3 *προεβάλετο. ὅτι γὰρ ἐσκήπτετο αὐτὸ ἵνα τὴν Γαλατίαν κατάσχῃ, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐδήλωσε τόν τε Κάσσιον καὶ τὸν Βροῦτον τὸν Μᾶρκον ὑπάτους ἀποδειχθῆναι αἰτήσας· πρός γάρ τοι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ συμφέροντα ἑκάτερον ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντιωτάτου προσε-* 4 *ποιεῖτο. Καῖσαρ δὲ ἐστράτευτο μὲν ἐπ' αὐτὸν πρὶν καὶ ψηφισθῆναί οἱ τὸν πόλεμον, οὐ μὴν καὶ ἐπεποιήκει λόγου ἄξιον οὐδέν. μαθὼν δὲ δὴ τὰ δεδογμένα τὰς μὲν τιμὰς ἀπεδέχετο καὶ ἔχαιρεν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι θύοντι αὐτῷ, ὅτε τὸν κόσμον καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἀνέλαβε, διττὰ τὰ ἥπατα ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἱερείοις δώδεκα οὖσιν* 5 *εὑρέθη· τῷ δὲ δὴ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον καὶ πρέσβεις καὶ λόγους πεμφθῆναι, ἀλλὰ μὴ οὐκ*

For those who were successful were considered shrewd and patriotic, while the defeated were called enemies of their country and accursed.

B.C. 43

This was the pass to which the fortunes of Rome had at that time come. I shall now go on to describe the separate events. For it seems to me to be particularly instructive, when one takes facts as the basis of his reasoning, investigates the nature of the former by the latter, and thus proves his reasoning true by its correspondence with the facts.

The reason for Antony's besieging Decimus in Mutina, to be exact, was that Decimus would not give up Gaul to him, but he pretended that it was because Decimus had been one of Caesar's assassins. For since the true cause of the war brought him no credit, and at the same time he saw that the feelings of the people were turning toward Caesar to help him avenge his father, he put forward this excuse for the war. For that it was a mere pretext for getting control of Gaul he himself made plain when he demanded that Cassius and Marcus Brutus should be appointed consuls. Each of these two pretences, utterly inconsistent as they were, he made with an eye to his own advantage. Caesar, now, had begun a campaign against his rival before the command of the war was voted to him, though he had achieved nothing worthy of mention. When, however, he learned of the decrees passed, he accepted the honours and rejoiced, the more so, since, when he was sacrificing at the time of receiving the distinction and the authority of praetor, the livers of all the victims, twelve in number, were found to be double. But he was vexed that envoys and proposals had been sent to Antony, also, by the senate instead of their de-

ἀκήρυκτον εὐθὺς αὐτῷ τὸν πόλεμον ἐπαγγελθῆναι, 6 ἤσχαλλε, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐκείνῳ τε ἰδίᾳ τι περὶ τῆς ὁμονοίας ἐπεσταλκότας, καὶ γράμματα παρ' αὐτοῦ πρός τινας τῶν βουλευτῶν πεμφθέντα καὶ ἁλόντα τούτοις τε ἀποδόντας καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἀποκρυψαμένους, τόν τε πόλεμον μήτε σπουδῇ μήτε παραχρῆμα τῇ τοῦ 7 χειμῶνος προφάσει ποιουμένους ᾔσθετο. οὐ μέντοι ἔχων ὅπως ἐκφήνειεν αὐτά (οὔτε γὰρ ἀλλοτριῶσαί σφας ἤθελεν οὔτ' αὖ πεῖσαί τι ἢ καὶ βιάσασθαι ἐδύνατο) ἡσυχίαν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ Κορνηλίου ἀγορᾷ χειμάζων ἦγε, μέχρις οὗ περὶ τῷ Δεκίμῳ ἐφοβήθη.

36 Ἐκεῖνος γὰρ πρότερον μὲν ἰσχυρῶς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἠμύνετο, καί ποτε ὑποτοπήσας τινὰς ἐς τὴν πόλιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ διαφθορᾷ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐσπεπέμφθαι συνεκάλεσε πάντας τοὺς παρόντας, καὶ βραχέα ἄττα ὑπειπὼν ἐκήρυξε, δείξας τι χωρίον, τοὺς μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐπὶ τάδε τοὺς δὲ ἰδιώτας ἐπὶ θάτερα αὐτοῦ ἀπελθεῖν, καὶ οὕτως ἀπορήσαντας τοὺς τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ὅπῃ τράπωνται καὶ μονωθέντας κατεφώρασε καὶ συνέλαβεν· 2 ἔπειτα παντελῶς ἀπετειχίσθη. δείσας οὖν ὁ Καῖσαρ μὴ βίᾳ ἁλῷ ἢ καὶ ἀπορίᾳ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ὁμολογήσῃ, ἠνάγκασε τὸν Ἵρτιον συνεπιστρατεῦσαι· ὁ γὰρ Οὐίβιος ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἔτι τούς τε καταλόγους ἐποιεῖτο καὶ τοὺς νόμους τῶν 3 Ἀντωνίων κατέλυεν. ὁρμήσαντες οὖν Βονωνίαν μὲν ἐκλειφθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τῶν φρουρῶν ἀμαχεὶ παρέλαβον, καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας τοὺς μετὰ τοῦτο ἀπαντήσαντάς σφισιν ἐτρέψαντο, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ πρὸς τῇ

claring against him at once a war to the finish, and most of all because he ascertained that the consuls had forwarded to Antony some private message about harmony, also that when some letters sent by the latter to certain senators had been captured, these officials had handed them to the persons addressed, concealing the matter from him, and that, with the winter as an excuse, they were not carrying on the war zealously or promptly. However, as he could not publish these facts, because he did not wish to alienate them and on the other hand was unable to use any persuasion or force upon them, he also remained quiet in winter quarters in Forum Cornelii, until he became alarmed about Decimus.

B.C. 43

Decimus, it seems, had previously been defending himself vigorously against Antony. On one occasion, suspecting that some men had been sent into the city to corrupt the soldiers, he called together all those present and after a few preliminary remarks proclaimed through a herald that all the men under arms should go to one side of a certain place that he pointed out and the private citizens to the other side of it; in this way he detected and arrested Antony's spies, who did not know which way to turn, and were thus left by themselves. Later he was entirely shut in by a wall; and Caesar, fearing he might be captured by storm or might capitulate through lack of provisions, compelled Hirtius to join him in an expedition; for Vibius was still in Rome making the levies and abolishing the laws of the Antonii.[1] Accordingly, they set out and without a blow took possession of Bononia, which had been abandoned by its garrison, and routed the cavalry which later con-

[1] Cf. xlv. 9.

Μουτίνῃ ποταμοῦ τῆς τε ἐπ' αὐτῷ φυλακῆς οὐχ 4 οἷοί τε ἐγένοντο περαιτέρω προχωρῆσαι. βουλόμενοι οὖν[1] καὶ ὣς τήν γε παρουσίαν σφῶν τῷ Δεκίμῳ, μὴ καὶ φθάσῃ τι συμβάς, δηλῶσαι, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῶν ὑψηλοτάτων δένδρων ἐφρυκτώρουν, ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐ συνίει, ἐς ἐλασμὸν μολύβδου λεπτὸν ἐγγράψαντές τινα συνείλιξαν[2] αὐτὸν ὥσπερ τι χαρτίον, καὶ κολυμβητῇ νυκτὸς 5 ὑφύδρῳ διενεγκεῖν ἔδωκαν. καὶ οὕτως ὁ Δέκιμος τήν τε παρουσίαν ἅμα αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν τῆς ἐπικουρίας μαθὼν ἀντεπέστειλέ σφισι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, κἀκ τούτου συνεχῶς ἤδη πάντα ἀλλήλοις διεδήλουν.

37 Ὁ οὖν Ἀντώνιος ἰδὼν ὅτι ὁ Δέκιμος οὐκ ἐνδωσείει,[3] ἐκείνῳ μὲν Λούκιον τὸν ἀδελφὸν παρακατέλιπεν,[4] αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπί τε τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἵρτιον ἐχώρησε. καὶ αὐτῶν ἀντιστρατοπεδευομένων ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἱππομαχίαι 2 τινὲς βραχεῖαι καὶ ἰσοπαλεῖς ἐγίγνοντο, μέχρις οὗ οἱ Κελτοὶ ἱππῆς, οὓς μετὰ τῶν ἐλεφάντων ὁ Καῖσαρ προσεπεποίητο, πρός τε τὸν Ἀντώνιον αὖθις ἀπέκλιναν, κἀκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐξελθόντες προεξώρμησαν[5] μὲν ὡς καὶ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς ἀντιπροσελάσουσι προσμίξοντες, ὑπέστρεψαν δὲ δι' ὀλίγου, καὶ παρὰ δόξαν μὴ προσδεχομένοις τοῖς ἐφεπομένοις σφίσι προσ- 3 πεσόντες συχνοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπέκτειναν. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα προνομεύοντές τινες ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἐς

[1] οὖν R. Steph., γοῦν L.
[2] συνείλιξαν Rk., ἀπείλιξαν LM.
[3] ἐνδωσείει Dind., ἐνδώσει ἐν L.
[4] παρακατέλιπεν H. Steph., παρακατέλειπεν L.
[5] προεξώρμησαν H. Steph., προσεξώρμησαν L.

fronted them; but on account of the river near Mutina and the guard placed over it they found themselves unable to proceed farther. But even so, wishing at least to make their presence known to Decimus, that he might not make terms too soon, they at first tried sending beacon signals from the tallest trees; and when he did not understand, they scratched a few words on a thin sheet of lead, rolled up the lead like a piece of paper and gave it to a diver to carry across under water by night. Thus Decimus learned at one and the same time of their presence and of their promise of assistance, and sent them a reply in the same fashion, after which they continued uninterruptedly to reveal all their plans to each other.

B.C. 43

Antony, therefore, seeing that Decimus was not inclined to yield, left him to the charge of his brother Lucius, and himself proceeded against Caesar and Hirtius. The two armies faced each other for many days and a few insignificant cavalry skirmishes occurred, with honours even. Finally the German cavalry, whom Caesar had won to his side along with the elephants they had,[1] went over to Antony again. They had issued from the camp with the rest and had gone on ahead as if intending to engage by themselves those of the enemy who came to meet them; but after a little they turned about and unexpectedly attacked the men who followed behind, who were looking for nothing of the sort, and killed many of them. After this some foraging parties on both

[1] Cf. xlv. 13.

χεῖρας ἦλθον, κἀκ τούτου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐπιβοηθησάντων ἑκατέροις μάχη τέ σφων ὀξεῖα ἐγένετο καὶ ἐκράτησεν ὁ Ἀντώνιος. τούτοις τε οὖν ἐπαιρόμενος, καὶ τὸν Οὐίβιον πλησιάζοντα αἰσθόμενος, προσέβαλε πρὸς τὸ ἔρυμα τῶν ἀντικαθεστηκότων, εἴ πως προεξελὼν αὐτὸ ῥᾷον τοῦ
4 λοιποῦ πολεμήσειεν. καὶ ἐπειδὴ τά τε ἄλλα πρός τε τὰς συμφορὰς καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐλπίδα τὴν παρὰ τοῦ Οὐιβίου διὰ φυλακῆς ἐποιοῦντο καὶ οὐκ ἀντεπεξῆγον, κατέλιπε[1] καὶ ἐκεῖ μέρος τι τοῦ στρατοῦ, προσμιγνύναι τέ σφισι κελεύσας, ὅπως καὶ αὐτὸς ὅτι μάλιστα παρεῖναι δοκοίη, καὶ ἐπιφυλάττειν ἅμα μή τινες κατὰ νώτου οἱ προσπέ-
5 σωσι. διατάξας τε ταῦτα ἀπῆρε νυκτὸς λαθὼν ἐπὶ τὸν Οὐίβιον ἀπὸ Βονωνίας προσιόντα, καὶ αὐτόν τε ἐνεδρεύσας κατέτρωσε καὶ τοὺς πλείους[2] τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπέκτεινε, τούς τε λοιποὺς ἐς τὰ ταφρεύματα κατέκλεισεν. κἂν[3] ἐξεῖλεν αὐτούς,
6 εἰ καὶ ἐφ' ὁποσονοῦν προσηδρεύκει σφίσι. νῦν δ' ἐπειδὴ τῇ πρώτῃ προσβολῇ οὐδὲν ἐπέρανεν, ἐφοβήθη μὴ καὶ χρονίσῃ καί τι ἐν τούτῳ πρὸς τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων πλεονεκτηθῇ,
7 καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνους αὖθις ἐτράπετο. καὶ αὐτῷ ὁ Ἵρτιος ἔκ τε τῆς πορείας ἑκατέρας καὶ ἐκ τῆς μάχης πεπονηκότι, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐν ἀνελπίστῳ ὄντι μή ποτ' ἂν πολέμιόν τινα νενικηκότι οἱ προσμῖξαι, ἀπαντήσας πολὺ ἐκράτησεν· ὡς γὰρ ἔγνωσαν τὸ γιγνόμενον, Καῖσαρ μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ στρατοπέδου φυλακῇ κατέμεινεν, ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἐπὶ
38 τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὥρμησεν. ἡττηθέντος δὲ αὐτοῦ

[1] κατέλιπε H. Steph., κατέλειπε L.
[2] πλείους Zon., λοιποὺς L. [3] κἂν Bk., καὶ ἂν L.

sides came to blows, and then, when the remainder of each party came to the rescue, a sharp battle ensued between the two forces, in which Antony was victorious. Elated by this success and learning that Vibius was approaching, he assailed his opponents' camp to see if he could capture it before Vibius' arrival and thus make the war easier for the future. And when the others, besides being on their guard in other ways, in view of their reverses and the hope they placed in Vibius, would not come out to meet him, he left a portion of his army behind there also with orders to engage them and thus make it appear so far as possible that he himself was present, and at the same time to take good care that no one should fall upon his rear. After issuing these injunctions he set out secretly by night against Vibius, who was approaching from Bononia, and by means of an ambush he succeeded in wounding Vibius himself severely, in killing the majority of his soldiers and in shutting up the rest within their ramparts. Indeed, he would have annihilated them if he had gone on and besieged them for any considerable time. As it was, after accomplishing nothing by the first assault, he began to be alarmed lest while he was delaying he should receive some setback from Caesar and the others; so he again turned against them. But while he was still wearied by the journey both ways and by the battle and was not looking for any hostile force to attack him after his victory, Hirtius met him and defeated him decisively. For when Hirtius and Caesar had perceived what was going on, Caesar had remained to keep watch over the camp and Hirtius had set out against Antony. Upon the defeat of Antony not

B.C. 43

αὐτοκράτορες οὐ μόνον ὁ Ἵρτιος ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Οὐίβιος, καίπερ κακῶς ἀπαλλάξας, ὅ τε Καῖσαρ, καίτοι μηδὲ μαχεσάμενος, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν στρα-
2 τιωτῶν καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ὠνομάσθησαν. τοῖς τε συναγωνισαμένοις σφίσι καὶ τελευτήσασι ταφή τε δημοσία καὶ τὸ τοῖς παισὶ τοῖς τε πατράσιν αὐτῶν πάντα τὰ γέρα, ὅσα ἂν αὐτοὶ ἐκεῖνοι ζήσαντες ἔλαβον, ἀποδοθῆναι ἐψηφίσθη.

3 Ὡς οὖν ταῦτα ἐγένετο, καὶ Πόντιος Ἀκύλας, ἔκ τε τῶν σφαγέων ὢν καὶ τῷ Δεκίμῳ ὑποστρατηγῶν, Τίτον Μουνάτιον Πλάγκον ἀντιπολεμοῦντα αὐτῷ μάχαις ἐνίκησεν, ὅ τε Δέκιμος βουλευτοῦ τινος αὐτομολήσαντος πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον
4 οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ὀργὴν αὐτῷ ἔσχεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ σκεύη τά τε ἄλλα ὅσα ἐν τῇ Μουτίνῃ ὑπελέλειπτο πάντα ἀπέπεμψε, κἀκ τούτου οἵ τε στρατιῶται οἱ Ἀντωνίου ἠλλοιοῦντο καὶ τῶν δήμων τινὲς τῶν ὁμοφρονούντων οἱ πρότερον ἐστασίαζον,
5 ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ὅ τε Ἵρτιος ἐπῄροντό τε ἐπὶ τούτοις, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἔρυμα τὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου προσιόντες προεκαλοῦντο αὐτὸν ἐς χεῖρας, ἐκεῖνος δὲ τέως μὲν κατεπέπληκτο καὶ ἡσύχαζεν, ἔπειτ' ἐπειδὴ δύναμίς τις[1] αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ Λεπίδου
6 πεμφθεῖσα ἦλθεν, ἀνεθάρσησεν. αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ ὁ Λέπιδος οὐκ ἀπεσάφησεν ὁποτέροις τὸ στράτευμα πέμψειε· τόν τε γὰρ Ἀντώνιον συγγενῆ ὄντα ἠγάπα, καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐκέκλητο, καὶ διά τε ταῦτα, καὶ ἅμα καὶ ἀναχώρησιν ἑαυτῷ πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους σφᾶς προπαρασκευάζων, οὐδὲν σαφὲς Μάρκῳ Σιλανῷ τῷ στρα-
7 τιάρχῳ ἐνετείλατο· ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἀκριβῶς που τὴν

[1] τις Zon., τε L.

only was Hirtius saluted as *imperator* by the soldiers B.C. 43 and by the senate, but likewise Vibius, although he had fared badly, and Caesar, although he had not even been engaged. To those who had participated in the conflict and had perished a public burial was voted, and it was further voted that all the prizes which they would have received, had they lived, should be given to their sons and fathers.

At this time also Pontius Aquila, one of Caesar's slayers and a lieutenant of Decimus, conquered in battle Titus Munatius Plancus, who opposed him; and Decimus, when a certain senator deserted to Antony, so far from displaying resentment against him sent to him all his baggage and whatever else he had left behind in Mutina, with the result that Antony's soldiers began to change their attitude and some of the communities which had previously sympathized with him proceeded to rebel. Caesar and Hirtius were elated at this, and approaching the camp of Antony, challenged him to combat; and he for a time was alarmed and remained quiet, but later, when a force sent by Lepidus came to him, he took courage again. Lepidus, himself, however, did not make it clear to which of the two sides he was sending the army, for he was fond of Antony, who was a relative, while he had been summoned by the senate to oppose him; hence, both for this reason and that he might prepare a refuge for himself with both parties, he gave no clear instructions to Marcus Silanus, the commander. But this officer, doubtless

γνώμην αὐτοῦ εἰδὼς πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον αὐτοκέλευστος ἀφίκετο. τούτου οὖν ἐπικουρήσαντος αὐτῷ θαρσήσας ἐπεκδρομὴν αἰφνιδίαν ἐποιήσατο, καὶ φόνου παρ' ἀμφοτέρων πολλοῦ γενομένου τραπεὶς ἔφυγε.

39 Μέχρι μὲν οὖν τούτων ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ πρὸς τοῦ δήμου καὶ πρὸς τῆς βουλῆς ηὔξετο, κἀκ τούτου τά τε ἄλλα τιμηθήσεσθαι καὶ ὕπατος εὐθὺς ἀποδειχθήσεσθαι προσεδόκα· συνέβη γὰρ τόν τε Ἵρτιον ἐν τῇ τοῦ Ἀντωνιείου[1] στρατοπέδου καταλήψει καὶ τὸν Οὐίβιον ἐκ τῶν τραυμάτων μὴ πολλῷ ὕστερον φθαρῆναι, ὅθεν αἰτίαν τοῦ θανάτου αὐτῶν πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἀρχῆς διαδοχὴν ἔσχεν. 2 ἡ δὲ γερουσία πρότερον μέν, ἕως ἔτι ἄδηλον ἦν ὁπότερός σφων κρατήσει,[2] πάνθ' ὅσα ἐν τῷ πρὶν δυναστείας τισὶν ἔξω τῶν πατρίων δοθέντα παρεσκευάκει προκατέλυσαν,[3] ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις μέν που ταῦτα ψηφισάμενοι ὡς καὶ προκαταληψόμενοι δι' αὐτῶν τὸν νικήσοντα, τὴν δὲ αἰτίαν ἐς τὸν ἕτερον 3 τὸν ἡττηθησόμενον μέλλοντες ἀναφέρειν. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἀπεῖπον μηδένα ἐπὶ πλείω[4] χρόνον ἐνιαυτοῦ ἄρχειν, τοῦτο δὲ ἀπηγόρευσαν μήτε τινὰ σίτου ἐπιμελητὴν μήτε τροφῶν ἐπιστάτην ἕνα αἱρεῖσθαι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὰ πραχθέντα ἔμαθον, τῇ μὲν τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ἥττῃ ἔχαιρον, καὶ τάς τε στολὰς μετενέδυσαν καὶ ἱερομηνίας ἐπὶ ἑξήκοντα ἡμέρας ἤγαγον, τούς τε συνεξετασθέντας αὐτῷ πάντας ἔν τε πολεμίων μοίρᾳ ἐνόμισαν καὶ τὰς

[1] Ἀντωνιείου Rk., ἀντωνίου L.
[2] κρατήσει R. Steph., κρατήσηι L.
[3] προκατέλυσαν (προκατέλυσεν) St., προσκατέλυσαν L.
[4] πλείω R. Steph., πλεῖον L.

knowing well his superior's views, went on his own responsibility to Antony. So when Antony had received these reinforcements, he became bold and made a sudden sortie, but after great slaughter on both sides, he turned and fled. B.C. 43

Up to this time Caesar was being aggrandized by the people and the senate, and consequently expected that among other honours to be bestowed he would forthwith be appointed consul; for it happened that Hirtius perished in connection with the capture of Antony's camp and that Vibius died of his wounds not long afterwards, so that Caesar was charged with having caused their death that he might succeed to the office. But the senate had already, while it was still uncertain which of the two would prevail, taken the precaution to abolish all the privileges the granting of which hitherto to any individuals contrary to established custom had paved the way to supreme power; they voted, of course, that this edict should apply to both parties, intending thereby to forestall the victor, but planning to lay the blame upon the other who should be defeated. In the first place, they forbade anyone to hold office for a longer period than a year, and, secondly, they provided that no one man should be chosen superintendent of the corn supply or commissioner of food. And when they learned the outcome of the struggle, although they rejoiced at Antony's defeat, and not only changed their attire, but also celebrated a thanksgiving for sixty [1] days, and, regarding all those who had been on Antony's side as enemies, took

[1] Appian (*B.C.* iii. 74) says fifty days; cf. Cicero, *Philipp.* xiv. 11, 29, and 14, 37. Dio is frequently careless about such details.

οὐσίας, ὥσπερ που καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου, ἀφεί-
40 λοντο· τὸν δὲ δὴ Καίσαρα οὐχ ὅτι μεγάλου τινὸς ἔτ' ἠξίωσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ καταλύειν ἐπεχείρησαν, πάνθ' ὅσα ἐκεῖνος ἤλπιζε λήψεσθαι τῷ Δεκίμῳ δόντες. οὐ γὰρ ὅτι βουθυσίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπινίκια αὐτῷ ἐψηφίσαντο, τά τε λοιπὰ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ στρατόπεδα ἄλλα τε καὶ τὰ τοῦ Οὐιβίου προσ-
2 έταξαν· τοῖς τε στρατιώταις τοῖς συμπολιορκηθεῖσίν οἱ καὶ ἐπαίνους καὶ τἆλλα ὅσα τοῖς τοῦ Καίσαρος πρότερον προεπήγγελτο, καίπερ μηδὲν ἐς τὴν νίκην συμβαλομένοις[1] ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν αὐτὴν ἰδοῦσι, δοθῆναι ἔγνωσαν. καὶ τὸν Ἀκύλαν ἀποθανόντα ἐν τῇ μάχῃ εἰκόνι ἐτίμησαν· τά τε χρήματα ἃ ἐς τὴν παρασκευὴν τῶν τοῦ Δεκίμου στρατιωτῶν οἴκοθεν ἀναλώκει, τοῖς κλη-
3 ρονόμοις αὐτοῦ ἀπέδωκαν. τό τε σύμπαν ὡς εἰπεῖν, ὅσα τῷ Καίσαρι ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐγεγόνει, ταῦτα ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον ἄλλοις ἐψηφίσθη. καὶ ὅπως γε ἂν μηδ' ἂν τὰ μάλιστα βουληθῇ τι κακὸν δρᾶσαι καὶ δυνηθῇ, πάντας αὐτῷ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐπήσκησαν· τῷ τε γὰρ Πομπηίῳ τῷ Σέξτῳ τὸ ναυτικὸν καὶ τῷ Βρούτῳ τῷ Μάρκῳ τὴν Μακεδονίαν τῷ τε Κασσίῳ τήν τε Συρίαν καὶ τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς τὸν Δολοβέλλαν ἐνε-
4 χείρισαν. πάντως δ' ἂν καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις ἃς εἶχε προσπαρείλοντο,[2] εἰ μήπερ ἐφοβήθησαν φανερῶς αὐτὸ ψηφίσασθαι διὰ τὸ εὔνους οἱ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐπίστασθαι ὄντας. στασιάσαι δ' οὖν σφας καὶ ὣς καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἐπε-
5 χείρησαν. οὔτε γὰρ ἐπαινέσαι τε καὶ τιμῆσαι

[1] συμβαλομένοις R. Steph., συμβαλλομένοις L.
[2] προσπαρείλοντο Xyl., προσπαρείχοντο L.

away their property, as they did in the case of B.C. 43 Antony also, yet as regards Caesar, they not only did not consider him any longer as deserving of any great reward, but even undertook to overthrow him by giving to Decimus all the prizes for which Caesar was hoping. For they voted in Decimus' honour not only sacrifices but also a triumph, and gave him charge of the rest of the war and of the legions, including those of Vibius. Upon the soldiers who had been besieged with him they decreed that praise should be bestowed and likewise all the other rewards which had formerly been promised to Caesar's men, although these troops had contributed nothing to the victory, but had merely beheld it from the walls. They honoured Aquila, who had died in the battle, with a statue, and restored to his heirs the money which he had expended from his own purse for the equipment of Decimus' troops. In a word, all that had been done for Caesar to thwart Antony was now voted to others to thwart Caesar himself. And to the end that, no matter how much he might wish it, he should not be able to do any harm, they arrayed all his personal enemies against him. Thus to Sextus Pompey they entrusted the fleet, to Marcus Brutus Macedonia, and to Cassius Syria together with the war against Dolabella. They would certainly have gone further and deprived him of the forces that he had, had they not been afraid to vote this openly, because they knew that his soldiers were devoted to him. But they attempted, even so, to set them at variance with one another and with Caesar himself. For they wished neither to praise and honour

πάντας αὐτοὺς ἠθέλησαν, μὴ καὶ τὸ φρόνημα αὐτῶν ἐπὶ μεῖζον ἄρωσιν, οὔτ' ἀτιμάσαι καὶ παριδεῖν πάντας, μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς ἀλλοτριώσωσι καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο καὶ συμφρονεῖν
6 ἀναγκάσωσι. διὰ μέσου οὖν ἐποίησαν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐπαινέσαντες αὐτῶν τοὺς δ' οὔ, καὶ τοῖς μὲν στέφανον ἐλαίας ἐν ταῖς πανηγύρεσι φορεῖν δόντες τοῖς δ' οὔ, καὶ προσέτι καὶ χρήματα τοῖς μὲν δισχιλίας καὶ πεντακοσίας δραχμὰς τοῖς δὲ οὐδὲ χαλκοῦν ψηφισάμενοι, συγκρούσειν τε αὐτοὺς ἀλλήλοις κἀκ τούτου καὶ ἀσθενώσειν ἤλπι-
41 σαν. καὶ τούς γε[1] διαγγελοῦντάς σφισι ταῦτα οὐ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἐκείνους ἔπεμψαν. περιοργὴς οὖν καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις γενόμενος ἐπέτρεψε μὲν τῷ λόγῳ τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς ἄνευ ἑαυτοῦ τῷ στρατεύματι συμμῖξαι, προπαραγγείλας μήτ' ἀπόκρισίν τινα αὐτοῖς δοθῆναι καὶ ἑαυτὸν παραχρῆμα μεταπεμφθῆναι· ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ συνακούσας σφίσι τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα, πολὺ μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων
2 ᾠκειώσατο. οἵ τε γὰρ προτετιμημένοι οὐ τοσοῦτον τῇ πλεονεξίᾳ ἔχαιρον ὅσον ὑπώπτευον τὸ γιγνόμενον, τοῦ Καίσαρός σφας ὅτι μάλιστα ἐνάγοντος· καὶ οἱ ἠτιμασμένοι ἐκείνοις μὲν οὐδὲν ὠργίζοντο, προσδιαβάλλοντες δὲ τὴν διάνοιαν τῶν ἐψηφισμένων τήν τε ἀτιμίαν σφῶν ἐπὶ πάν-
3 τας ἦγον καὶ τὴν ὀργὴν αὐτοῖς ἐκοινοῦντο. μαθόντες οὖν ταῦθ' οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει, καὶ φοβηθέντες, ὕπατον μὲν οὐδ' ὣς αὐτὸν ἀπέδειξαν, οὗπερ που τὰ μάλιστα ἐγλίχετο, ταῖς δὲ δὴ τιμαῖς ταῖς

[1] γε H. Steph., τε L.

them all, for fear of raising their spirits still higher, B.C. 43 nor to dishonour and neglect them all, for fear of alienating them the more and as a consequence forcing them to come to an agreement with one another. Hence they adopted a middle course, and by praising some of them and not others, by allowing some to wear garlands of olive at the festivals and others not, and, furthermore, by voting to some of them ten thousand sesterces and to others not a copper, they hoped to set them at odds with each other and consequently to weaken them. And they even sent the men who were to carry these announcements to them, not to Caesar, but to the men themselves. So he became enraged at this also, and though he pretended to allow the envoys to mingle with the army without his presence, giving orders beforehand that no answer should be given them and that he himself should at once be sent for, yet when he came into the camp and joined them in listening to the despatches, he won them to himself still more than before by the very nature of the communication. For, on the one hand, those who had been singled out for honour were not so pleased with their preferment as they were suspicious of the affair, and Caesar encouraged them in this as much as he could; on the other hand, those who had been slighted were not at all angry with their comrades, but adding their doubts of the sincerity of the decrees, they transferred to the whole army the slight to themselves and communicated their resentment to the others. The people in the city, on learning this, though they were frightened, did not even then appoint Caesar consul, the honour which he especially coveted, but

ὑπατικαῖς ἐκόσμησαν, ὥστε καὶ γνώμην ἐν τοῖς ὑπατευκόσιν ἤδη τίθεσθαι. ἐπειδή τε ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ τοῦτ' ἔσχε, στρατηγόν τε αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς πρῶτον καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὕπατον αἱρεθῆναι 4 *ἐψηφίσαντο. καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτω τὸν Καίσαρα, ὥσπερ ὡς ἀληθῶς μειράκιόν τέ τι καὶ παῖδα, ἅπερ που διεθρύλουν, ὄντα, σοφῶς μετακεχειρίσθαι ἔδοξαν· ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἐπί τε τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ, ὅτι παῖς ἤκουε, δεινῶς ἀγανακτῶν οὐκέτ' ἐς ἀναβολὰς ἐποιήσατο, ἀλλ' ἐπί τε τὰ* 5 *ὅπλα καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν αὐτῶν ἐτράπετο. καὶ πρός τε τὸν Ἀντώνιον κρύφα*[1] *διεκηρυκεύσατο, καὶ τοὺς διαφυγόντας ἐκ τῆς μάχης, οὓς αὐτός τ' ἐνενικήκει καὶ ἡ βουλὴ πολεμίους ἐψήφιστο,*[2] *συνήθροιζε, καὶ κατηγορίας παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ κατὰ τῆς γερουσίας καὶ κατὰ τοῦ δήμου πολλὰς ἐποιεῖτο.*

42 *Ἀκούοντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ ἐν τῷ ἄστει τέως μὲν ἐν ὀλιγωρίᾳ αὐτὸν ἦγον, ἐπεὶ δὲ τόν τε Ἀντώνιον καὶ τὸν Λέπιδον συμπεφρονηκότας ᾔσθοντο, θεραπεύειν τε αὖθις ἤρξαντο, ἀγνοοῦντες τοὺς λόγους οὓς πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐπεποίητο, καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ* 2 *τῷ πρὸς ἐκείνους προσέταξαν. ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ καὶ τοῦτον μέν, εἴ πως ὕπατος δι' αὐτὸν ἀποδειχθείη, ὑπεδέξατο· πάνυ γάρ τι*[3] *ἔπρασσεν διά τε ἄλλων καὶ διὰ τοῦ Κικέρωνος ὅπως χειροτονηθείη, οὕτως ὥστε καὶ συνύπατον αὐτὸν ὑποσχέσθαι οἱ ποιή-* 3 *σειν. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδ' ὧς*[4] *ᾑρέθη, ἡτοιμάζετο μὲν ὡς καὶ πολεμήσων καθάπερ ἐδέδοκτο, παρασκευάσας*

[1] *κρύφα* H. Steph., *κρύφα καὶ* L.
[2] *ἐψήφιστο* Bk., *ἐψηφίσατο* L. [3] *τι* Bk., *τοι* L.
[4] *δ' οὐδ' ὧς* v. Herw., *δ' οὕτως* L.

granted him the distinction of consular honours, so that he might now give his vote along with the ex-consuls. When he showed his contempt for this, they voted that he should be chosen a praetor of the first rank[1] and later consul as well. In this way they thought they had had handled Caesar cleverly, as if he were in reality a mere youth or boy, as indeed they were always repeating. He, however, was exceedingly vexed, not only at their general behaviour, but especially at this very fact that he was called a boy; so he made no further delay, but turned against their arms and their power. And he secretly arranged a truce with Antony, and proceeded to assemble the men who had escaped from the battle, whom he himself had conquered and the senate had voted to be enemies, and in their presence made many accusations against both the senate and the people.

B.C. 43

The people in the city, on hearing this, for a time regarded him with indifference, but when they heard that Antony and Lepidus had become of one mind, they began again to court his favour, being ignorant of the propositions he had made to Antony, and put him in charge of the war against the other two. Caesar, accordingly, undertook this war also, hoping that he might be made consul for it; for he was working so hard through Cicero and others to be elected, that he even promised to make Cicero his colleague. But when he was not chosen even then, he made preparations, to be sure, to carry on the war, as had

[1] *i.e.* praetor instead of propraetor; cf. note on chap. 29.

δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τοὺς στρατιώτας αὐτοῦ, ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν δῆθεν, ὀμόσαι αἰφνιδίως πρὸς μηδὲν τῶν στρατοπέδων τῶν τοῦ Καίσαρος γενομένων πολεμήσειν (ὅπερ που πρὸς τὸν Λέπιδον καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀν-
4 τώνιον ἔφερεν·[1] τὸ γὰρ πλεῖστον τῶν συστρατευομένων σφίσιν ἐξ ἐκείνων ἦν), ἀνέσχε, καὶ πρέσβεις ἐπὶ τούτῳ πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν στρατιωτῶν τετρακοσίους ἔπεμψε.

43 Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ πρόσχημα τῆς πρεσβείας αὐτοῖς ἦν, τὸ δ' ὅλον τά τε χρήματα τὰ ἐψηφισμένα σφίσιν ἀπῄτουν καὶ ὕπατον τὸν Καίσαρα ἀπο-
2 δειχθῆναι ἐκέλευον. ἀναβαλλομένων οὖν αὐτῶν τὴν ἀπόκρισιν ὡς καὶ σκέψεως δεομένην, ἄδειάν τινι τῶν τὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου πραξάντων ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἦν, ἐντολῆς ᾔτησαν, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ ἐβούλοντο αὐτῆς τυχεῖν, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἀποπειραθῶσί τε αὐτῶν εἰ ταύτην γε δώσουσί σφισιν, ἢ καὶ ἀφορμὴν ὀργῆς λάβωσι τὸ καὶ δι' ἐκείνην
3 δοκεῖν χαλεπαίνειν. ἀποτυχόντες γοῦν αὐτῆς (ἀντεῖπε μὲν γὰρ οὐδείς, πολλῶν δὲ τὸ[2] αὐτὸ τοῦτο ὑπὲρ ἑτέρων ἅμα ἀξιωσάντων, καὶ τὸ κατ' ἐκείνους, ὡς πολὺ ἐγίγνετο, εὐπρεπῶς πως διε-
4 κρούσθη) οἵ τε ἄλλοι φανερῶς ὠργίζοντο, καὶ εἷς τις αὐτῶν ἐξῆλθέ τε ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου, καὶ τὸ ξίφος λαβὼν (ἄοπλοι γὰρ ἐσεληλύθεσαν) ἥψατό τε αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶπεν ὅτι, "ἂν ὑμεῖς τὴν ὑπατείαν μὴ δῶτε τῷ Καίσαρι, τοῦτο δώσει." καὶ αὐτῷ ὁ Κικέρων ὑπολαβὼν "ἂν οὕτως," ἔφη, "παρα-
5 καλῆτε, λήψεται αὐτήν." ἐκείνῳ μὲν καὶ τοῦτο τὸν ὄλεθρον παρεσκεύασεν· ὁ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ τὸ

[1] ἔφερεν Xyl., ἔφερον L.
[2] τὸ Bk., τοῦ LM.

been decreed, but meanwhile arranged that his own soldiers, ostensibly of their own motion, should suddenly take an oath not to fight against any legion that had been Caesar's. This, of course, had reference to Lepidus and Antony, since the majority of their adherents were of that class. So he waited and sent to the senate as envoys on this business four hundred of the soldiers themselves. B.C. 43

This was the soldiers' excuse for the embassy, but all they really did was to demand the money that had been voted them and to urge that Caesar should be appointed consul. While the senators were postponing their reply, on the ground that it required deliberation, the envoys, acting presumably on their instructions from Caesar, asked that amnesty be granted to a certain person who had embraced Antony's cause. They did not really desire to obtain it, but wished to test the senators and see if they would grant at least this request, and, if they should not, to gain as an excuse for resentment their pretended vexation at being refused. At any rate, when they failed to gain their petition (for, although no one spoke against it, yet, since many had preferred the same request on behalf of others at the same session, this petition also, since it was but one out of many, was rejected with a show of plausibility), all the soldiers were openly angry, and one of them went out of the senate-chamber and getting his sword,—for they had gone in unarmed—touched it and said: "If you do not grant the consulship to Caesar, this shall grant it." And Cicero, interrupting him, answered: "If you exhort in this way he will get it." Now for Cicero this incident paved the way for destruction. As

μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατιώτου πραχθὲν οὐκ ἐμέμψατο, ὅτι δὲ τά τε ὅπλα ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ἐσιόντες ἀποθέσθαι ἠναγκάσθησαν, καί τις αὐτῶν ἐπύθετο πότερον παρὰ τῶν στρατοπέδων ἢ παρὰ τοῦ Καί-
6 σαρος ἐπέμφθησαν, ἔγκλημα ἐποιεῖτο, καὶ τόν τε Ἀντώνιον καὶ τὸν Λέπιδον (καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνον κατὰ τὴν φιλίαν αὐτοῦ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον προσετέθειτο) σπουδῇ μετεπέμψατο, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην, ἐκβιασθεὶς δῆθεν ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, μετὰ πάντων αὐτῶν ὥρμησε.

44 Καὶ τῶν τε ἱππέων τινὰ καὶ ἄλλους ὑποτοπήσαντες ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ σφων παρεῖναι ἔσφαξαν, καὶ τὰ χωρία τῶν ἀντιγνωμονούντων σφίσιν ἐλυμαίνοντο, ἐπί τε τῇ προφάσει ταύτῃ καὶ ἄλλα
2 πολλὰ ἐκακούργουν. πυθόμενοι οὖν οἱ βουλευταὶ τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτῶν, τά τε χρήματα αὐτοῖς πρὶν πλησιάσαι σφᾶς ἔπεμψαν, εἴ πως λαβόντες αὐτὰ ἀναχωρήσειαν, καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὣς ἠπείγοντο,
3 ὕπατον τὸν Καίσαρα ἀπέδειξαν. οὐδὲν[1] μέντοι οὐδὲ ἐκ τούτου ἀπώνηντο·[2] ὧν γὰρ οὐχ ἑκόντες ἀλλ' ἀναγκασθέντες ἔπραξαν, οὐδεμίαν σφίσι χάριν οἱ στρατιῶται ἔσχον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον, ἅτε καὶ ἐκπεφοβηκότες αὐτούς, ἐθρασύνοντο.
4 μαθοῦσα οὖν ταῦθ' ἡ γερουσία μετεβάλετο,[3] καὶ ἐκείνοις τε ἀπηγόρευσε μὴ πελάσαι τῇ πόλει, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑπτακοσίους σταδίους ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἀποσχεῖν, καὶ αὐτοὶ τήν τε ἐσθῆτα αὖθις ἠλλάξαντο καὶ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τὴν φυλακὴν
5 τῆς πόλεως ἐνεχείρισαν, ὥσπερ εἴθιστο. καὶ τά

[1] οὐδὲν Bk., καὶ οὐδὲν LM.
[2] ἀπώνηντο Naber, ἀπώναντο LM.
[3] μετεβάλετο Bk., μετεβάλλετο LM.

for Caesar, he did not censure the soldier's act, B.C. 43
but made a complaint because his men had been obliged to lay aside their arms on entering the senate and because one of the senators had asked whether they were sent by the legions or by Caesar. He summoned in haste Antony and Lepidus (for he had attached Lepidus also to himself through the friendship existing between Antony and Lepidus), and he himself, pretending to have been forced to such measures by his soldiers, set out with all of them against Rome.

They slew one of the knights, among others whom they suspected of being present to spy upon them, and besides harrying the lands of such as were not in accord with them, did much other mischief on this same pretext. The senators, on learning of their approach, sent them their money before they drew near, hoping that when the invaders received it they would retire, and when, even so, they still pressed on, they appointed Caesar consul. They gained nothing, however, by this step, either; for the soldiers were not at all grateful to them for what they had done not willingly but under compulsion, but were even more emboldened, now that they had thoroughly frightened them. So when the senate learned this, it altered its policy and ordered them not to approach the city but to keep at least a hundred miles from it. They themselves also changed their garb again and committed to the praetors the care of the city, as was the custom. And besides garrisoning other points,

τε ἄλλα ἐν φρουρᾷ ἐποιήσαντο, καὶ τὸ Ἰανίκουλον μετά τε τῶν αὐτόθι στρατιωτῶν καὶ μεθ' ἑτέρων ἐκ τῆς Ἀφρικῆς ἐπελθόντων προκατέλαβον.

45 Ἕως μὲν δὴ ἐν ὁδῷ ἔθ' ὁ Καῖσαρ ἦν, ταῦτά τε οὕτως ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ὁμοθυμαδὸν αὐτῶν πάντες οἱ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τότε ὄντες ἀντελαμβάνοντο, ὥσπερ που φιλοῦσιν οἱ πολλοί, πρὶν ἔς τε τὴν ὄψιν καὶ ἐς τὴν πεῖραν τῶν δεινῶν ἀφικέσθαι, θρασύνεσθαι. 2 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ ἐγένετο, ἐφοβήθησαν, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τῶν βουλευτῶν τινες, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τοῦ δήμου συχνοὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν μετέστησαν. κἀκ τούτου καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἔκ τε τοῦ Ἰανικούλου κατέβησαν καὶ τούς τε στρατιώτας καὶ ἑαυτοὺς 3 αὐτῷ παρέδωκαν. τήν τε οὖν πόλιν οὕτως ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀμαχεὶ κατέσχε, καὶ ὕπατος καὶ πρὸς τοῦ δήμου ἀπεδείχθη, δύο τινῶν ἀντὶ ὑπάτων πρὸς τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας αἱρεθέντων, ἐπειδὴ ἀδύνατον ἦν μεσοβασιλέα δι' ὀλίγου οὕτως ἐπ' αὐτὰς κατὰ τὰ πάτρια γενέσθαι, πολλῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν τὰς εὐ-4 πάτριδας[1] ἀρχὰς ἐχόντων ἀποδημούντων. τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ δύο ἄνδρας[2] διὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τοῦ ἀστυνόμου ψηφισθῆναι μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ τοὺς ὑπάτους δι' αὐτοῦ χειροτονηθῆναι ὑπέμειναν, ὅτι μηδὲν πλέον τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν ποιήσειν ἔμελλον, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο μηδ' ἀρχήν τινα ἰσχυροτέραν αὐτοῦ[3] 5 ἐσχηκέναι δόξειν. καὶ ἐγίγνετο μέν που ταῦθ'

[1] εὐπάτριδας Dind., εὐπατρίς LM.
[2] τὸ δύο ἄνδρας Bs. following Bk., τῶν δύο ἀνδρῶν LM.
[3] αὐτοῦ Rubino, αὐτῶν L

they promptly occupied the Janiculum with the soldiers that were in the city and with others who had come from Africa. B.C. 43

Now these things were taking place while Caesar was still on the march; and all the people who were at that time in Rome with one accord took part in the proceedings against him, just as most men are wont to be bold until they come in sight of dangers and have a chance to experience them. When, however, he arrived in the suburbs, they became alarmed, and first some of the senators, and later many of the people, went over to his side. Thereupon the praetors also came down from the Janiculum and surrendered to him their soldiers and themselves. Thus Caesar took possession of the city without a blow and was appointed consul also by the people, after two men had been chosen to act as consuls for holding the elections; for it was impossible, on so short notice, for an interrex[1] to be chosen for the purpose, in accordance with precedent, because many men who held the patrician offices were absent from the city. For they preferred to submit to this arrangement of having two men named by the praetor urbanus rather than to have the consuls elected under his direction, because now these officials would limit their activities to the elections and consequently would appear to have possessed no office greater than his. This was of course done

[1] In case of the death or resignation of both consuls, the senate appointed an interrex to hold the comitia for the election of their successors. But first it was necessary that the auspices should return to the senators, which could happen only by the resignation of all the patrician magistrates; the absence of some of these from the city in the present instance prevented their prompt resignation.

ὑπὸ τῶν ὅπλων· ὁ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ, ἵνα δὴ μὴ βεβιάσθαι τι αὐτοὺς δόξῃ, οὐκ ἀπήντησεν ἐς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ὥσπερ τινῶν τὴν παρουσίαν ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ φοβουμένων.

46 Οὕτω μὲν οὖν ὕπατος ᾑρέθη, καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ συνάρχων, εἴγε τοῦτο δεῖ, ἀλλὰ μὴ ὕπαρχον, 2 αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν, ὁ Πέδιος ὁ Κύιντος ἐδόθη. καὶ ἐπί τε τούτῳ μέγιστον ἐφρόνει, ὅτι ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ, ὃ μηπώποτέ τινι ἐγεγόνει, ὑπατεύσειν ἔμελλε, καὶ ὅτι τῇ[1] πρώτῃ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν ἐς τὸ πεδίον τὸ Ἄρειον ἐσελθὼν γῦπας ἓξ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα δημηγορῶν τι πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας 3 ἄλλους δώδεκα εἶδε· πρός τε γὰρ τὸν Ῥωμύλον καὶ πρὸς τὸ οἰώνισμα τὸ ἐκείνῳ γενόμενον ἀναφέρων καὶ τὴν μοναρχίαν αὐτοῦ λήψεσθαι προσεδόκησεν. οὐ μέντοι ὡς καὶ δεύτερον ὑπατεύων, ὅτι ταῖς τιμαῖς ταῖς ὑπατικαῖς ἐκεκόσμητο, ἐσεμνύνατο. καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἔπειτα ἐπὶ πάντων τῶν 4 ὁμοίων μέχρις ἡμῶν ἐτηρήθη· Σεουῆρος[2] γὰρ αὐτοκράτωρ πρῶτος Πλαυτιανὸν ὑπατικαῖς τιμαῖς τιμήσας, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἔς τε τὸ βουλευτικὸν ἐσαγαγὼν καὶ ὕπατον ἀποδείξας, ὡς καὶ δεύτερον ὑπατεύσοντα[3] ἀνεκήρυξεν, καὶ ἀπ' 5 ἐκείνου καὶ ἐφ' ἑτέρων τὸ αὐτὸ ἐγένετο. ὁ δ' οὖν Καῖσαρ τά τε ἄλλα τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει πρὸς τὸ δοκοῦν αὐτῷ κατεστήσατο, καὶ χρήματα τοῖς στρατιώταις, τοῖς μὲν ὅσα τε καὶ ὅθεν ἐψήφιστο, τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς ὡς ἑκάστοις, λόγῳ μὲν οἴκοθεν ἔργῳ δὲ ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν ἔδωκε.

6 Τότε μὲν οὕτω τε καὶ ἐκ τοιαύτης αἰτίας οἱ

[1] τῇ Xiph., om. LM. [2] Σεουῆρος Bk., σευῆρος LM.
[3] ὑπατεύσοντα Nipperdey, ὑπατεύσαντα LM.

under pressure of arms; but Caesar, in order that he might appear not to have used any force upon them, did not enter the assembly,—as if it was his presence that any one feared instead of his power!

Thus Caesar was chosen consul, and Quintus Pedius was given him as his colleague in office—if it is right to call him that and not his subordinate. And Caesar was extremely proud of the fact that he was to be consul at an earlier age than had ever been the lot of any one else, and furthermore that on the first day of the elections, when he entered the Campus Martius, he saw six vultures, and later, while haranguing the soldiers, twelve others. For, comparing it with Romulus and the omen that had befallen him, he expected to obtain that king's sovereignty also. He did not, however, boast of being consul for the second time, merely because of his having already been given the distinction of the consular honours. And his practice was afterwards observed in all similar cases down to our own day, the emperor Severus being the first to depart from it; for after honouring Plautianus with the consular honours and later making him a member of the senate and appointing him consul, he proclaimed that Plautianus was entering upon the consulship for the second time, and from that time forth the same thing has been done in other instances. Now Caesar arranged affairs in general in the city to suit his taste, and gave money to the soldiers, to some what had been voted from the funds prescribed, and to the rest individually from his private resources, as he claimed, but in reality from the public funds.

In this way and for the reasons mentioned the

στρατιῶται τὸ ἀργύριον ἔλαβον· παρακούσαντες δέ τινες τοῦτο ἔδοξαν ἀεὶ πᾶσιν ἁπλῶς τοῖς πολιτικοῖς στρατοπέδοις, ὅσα ἂν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην μεθ' ὅπλων ἀφίκηται, τὰς δισχιλίας καὶ πεντα-
7 κοσίας δραχμὰς ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι δίδοσθαι. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ οἱ μετὰ τοῦ Σεουήρου ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ καθαιρέσει ἐς τὸ ἄστυ ἐλθόντες φοβερώτατοι αὐτῷ τε ἐκείνῳ καὶ ἡμῖν ἐγένοντο ἀπαιτοῦντες αὐτάς· καί σφας, οὐδ' εἰδότων τῶν ἄλλων ὅ τι ποτὲ ἠξίουν, ἐθεράπευσεν ὁ Σεουῆρος πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίαις δραχμαῖς.

47 Ὁ δ' οὖν Καῖσαρ τοῖς μὲν στρατιώταις τά τε χρήματα ἔδωκε καὶ χάριν καὶ πλείστην καὶ ἀληθεστάτην ἔγνω· ἄνευ γὰρ τῆς παρ' αὐτῶν φρουρᾶς οὐδὲ ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐσφοιτᾶν ἐτόλμα· τῇ δὲ δὴ γερουσίᾳ χάριν μέν που, πλαστῶς δὲ δὴ καὶ προσποιητῶς, ἔσχεν· ἃ γὰρ βιασάμενός σφας εὕρητο, ταῦθ' ὡς καὶ παρ' ἑκόντων αὐτῶν εἰληφὼς ἐν εὐεργεσίας μέρει δῆθεν
2 ἐτίθετο. καὶ ἐκεῖνοι οὖν ἐπί τε τούτοις, ὡς καὶ ἐθελονταὶ αὐτὰ δεδωκότες, ἐσεμνύνοντο, καὶ προσέτι ὃν οὐδ' ὕπατον ἑλέσθαι πρότερον ἠθελήκεσαν, τούτῳ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν πάντων τῶν ἀεὶ ὑπατευόντων, ὁσάκις ἂν ἐν στρατοπέδῳ ᾖ, προ-
3 τιμᾶσθαι ἔδοσαν· ᾧ τε δίκας ἐπάξειν ὅτι δυνάμεις καθ' ἑαυτὸν μηδενὸς ψηφισαμένου συνέστησεν ἠπειλήκεσαν, τούτῳ καὶ ἑτέρας προσκαταλέξαι προσέταξαν· καὶ ἐφ' οὗ τῇ τε ἀτιμίᾳ καὶ τῇ καταλύσει τῷ Δεκίμῳ πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον πολεμῆσαι ἐκεκελεύκεσαν, τούτῳ καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου στρα-
4 τόπεδα προσέθεσαν. καὶ τέλος τήν τε φυλακὴν

soldiers received their money on that occasion. But some men have misunderstood the matter and have thought it was compulsory that the ten thousand sesterces be given always to absolutely all the citizen legions that enter Rome under arms. For this reason the followers of Severus who had entered the city to overthrow Julianus[1] became most terrifying both to their leader himself and to us when they demanded this sum; and Severus won their favour with only a thousand sesterces apiece, the other leaders not even being aware of what it was the soldiers were demanding.

B.C. 43

Now Caesar not only gave the soldiers the money but also expressed to them his most hearty and sincere thanks; indeed, he did not even venture to enter the senate-chamber without a guard of them. To the senate he showed gratitude, but it was all fictitious and assumed; for he was accepting as if it were a favour received from their willing hands what he had attained by applying force to them. And so they plumed themselves on their behaviour, as if they had given him these privileges voluntarily; and, moreover, they granted to him, whom previously they had not even wished to elect to the consulship, the right, after his term should expire, of taking precedence, as often as he should be in camp, over any consul for the time being. To him on whom they had threatened to inflict penalties, because he had gathered forces on his own account without anyone's voting for it, they assigned the duty of collecting other forces; and to the man for whose disgrace and overthrow they had ordered Decimus to fight against Antony they added the legions of Decimus. And,

[1] In A.D. 193, that is, in Dio's own lifetime.

τῆς πόλεως, ὥστε πάνθ' ὅσα βούλοιτο καὶ ἐκ τῶν νόμων ποιεῖν ἔχειν, παρέλαβε, καὶ ἐς τὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος γένος κατὰ τὰ νομιζόμενα ἐσεποιήθη, καὶ
5 διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν μετέθετο. ὠνόμαζε μὲν γὰρ καὶ πρότερον αὐτὸς ἑαυτόν, ὥς γέ τισι δοκεῖ, Καίσαρα, ἐξ οὗ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῷ τοῦτο μετὰ τοῦ κλήρου κατελείφθη· οὐ μέντοι οὔτ' ἀκριβῆ τὴν προσηγορίαν οὔτε ἐπὶ πάντας εἶχε, πρὶν δὴ καὶ ἐκ τῶν πατρίων αὐτὴν τότε ἐβεβαιώσατο, καὶ οὕτως ἐξ ἐκείνου Γάιος Ἰούλιος Καῖσαρ Ὀκταουιανὸς
6 ἐπεκλήθη· νενόμισται γάρ, ἄν τις ἐσποιηθῇ, τὴν μὲν ἄλλην αὐτὸν πρόσρησιν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποιησαμένου λαμβάνειν, ἓν δέ τι τῶν προτέρων ὀνομάτων σχη-
7 ματισθέν πως τηρεῖν. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἔχει· ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ Ὀκταουιανὸν ἀλλὰ Καίσαρα αὐτόν, ὅτι πᾶσι τοῖς τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων κράτος λαμβάνουσιν ἡ προσηγορία αὕτη ἐκνενίκηκεν, ὀνομάσω.
8 προσεκτήσατο μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἑτέραν τὴν τοῦ Αὐγούστου, καὶ αὐτὴν διὰ τοῦτο καὶ οἱ ἔπειτα αὐτοκράτορες τίθενται· ἀλλ' ἐκείνη μὲν ὅταν ἐς τὴν συγγραφὴν ἔλθῃ λελέξεται, μέχρι δὲ δὴ τότε ἀρκούντως ἡ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπίκλησις τὴν τοῦ Ὀκταουιανοῦ δήλωσιν ἀποπληρώσει.

48 Οὗτος οὖν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τούς τε στρατιώτας ᾠκειώσατο καὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἐδουλώσατο, πρός τε τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τιμωρίαν ἐτράπετο, καὶ φοβηθεὶς μή πῃ τὸν ὅμιλον διὰ τοῦτ' ἐκταράξῃ, οὐ πρότερον τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην ἐξέφηνε πρὶν τὴν ἀπόδοσιν τῶν καταλειφθέντων σφίσι
2 ποιήσασθαι. ὡς δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι τοῖς χρήμασι, καίπερ ἔκ τε τῶν κοινῶν οὖσι καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ

finally, he obtained the guardianship of the city, so that he was able to do everything he wished in accordance with the laws, and he was adopted into Caesar's family in the regular way and changed his name in consequence. To be sure, even before this he had been accustomed, as some believe, to call himself Caesar, from the time this name had been bequeathed to him along with the inheritance, but he did not use this appellation with any strictness or in his dealings with everybody until at this time he got it confirmed in accordance with established custom, and was thus named, after his adoptive father, Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus. For it is the custom for a person, when he is adopted, to take most of his name from his adopter but to keep one of his previous names somewhat altered in form. This is the way of the matter, but I shall call him, not Octavianus, but Caesar, inasmuch as the latter name has prevailed among all who have held sway over the Romans. For although he acquired another name also,—that of Augustus,—and the emperors who succeeded him consequently assumed it also, that one will be described when it comes up in the history, and until then the title Caesar will be sufficient to show that Octavianus is indicated.

B.C. 43

This Caesar, then, as soon as he had conciliated the soldiers and dominated the senate, turned himself to avenging his father's murder; but as he was afraid of stirring up the populace more or less in carrying out this plan, he did not make known his intention until he had seen to the payment of the bequests made to them. But when they had been won over by means of the money, although it belonged to the public funds and had been collected

πολέμου προφάσει συναχθεῖσι, κατελήφθησαν, οὕτω δὴ τοὺς σφαγέας μετῆλθε. καὶ ἵνα γε μὴ βιαίως ἀλλ' ἐν δίκῃ τινὶ ποιεῖν αὐτὸ δόξῃ, νόμον τέ τινα περὶ τῆς κρίσεως αὐτῶν ἐσήνεγκε καὶ
3 δικαστήρια καὶ ἀποῦσί σφισιν ἐκάθισεν. οἵ τε γὰρ πλείους αὐτῶν ἀπεδήμουν, καί τινες καὶ ἡγεμονίας ἐθνῶν εἶχον· καὶ οἱ παρόντες οὔτ' ἀπήντησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους, καὶ προσέτι καὶ διαλαθόντες ἐξεχώρησαν. ἐρήμην οὖν οὐχ ὅπως οἵ τε αὐτόχειρες τοῦ Καίσαρος γενόμενοι καὶ οἱ συνομόσαντές σφισιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοί, οὐχ ὅτι μὴ ἐπιβουλεύσαντες τῷ Καίσαρι ἀλλ'
4 οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει τότε γε ὄντες, ἥλωσαν. τοῦτο δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Πομπήιον τὸν Σέξτον μάλιστα κατεσκευάσθη· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἥκιστα τῆς ἐπιθέσεως μετασχὼν ὅμως κατὰ τὸ πολέμιον αὐτοῦ κατεψηφίσθη. καὶ αὐτοί τε πυρὸς καὶ ὕδατος εἴρχθησαν, καὶ αἱ οὐσίαι αὐτῶν ἐδημεύθησαν· τά τε ἔθνη, οὐκ ἐκεῖνα μόνον ὧν τινες αὐτῶν ἦρχον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα τοῖς τοῦ Καίσαρος φίλοις ἐπετράπη.

49 Ἐν τούτοις δὲ τοῖς ὑπαιτίοις καὶ ὁ Κάσκας ὁ Πούπλιος ὁ Σερουίλιος ὁ δήμαρχος ἐγένετο· καὶ ἐπειδὴ προϋποτοπήσας τὸν Καίσαρα ὑπεξῆλθε πρὶν καὶ ἐς τὴν πόλιν αὐτὸν ἐσελθεῖν, τῆς τε ἀρχῆς ὡς καὶ παρὰ τὰ πάτρια ἀποδημήσας ἐπαύθη, τοῦ πλήθους ὑπὸ Πουπλίου Τιτίου συνάρχοντος αὐτῷ
2 ἀθροισθέντος, καὶ οὕτως ἑάλω. ἐπειδή τε ὁ Τίτιος οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἐτελεύτησεν, ἐβεβαιώθη τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ

on the pretext of the war, then at length he began to follow up the murderers. And in order that he might not appear to be doing this by force but in accordance with some principle of justice, he proposed a law about their trial and convened the courts even in their absence. For the majority of the assassins were abroad and some were even holding commands over provinces; and those who were present not only failed to appear, by reason of their fear, but also secretly left the country. Consequently not only those who had been the actual murderers of Caesar, and their fellow-conspirators, were convicted by default, but many others also who, so far from having plotted against Caesar, had not even been in the city at the time. This action was concocted chiefly against Sextus Pompey; for although he had had no share whatever in the attack, he was nevertheless condemned because he had been an enemy. Those adjudged guilty were debarred from fire and water and their property confiscated. The provinces, not only those which some of them were governing, but all the others as well, were entrusted to the friends of Caesar.

B.C. 43

Among the accused was also Publius Servilius Casca, the tribune. He had already suspected Caesar's purpose in advance and had quietly slipped away, even before Caesar entered the city. For this he was removed from his office, on the charge of having left the city contrary to precedent, the populace being convened for the purpose by his colleague, Publius Titius, and thus he was condemned. When Titius died not long afterward, confirmation was found of a tradition that had remained unbroken

ἀρχαίου τετηρημένον· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἐς ἐκεῖνο τοῦ χρόνου συνάρχοντά τινα καταλύσας ἀπηνιαύτισεν,[1] ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ὁ Βροῦτος ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Κολλατίνου καταπαύσει ἐπαπέθανε, τοῦτο δὲ ὁ Γράκχος ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Ὀκταουίου καταλύσει ἀπεσφάγη, ὅ τε Κίννας ὁ τόν τε Μάρυλλον καὶ τὸν Φλάουιον ἀπαλλάξας οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἀπεφθάρη.
3 ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω τετήρηται, τῶν δὲ δὴ τοῦ Καίσαρος φονέων συχνοὶ μὲν ἐς τὴν τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ χάριν, συχνοὶ δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄθλων[2] προσαναπειθόμενοι κατηγόρουν· χρήματά τε γὰρ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἁλόντος οὐσίας καὶ τὴν τιμὴν τήν τε ἀρχὴν τὴν ἐκείνου, εἴ τινα ἄρα ἔχων ἦν, τό τε μηκέτι μήτ' αὐτὸν μήτε τοὺς υἱεῖς τούς τε ἐγ-
4 γόνους αὐτοῦ στρατεύεσθαι ἐλάμβανον. τῶν γε μὴν δικασάντων σφίσιν οἱ μὲν πλείους τῇ τε χάριτι καὶ τῷ δέει τῷ τοῦ Καίσαρος κατεψηφίζοντο αὐτῶν, ἐνδεικνύμενοί πῃ ὡς καὶ δικαίως αὐτὸ ποιοῦντες· εἰσὶ δὲ οἳ τὴν ψῆφον οἱ μὲν τῷ νόμῳ τῷ περὶ τῆς τιμωρίας σφῶν γεγραμμένῳ, οἱ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ὅπλοις τοῖς τοῦ Καίσαρος ἔδοσαν.
5 καί τις Σιλίκιος Κορωνᾶς βουλευτὴς ἄντικρυς τὸν Βροῦτον τὸν Μᾶρκον ἀπέλυσε. καὶ τότε μὲν αὐτός τε ἐπὶ τούτῳ μέγα ηὔχει καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπαίνους κρύφα ἐλάμβανε, τῷ τε Καίσαρι, ὅτι μὴ εὐθὺς ἀπέθανε, δόξαν ἐπιεικείας παρέσχεν, ὕστερον δὲ ἐκ προγραφῆς ἐθανατώθη.

50 Ταῦτ' οὖν πράξας ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπί τε τὸν Λέπιδον καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον δῆθεν ἐστράτευσεν. ὁ γὰρ Ἀντώνιος, ὡς τότε ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἔφυγε καὶ αὐτὸν

[1] ἀπηνιαύτισεν Bk., ἀπενιαύτισεν LM.
[2] ἄθλων Bk., ἄλλων LM.

from of old; for no one up to that time who had expelled a colleague had lived the year out. In the first place, Brutus died after removing Collatinus from office, then Gracchus was murdered after deposing Octavius, and Cinna, who put Marullus and Flavius out of the way, perished not long afterward. Thus has the tradition been observed. Now the murderers of Caesar had many accusers who were anxious to ingratiate themselves with his son, and many who were persuaded to act thus by the rewards offered. For they received money from the estate of the convicted man and the latter's honours and office, if he had any, and exemption from further service in the army both for themselves and for their sons and grandsons. And as for the jurors, the majority voted against the accused, indicating in one way or another that they were justified in doing this, both in order to win Caesar's favour and through fear of him; but there were some who cast their votes out of respect for the law enacted in regard to the punishment of the culprits, and others out of respect for the arms of Caesar. And one Silicius Corona, a senator, voted outright to acquit Marcus Brutus. He made a great boast of this at the time and secretly received approval from the others; and the fact that he was not immediately put to death gained for Caesar a reputation for clemency, but Silicius was afterwards proscribed and executed.

B.C. 43

After accomplishing all this Caesar made a pretence of making a campaign against Lepidus and Antony. Antony, it seems, on fleeing from the battle previously

οὔθ' ὁ Καῖσαρ, διὰ τὸ τῷ Δεκίμῳ τὸν πόλεμον ἐγχειρισθῆναι, οὔτε ἐκεῖνος, διὰ τὸ μὴ βούλεσθαι τὸν ἀντίπαλον τῷ Καίσαρι ὑπεξαιρεθῆναι, ἐπε-
2 δίωξε, συνελέξατο ὅσους ἠδυνήθη τῶν ἐκ τῆς μάχης περισωθέντων, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Λέπιδον ἀφίκετο παρασκευασάμενον μὲν ὡς καὶ αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν κατὰ τὸ δόγμα στρατεύσοντα, προσ-
3 ταχθέντα δὲ αὖθις κατὰ χώραν μεῖναι. οἱ γὰρ βουλευταὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐπύθοντο τὸν Σιλανὸν τὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου πράξαντα, ἐφοβήθησαν τόν τε Λέπιδον καὶ τὸν Πλάγκον τὸν[1] Λούκιον, μὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι αὐτῷ συνάρωνται,[2] καὶ πέμψαντες πρὸς αὐτοὺς
4 οὐδὲν ἔτι δεῖσθαί σφων ἔφασαν. ἵνα τε μηδὲν ὑποτοπήσωσι κἀκ τούτου τι κακουργήσωσιν, ἐκέλευσαν αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἐκ Οὐιέννης τῆς Ναρβωνησίας ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀλλοβρίγων ποτὲ ἐκπεσόντας καὶ ἐς τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ τε Ῥοδανοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἀράριδος, ᾗ συμμίγνυνται[3] ἀλλήλοις, ἱδρυθέντας συν-
5 οικίσαι. καὶ οὕτως ἐκεῖνοι ὑπομείναντες τὸ Λουγούδουνον μὲν ὀνομασθὲν νῦν δὲ Λούγδουνον καλούμενον ἔκτισαν, οὐχ ὅτι οὐ καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἠδυνήθησαν ἂν ἐλθεῖν,[4] εἴπερ ἠθελήκεσαν (ἀσθενέστατα γὰρ ἤδη τὰ ψηφίσματα πρὸς τοὺς τὰς δυνάμεις ἔχοντας
6 ἤγετο), ἀλλ' ὅτι τὴν ἔκβασιν τοῦ Ἀντωνιείου πολέμου περισκοποῦντες τῇ τε βουλῇ πεπειθαρχηκέναι δόξαι καὶ τὰ σφέτερα ἅμα κρατύνα-
51 σθαι ἐβούλοντο. ἀμέλει τόν τε Σιλανὸν ὁ Λέπιδος ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου συμμαχίᾳ διεμέμψατο,

[1] τὸν Xyl., καὶ τὸν LM.
[2] ἐκεῖνοι αὐτῷ συνάρωνται Oddey, ἐκεῖνος αὐτῶι συναίρηται LM.
[3] συμμίγνυνται R. Steph., συμμίγνυται LM.
[4] ἂν ἐλθεῖν Leuncl., ἀνελθεῖν LM.

described, had not been pursued by Caesar because the war against him had been entrusted to Decimus; and Decimus had not pursued him because he did not wish Caesar's rival to be removed from the field. Hence Antony collected as many as he could of the survivors of the battle and came to Lepidus, who had also made preparations to march into Italy in accordance with the decree, but had afterwards been ordered to remain where he was. For the senators, when they ascertained that Silanus had embraced Antony's cause, were afraid that Lepidus and Lucius Plancus might also coöperate with him, and so they sent a message to them saying they had no further need of them. And to prevent their suspecting anything and consequently causing trouble, they ordered them to establish in a colony in Gallia Narbonensis the men who had once been driven by the Allobroges out of Vienna and afterwards established between the Rhone and the Arar, at their confluence. Therefore they submitted, and founded the town called Lugudunum, now known as Lugdunum,—not because they could not have entered Italy with their arms, had they wished, for the senate's decrees by this time exerted a very weak influence upon such as had troops, but because, while awaiting the outcome of the war Antony was conducting, they wished to appear to have yielded obedience to the senate and at the same time to strengthen their own position. In any case, Lepidus censured Silanus severely for making an alliance with Antony, and when Antony himself

B.C. 43

καὶ αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ ἐλθόντι οὐκ εὐθὺς ἐς λόγους ἀφίκετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ προσκατηγορῶν αὐτοῦ ἐπέστειλεν, ὥστε καὶ ἐπαίνους ἐκ τούτου καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν πολέμου λαβεῖν.
2 τὸν μὲν δὴ ἄλλον χρόνον διὰ ταῦτα οὔτε προσίετο τὸν Ἀντώνιον οὔτε ἀπεωθεῖτο, ἀλλὰ περιεώρα μὲν ἐγγὺς ὄντα καὶ τοῖς συστρατευομένοις οἱ προσομιλοῦντα, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐς λόγους αὐτῷ ᾔει· ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὴν ὁμολογίαν αὐτοῦ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἐπύθετο, τότε καὶ αὐτὸς ἀμφοτέροις
3 σφίσι συνηνέχθη. μαθὼν δὲ τὸ γιγνόμενον Μᾶρκος Ἰουουέντιος[1] ὑποστράτηγος αὐτοῦ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἀποτρέπειν αὐτὸν ἐπειρᾶτο, ὡς δ' οὐκ ἔπεισεν, αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὁρώντων
4 κατεχρήσατο. καὶ ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἐπαίνους τε ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ἀνδριάντα τήν τε ταφὴν τὴν δημοσίαν ἐψηφίσατο, τὸν δὲ δὴ Λέπιδον τήν τε εἰκόνα τὴν ἐν τῷ βήματι ἱδρυμένην ἀφείλοντο καὶ πολέμιον ἐποιήσαντο· καί τινα καὶ ἡμέραν τοῖς συνοῦσιν αὐτῷ προέθεντο,[2] πόλεμόν σφισιν ἀπειλήσαντες ἂν μὴ ἐντὸς ἐκείνης ἐγκαταλείπωσιν
5 αὐτόν. πρὸς δ' ἔτι τήν τε ἐσθῆτα αὖθις μετέβαλον (ἐπὶ γὰρ τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὑπατείᾳ τὴν ἀστικὴν[3] ἀνειλήφεσαν) καὶ τὸν Βροῦτον τὸν Μᾶρκον τόν τε Κάσσιον καὶ τὸν Σέξτον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς μετεπέμψαντο· ἐπειδή τε ἐκεῖνοι χρονιεῖν ἐδόκουν, τῷ Καίσαρι, ἀγνοίᾳ τῆς συνωμοσίας
52 αὐτῶν, τὸν πόλεμον ἐπέτρεψαν. καὶ ὃς τῷ μὲν λόγῳ ὑπεδέξατο αὐτόν, καίτοι τοὺς στρατιώτας

[1] Ἰουουέντιος (Ἰουβέντιος) Xyl., οὐιβέντιος LM.
[2] προέθεντο Leuncl., προσέθεντο LM.
[3] ἀστικὴν Fabricius, ἀσκητικὴν LM.

came, did not hold a conference with him immediately, but sent a despatch to the senate containing further accusations against him, in consequence of which he received not only praise but also the command of the war against him. Hence for the time being he neither received Antony nor repelled him, but allowed him to be near and to associate with his followers, though he did not hold a conference with him; but when he learned of Antony's agreement with Caesar, he then came to terms with both of them himself. Marcus Juventius,[1] his lieutenant, learned what was being done and at first tried to alter his purpose; then, when he did not succeed in persuading him, he made away with himself in the sight of the soldiers. For this the senate voted eulogies and a statue to Juventius and a public funeral, but they deprived Lepidus of his statue which stood upon the rostra and declared him an enemy. They also set a certain day for his comrades and threatened them with war if they did not abandon him before that day. Furthermore, they changed their garb again — for they had resumed citizen's apparel in honour of Caesar's consulship—and summoned Marcus Brutus, Cassius, and Sextus to proceed against them. But when these men seemed likely to be too slow in responding, they entrusted the war to Caesar, being unaware of his league with Antony and Lepidus. Caesar nominally accepted the charge, in spite of having caused his soldiers to shout out the promise

B.C. 43

[1] M. Juventius Laterensis.

συμβοῆσαι ποιήσας ἅπερ εἴρηται, ἔργον δ' οὐδὲν ἐχόμενον αὐτοῦ ἔπραξεν, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ ἐκεκοινολόγητο τῷ τε Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ δι' ἐκείνου καὶ τῷ[1]
2 *Λεπίδῳ (βραχὺ γάρ τι τούτου ἐφρόντιζεν), ἀλλ' ὅτι ἰσχυρούς τε αὐτοὺς ἑώρα ὄντας καὶ συμφρονοῦντας ὑπὸ τῆς συγγενείας ᾐσθάνετο, καὶ οὔτε βιάσασθαί σφας ἐδύνατο, καὶ ἐπήλπισε τόν τε Κάσσιον καὶ τὸν Βροῦτον μέγα ἤδη δυναμένους δι' αὐτῶν κατεργάσεσθαι,*[2] *καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ*
3 *ἐκείνους δι' ἀλλήλων χειρώσεσθαι. διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα καὶ ἄκων τὰς συνθήκας πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐφύλαξε, καί σφισι καὶ καταλλαγὰς πρός τε τὴν βουλὴν καὶ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἐπρυτάνευσεν, οὐκ αὐτὸς ἐσηγησάμενος, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ὑποπτευθείη τι τῶν γεγονότων, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐξεστράτευσεν ὡς καὶ πολεμήσων αὐτοῖς, ὁ δὲ δὴ Κύιντος τήν τε ἄδειαν καὶ τὴν κάθοδόν σφισιν, ὡς καὶ ἀφ'*[3] *ἑαυτοῦ*
4 *γνώμης, δοθῆναι συνεβούλευσεν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἔλαβον αὐτὴν πρὶν τῷ τε Καίσαρι τὴν γερουσίαν ὡς καὶ ἀγνοοῦντι τὸ γιγνόμενον κοινώσασθαι, καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἄκοντα δῆθεν ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀναγκασθῆναι συγκαταθέσθαι.*

53 *Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐπράττετο, ὁ Δέκιμος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὡς καὶ πολεμήσων αὐτοῖς ὥρμησεν, καὶ τόν γε Πλάγκον τὸν Λούκιον, ἐπειδὴ καὶ συνύπατός οἱ ἐς τὸ ἐπιὸν ἔτος προαπεδέδεικτο, προσ-*
2 *ηταιρίσατο· μαθὼν δὲ δὴ τήν τε ἑαυτοῦ καταψήφισιν καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων συναλλαγὴν ἠθέλησε μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐπιστρατεῦσαι, ἐγκατα-*

[1] καὶ τῷ Leuncl., κἂν τῶι LM.
[2] κατεργάσεσθαι R. Steph., κατεργάσασθαι LM.
[3] ἀφ' R. Steph., ἐφ' LM.

already mentioned;[1] but actually he did nothing to follow up his acceptance. This was not because he had made common cause with Antony and through him with Lepidus,—little did he care for that,—but because he saw that they were powerful and knew that their harmony was due to their kinship; and not only could he not use force with them, but he even cherished hopes of bringing about through them the downfall of Cassius and Brutus, who were already very influential, and later of mastering them also by playing one against the other. Accordingly, though reluctantly, he kept his covenant with them and even effected a reconciliation between them and the senate and people. He did not himself propose the matter, lest some suspicion should arise of what had taken place, but he set out as if to make war on them, while Quintus urged, as if on his own motion, that amnesty and restoration should be granted to them. They did not secure this, however, until the senate had communicated the matter to Caesar, who was supposed to be in ignorance of what was going on, and he had agreed to it reluctantly, as he alleged, under compulsion from his soldiers.

While all this was going on, Decimus at first set forth with the intention of making war upon the two, and associated with himself Lucius Plancus, since the latter had been appointed in advance as his colleague for the following year. Learning, however, of his own condemnation and of their reconciliation, he wished to make a campaign against Caesar, but

[1] A reference to the latter half of chap. 42, where Caesar binds his soldiers by oath never to fight against any of their former comrades.

λειφθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Πλάγκου τά τε τοῦ Λεπίδου καὶ τὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου φρονήσαντος, τήν τε Γαλατίαν ἐκλιπεῖν καὶ ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν πρὸς τὸν Βροῦτον πεζῇ δι' Ἰλλυριῶν ἐπειχθῆναι ἔγνω, καί τινας στρατιώτας, ἐν ᾧ δὴ τὰ ἐν χερσὶ καθί-
3 στατο,[1] προέπεμψεν. ὡς δὲ ἐκεῖνοί τε τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀνθείλοντο, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ὅ τε Λέπιδος καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπιδιώξαντες δι' ἑτέρων προσέθεντο, συνελήφθη τε μονωθεὶς ὑπ' ἐχθροῦ τινος, καὶ μέλλων σφαγήσεσθαι ἐδεινοπάθει καὶ ὠδύρετο, μέχρις οὗ Ἕλουιός τις Βλασίων, εὐνοϊκῶς οἱ ἐκ συστρατείας ἔχων, ἑαυτὸν ἑκὼν ὁρῶντος αὐτοῦ προαπέκτεινε.

54 Καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως ἐπαπέθανεν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Ἀντώνιος ὅ τε Λέπιδος ἐν μὲν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ ὑποστρατήγους κατέλιπον, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ὥρμησαν, τό τε πλεῖστον καὶ τὸ
2 κράτιστον τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐπαγόμενοι. οὔτε γὰρ ἀκριβῶς πω ἐπίστευον αὐτῷ, οὔτε εὐεργεσίαν τινὰ ὀφείλειν ἤθελον, ὡς καὶ δι' ἑαυτοὺς τήν τε σφετέραν ἰσχύν, ἀλλ' οὐ δι' ἐκεῖνον καὶ τῆς ἀδείας καὶ τῆς καθόδου τετυχηκότες· καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἤλπιζον πάνθ' ὅσα ἐβούλοντο καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἄστει τῇ τῶν στρατο-
3 πέδων σφῶν περιουσίᾳ ἐξεργάσεσθαι. τοιαύτῃ μὲν οὖν γνώμῃ ὡς καὶ διὰ φιλίας τῆς χώρας ᾔεσαν· ἐκακουργεῖτο δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῆς τε θρασύτητος αὐτῶν οὐδενὸς πολέμου βραχύτερα. καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ μετὰ πολλῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπήντησε περὶ Βονωνίαν, μάλα εὖ παρεσκευασμένος ἀμύνασθαί σφας ἄν τι βίαιον πάσχῃ.

[1] καθίστατο H. Steph., καθίσταντο LM.

was abandoned by Plancus, who favoured the cause of Lepidus and Antony. Then he decided to leave Gaul and hasten by land through Illyricum into Macedonia to Brutus,[1] and he sent ahead some of the soldiers while he was engaged in finishing the business he had in hand. But they embraced Caesar's cause, and the rest were pursued by Lepidus and Antony and afterwards were won over through the agency of others; thus Decimus, being deserted, was seized by a personal foe. When he was about to be murdered, he fell to complaining and lamenting, until one Helvius Blasio, who was kindly disposed to him from their association in campaigns, voluntarily slew himself first in his sight.

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So Decimus died also. Antony and Lepidus left lieutenants in Gaul and themselves proceeded to join Caesar in Italy, taking with them the larger and better part of the army. For they did not yet trust him thoroughly and wished not to owe him any favour, but to seem to have obtained pardon and restoration by their own efforts and strength, rather than through him. They also hoped that, owing to the superiority of their legions, both Caesar and the rest in the city would do whatever they, Antony and Lepidus, wished. So with such a purpose they marched through Italy, as if through a friendly country; still, it was harried, owing to their numbers and audacity, as much as in any war. They were met near Bononia by Caesar with many soldiers; for he was exceedingly well prepared to defend himself against them, if they should offer any violence. Yet

[1] *i.e.* Marcus Brutus. It will have been observed that Dio regularly calls Decimus Brutus by his first name only.

4 οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐδεήθη τότε τῶν ὅπλων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς οὐδέν· ἐμίσουν μὲν γὰρ δεινῶς ἀλλήλους, τῷ δὲ δὴ τάς τε δυνάμεις ἀντιπάλους πως ἔχειν, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐχθροὺς προτιμωρήσασθαι [1] δι' ἀλλήλων βούλεσθαι, προσποιητὸν ὁμολογίαν ἐποιήσαντο.

55 συνῆλθον δὲ ἐς τοὺς λόγους οὐ μόνοι, ἀλλὰ στρατιώτας ἰσαρίθμους ἔχοντες, ἐν νησιδίῳ τινὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ παρὰ τὴν Βονωνίαν παραρρέοντος, ὥστε μηδένα ἄλλον μηδετέροις προσγενέσθαι· 2 καὶ οὕτω πολὺ ἀπὸ τῶν παρόντων σφίσιν ἀποστάντες ἀλλήλους τε διηρεύνησαν, μὴ καὶ ξιφίδιόν τις ὑπὸ μάλης ἔχοι, καὶ διαλεξάμενοί τινα ἡσυχῇ τὸ μὲν σύμπαν ἐπί τε τῇ δυναστείᾳ καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν συνώμοσαν, ἵνα δὲ δὴ μὴ καὶ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας ἄντικρυς ἐφίεσθαι δόξωσι, καί τις αὐτοῖς φθόνος κἀκ τούτου καὶ ἐναντίωσις παρὰ τῶν 3 ἄλλων γένηται, τάδε διωμολογήσαντο· κοινῇ μὲν τοὺς τρεῖς πρός τε διοίκησιν καὶ πρὸς κατάστασιν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιμελητάς τέ τινας καὶ διορθωτάς, καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐς ἀεὶ δῆθεν ἀλλ' ἐς ἔτη πέντε, αἱρεθῆναι, ὥστε τά τε ἄλλα πάντα, κἂν μηδὲν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν μήτε τῷ δήμῳ μήτε τῇ βουλῇ κοινώσωσι, διοικεῖν, καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τάς τε ἄλλας τιμὰς 4 οἷς ἂν ἐθελήσωσι διδόναι, ἰδίᾳ δὲ δή, ὅπως μὴ καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ἀρχὴν σφετερίζεσθαι νομισθῶσι, Καίσαρι μὲν τήν τε Λιβύην ἑκατέραν καὶ Σαρδὼ καὶ Σικελίαν, Λεπίδῳ δὲ τήν τε Ἰβηρίαν πᾶσαν καὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν τὴν [2] Ναρβωνησίαν,[3] Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ τὴν λοιπὴν Γαλατίαν, τήν τε ἐντὸς τῶν

[1] προτιμωρήσασθαι R. Steph., προστιμωρήσασθαι LM.
[2] τὴν R. Steph., καὶ τὴν LM.
[3] Ναρβωνησίαν R. Steph., ταρβωνησίαν LM.

at this time he found no need of arms to oppose them. For although they hated one another bitterly, yet since they had forces about equal and desired to have one another's assistance in taking vengeance on their other enemies first, they reached a pretended agreement. And the three men came together for the conference, not alone, but each with an equal number of soldiers, on a little island in the river that flows past Bononia, so that no one else might be present on the side of any of them. And so they withdrew to a distance from their several escorts and searched one another carefully, to make sure that no one had a dagger concealed. Then they considered various matters at leisure and, in brief, made a solemn compact for the purpose of securing the sovereignty and overthrowing their enemies; but in order not to appear to be aiming directly at an oligarchy and thus to arouse envy and consequent opposition on the part of the others, they came to the following agreement. In common, the three were to be chosen as commissioners and correctors of a sort, for the administration and settlement of affairs, and that not as permanent officials, they pretended, but for five years, with the understanding that they should manage all public business, whether or not they made any communication about it to the people and the senate, and should give the offices and other honours to whomsoever they pleased. Individually, however, in order that they should not be thought to be appropriating the entire government, they arranged that both Africas, Sardinia, and Sicily should be given to Caesar to rule, all of Spain and Gallia Narbonensis to Lepidus, and the rest of Gaul,

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Ἄλπεων καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτὰς οὖσαν, ἄρχειν
5 δοθῆναι. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ ἐκείνη μὲν τογᾶτα,[1] ὥσπερ εἶπον, ὅτι τε εἰρηνικωτέρα παρὰ τὰς ἄλλας ἐδόκει εἶναι καὶ ὅτι καὶ τῇ ἐσθῆτι τῇ Ῥωμαϊκῇ τῇ ἀστικῇ ἐχρῶντο ἤδη, αὕτη[2] δὲ δὴ κομᾶτα,[3] ὅτι οἱ Γαλάται οἱ ταύτῃ ἐς κόμην τὸ πλεῖστον τὰς τρίχας ἀνιέντες ἐπίσημοι κατὰ τοῦτο παρὰ τοὺς
56 ἄλλους ἦσαν. ταῦτά τε οὖν οὕτω διέλαχον, ἵνα αὐτοί τε τὰ ἰσχυρότατα λάβωσι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις δόξαν τοῦ μὴ καὶ τῶν πάντων ὀριγνᾶσθαι παράσχωσι, καὶ προσσυνέθεντο τῶν τε ἐχθρῶν σφῶν σφαγὰς ποιήσασθαι, καὶ Λέπιδον μὲν ἐς τὴν τοῦ Δεκίμου χώραν ὕπατον ἀποδειχθέντα τήν τε Ῥώμην καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν Ἰταλίαν διὰ φυλακῆς ἔχειν, ἐκείνους δὲ ἐπί τε τὸν Βροῦτον καὶ ἐπὶ
2 τὸν Κάσσιον στρατεύσασθαι. καὶ αὐτὰ καὶ ὅρκοις ἐπιστώσαντο. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τοὺς στρατιώτας, ὅπως καὶ ἐπήκοοι δῆθεν καὶ μάρτυρες τῶν ὡμολογημένων σφίσι γένωνται, συγκαλέσαντες ἐδημηγόρησαν ὅσα καὶ εὐπρεπὲς καὶ
3 ἀσφαλὲς ἦν αὐτοῖς εἰπεῖν. κἀν τούτῳ οἱ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου στρατιῶται τὴν θυγατέρα τὴν τῆς Φουλουίας τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ, ἣν ἐκ τοῦ Κλωδίου εἶχε, τῷ Καίσαρι καίτοι ἑτέραν ἠγγυημένῳ[4] προεξένησαν, τοῦ Ἀντωνίου δῆλον ὅτι τοῦτο κατα-
4 σκευάσαντος. καὶ ὃς οὐκ ἀπηρνήσατο· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐμποδισθήσεσθαί τι ἐκ τῆς ἐπιγαμίας πρὸς ἃ

[1] τογᾶτα Bk., τόγατα LM.
[2] αὕτη Leuncl., αὐτὴ LM.
[3] κομᾶτα Bk., κόματα LM.
[4] ἠγγυημένῳ Dind., ἐγγεγυημένωι LM.

both south and north of the Alps, to Antony. The former was called Gallia Togata, as I have stated,[1] because it seemed to be more peaceful than the other divisions of Gaul, and because the inhabitants already employed the Roman citizen-garb; the other was termed Gallia Comata because the Gauls there for the most part let their hair grow long, and were in this way distinguished from the others. So they made these allotments, for the purpose of securing the strongest provinces themselves and giving others the impression that they were not striving for the whole. It was further agreed that they should bring about the murder of their personal enemies, that Lepidus after being appointed consul in Decimus' stead should keep guard over Rome and the remainder of Italy, and that the others should make an expedition against Brutus and Cassius. And they confirmed these arrangements by oath. After this, in order that the soldiers might ostensibly be hearers and witnesses of the terms they had made, they called them together and harangued them, telling all that it was proper and safe to tell them. Meanwhile the soldiers of Antony, of course by his arrangement, recommended to Caesar the daughter of Fulvia, Antony's wife, whom she had by Clodius,—and this in spite of Caesar's being already betrothed to another. He, however, did not refuse her, as he did not think this marriage would hinder

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[1] Evidently in a lost portion of the work.

κατὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου πράξειν ἤμελλεν ἐνόμισε· τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ τὸν πατέρα τὸν Καίσαρα οὐδέν τι ἧττον ἐκ τῆς πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον συγγενείας πάνθ' ὅσα ἠθέλησε κατ' αὐτοῦ πράξαντα ἠπίστατο.

him at all in the designs which he had against Antony. For, in addition to other considerations, he understood that his father Caesar had not failed to carry out all his plans against Pompey, in spite of the kinship between them. B.C. 43

BOOK XLVII

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ Δίωνος Ῥωμαϊκῶν τετταρακοστῇ ἑβδόμῃ

α. Ὡς Καῖσαρ καὶ Ἀντώνιος καὶ Λέπιδος ἐς Ῥώμην ἐλθόντες σφαγὰς εἰργάσαντο.
β. Περὶ Βρούτου καὶ Κασσίου καὶ ὧν ἔπραξαν πρὸ τῆς πρὸς Φιλίπποις[1] μάχης.
γ. Ὡς Βροῦτος καὶ Κάσσιος ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἡττήθησαν καὶ ἀπέθανον.

Χρόνου πλῆθος τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Γαΐου Οὐιβίου[2] Πάνσου καὶ Αὔλου Ἱρτίου ὑπατείας, καὶ ἄλλο ἔτος ἕν, ἐν ᾧ[3] ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι οἵδε ἐγένοντο

Μ. Αἰμίλιος Μ. υἱ. Λέπιδος τὸ β′
Λ. Μουνάτιος[4] Λ. υἱ. Πλάγκος. ὕπ.

Ταῦτ' οὖν συνθέμενοι καὶ συνομόσαντες ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, δόξῃ μὲν ὡς καὶ πάντες ἀπὸ τῆς ἴσης ἄρξοντες, γνώμῃ δὲ ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ἕκαστος πᾶν τὸ κράτος ἕξων, ἠπείγοντο, καίπερ ἐναργέστατα μὲν καὶ πρότερον, σαφέστατα δὲ καὶ τότε τὸ μέλλον 2 ἔσεσθαι προμαθόντες· τῷ μὲν γὰρ Λεπίδῳ ὄφις τέ τις ξίφει ἑκατοντάρχου περιπλακεὶς καὶ λύκος ἔς τε τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ ἐς τὴν σκηνὴν δειπνοποιουμένου αὐτοῦ ἐσελθὼν καὶ τὴν τράπεζαν καταβαλὼν τήν τε ἰσχὺν ἅμα καὶ τὴν δυσχέρειαν τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῇ προεσήμηνεν, τῷ δ' Ἀντωνίῳ γάλα

[1] Φιλίπποις Dind., φίλιππον LM.
[2] Οὐιβίου Dind., ἰουβίου LM. [3] ᾧ Reim., οἷς LM.
[4] Λ. Μουνάτιος Xyl., λμ' συινάτιος LM.

BOOK XLVII

The following is contained in the Forty-seventh of Dio's *Rome*:—

Duration of time, the remainder of the consulship of Gaius Vibius Pansa and Aulus Hirtius, together with one additional year, in which there were the magistrates (consuls) here enumerated:—

B.C.
42 M. Aemilius M. F. Lepidus (II), L. Munatius L. F. Plancus.

B.C. 43

After forming this compact and taking oaths they hastened to Rome, giving the impression that they were all going to rule on equal terms, but each having the intention of getting the entire power himself. Yet they had learned in advance very clearly before this, and very plainly at this time also, what was going to happen. For in the case of Lepidus a serpent that coiled about a centurion's sword and a wolf that entered his camp and his tent while he was eating dinner and knocked over the table foretold at once his future power and the trouble that was to follow it; in the case of Antony, the flowing of milk round about

τε πέριξ περὶ τὸ[1] τάφρευμα περιρρυὲν καὶ συνῳδία τις νυκτὸς περιηχήσασα τάς τε θυμηδίας καὶ
3 τὸν ὄλεθρον τὸν ἀπ' αὐτῶν προέδειξεν. ἐκείνοις μὲν οὖν ταῦτα πρὶν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐλθεῖν ἐγένετο· τῷ δὲ δὴ Καίσαρι τότε εὐθὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς συνθήκαις ἀετὸς ὑπέρ τε τῆς σκηνῆς αὐτοῦ ἱδρυθείς, καὶ δύο κόρακας προσπεσόντας οἱ τίλλειν τε τῶν πτερῶν πειρωμένους ἀποκτείνας, τὴν νίκην κατ' ἀμφοτέρων αὐτῶν ἔδωκε.

2 Καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτως ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, πρότερος μὲν ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι, χωρὶς ἑκάτερος, μετὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἁπάντων ἦλθον, καὶ παραχρῆμα τὰ δόξαντά σφισι διὰ τῶν δημάρχων
2 ἐνομοθέτησαν. ἃ γὰρ ἐπέταττον καὶ ἐβιάζοντο τό τε ὄνομα τὸ τοῦ νόμου ἐλάμβανε καὶ προσέτι καὶ παράκλησιν αὐτοῖς ἔφερε· πάνυ γὰρ ἱκετευθῆναί σφας ἔδει ἵνα αὐτὰ ποιήσωσι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ θυσίαι ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὡς καὶ ἐπ' εὐτυχήμασί τισιν ἐψηφίσθησαν, καὶ ἡ ἐσθὴς ὡς καὶ εὐδαιμονούντων σφῶν μετεβλήθη, καίπερ πολλοῦ μὲν καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν πραττομένων, πολλῷ δὲ ἔτι
3 πλείονος ἐκ τεράτων δέους αὐτοῖς ὄντος. τά τε γὰρ σημεῖα τοῦ στρατεύματος τοῦ τὴν πόλιν φυλάττοντος ἀραχνίων ἀνεπλήσθη, καὶ ὅπλα ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνιόντα ὤφθη, κτύπος τε ἀπ' αὐτῶν πολὺς ἠκούσθη, καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἀσκληπιείῳ[2] μέλισσαι ἐς τὴν ἄκραν πολλαὶ συνεστράφησαν, γῦπές τε ἐπί τε τοῦ νεὼ τοῦ Γενίου[3] τοῦ δήμου καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ[4] τῆς Ὁμονοίας παμπληθεῖς ἱδρύθησαν.

[1] τὸ Xiph., τι LM. [2] τῷ Ἀσκληπιείῳ Bs., τοῖς ἀσκληπείοις LM.
[3] Γενίου Xyl., γενείου LM. [4] τοῦ added by Rk.

the trenches and the resounding of a kind of chant at night foreshadowed the satisfactions that he was to experience and the destruction that was to grow out of them. These portents befell them before they entered Italy; but in Caesar's case it was at this very time, immediately after the covenant had been made, that an eagle settled upon his tent and killed two crows which had attacked it and were trying to pluck out its feathers—a sign which gave him the victory over both his rivals. B.C. 43

So they came to Rome with all their troops, first Caesar and then the others, each one separately, and immediately they enacted through the tribunes the laws they had agreed upon. For the measures which they dictated and forced through not only assumed the name of law, but actually had to be supported by petitions, since the triumvirs required to be besought earnestly to pass them. Hence sacrifices were voted in honour of them as if for successes and the people changed their attire as if they had been blessed by fortune, although great fear was upon them because of these very acts and still greater fear because of omens. For the standards of the army which was guarding the city became covered with cobwebs, pieces of armour were seen to rise up from the earth to the sky and a great clashing that came from them was heard; in the shrine of Aesculapius bees gathered in swarms on the ceiling, and crowds of vultures settled on the temple of the Genius Populi and on that of Concordia.

3 Καὶ αὐτῶν ἐνταῦθα ἔτι ὡς εἰπεῖν ὄντων αἵ τε σφαγαὶ ἐκεῖναι αἷς ποτε ὁ Σύλλας ἐκ τῶν προγραφῶν[1] ἐκέχρητο ἐπανήχθησαν,[2] καὶ ἡ πόλις ἅπασα νεκρῶν ἐπληρώθη· πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἔν τε ταῖς ἀγοραῖς καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἱεροῖς σποράδην ἀπεκτίν-
2 νυντο, καὶ αἵ τε κεφαλαὶ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα αὖθις ἀνετίθεντο, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ σώματα τὰ μὲν αὐτοῦ τε ἐρριπτεῖτο καὶ ὑπὸ κυνῶν ὀρνίθων τε ἠσθίετο, τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐνεβάλλετο. τά τε ἄλλα ὅσα ἐπὶ τοῦ Σύλλου πρότερον ἐπέπρακτο, καὶ τότε συνεφέρετο, πλὴν ὅτι δύο μόνα λευκώματα, χωρὶς μὲν τῶν βουλευτῶν χωρὶς δὲ τῶν
3 ἄλλων, ἐξετέθη. καὶ τὸ μὲν αἴτιον δι' ὃ τοῦτ' ἐγένετο, οὔτε παρ' ἑτέρου τινὸς μαθεῖν οὔτ' αὐτὸς εὑρεῖν ἠδυνήθην· ὃ γάρ τοι μόνον ἄν τις, τό γε ἐλάττους θανατωθῆναι, ἐνενόησεν,[3] ἥκιστα ἀληθές ἐστι· πολλῷ γὰρ πλείους, ἅτε καὶ ὑπὸ πλειόνων, ἐσεγράφησαν. τοῦτο δὲ οὐ παρὰ τὰς σφαγὰς τὰς
4 ἐν τῷ πρὶν γενομένας παρήλλαξεν· ἐπεὶ ὅτι γε οὐκ ἀναμὶξ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν πρώτων τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀλλὰ χωρὶς ἐξετέθη, λῆρόν που πολὺν τοῖς γε[4] ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου σφαγησομένοις ἔφερεν. ἀντ' ἐκείνου δὲ δὴ ἕτερα καὶ πάνυ δυσχερῆ, καίπερ μηδεμίαν τῶν προτέρων ὑπερβολήν, ὥς γε καὶ ἐδόκει, λιπόντων, οὐκ ὀλίγα αὐτοῖς συνηνέχθη.
4 ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ Σύλλου οἵ τέ τι δρῶντες τάς τε τόλμας ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα,[5] ἅτε καὶ πρῶτον τοῦ

[1] προγραφῶν R. Steph., προσγραφῶν LM.
[2] ἐπανήχθησαν Naber, ἐποιήθησαν LM.
[3] ἐνενόησεν M, ἐνενόησαν L. [4] γε Leuncl., τε LM.
[5] ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα Bs., πρόσχημα LM.

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And while the people were still in this state of mind, those murders by proscription which Sulla[1] had once indulged in were once more resorted to and the whole city was filled with corpses. Many were killed in their houses, many even in the streets and here and there in the fora and around the temples; the heads of the victims were once more set up upon the rostra and their bodies either allowed to lie where they were, to be devoured by dogs and birds, or else cast into the river. Everything that had been done before in the days of Sulla occurred also at this time, except that only two white tablets were posted, one for the senators and one for the others. The reason for this I have not been able to learn from anyone else or to find out myself; for the only reason that might occur to one, namely, that fewer were to be put to death, is by no means true, since many more names were posted, owing to the fact that there were more persons making the lists. However, this circumstance did not cause these proscriptions to differ from the murders on the earlier occasion; since the posting of the names of the prominent citizens, not promiscuously along with those of the rabble, but separately, must surely have seemed a very absurd distinction to the men who were to be murdered on precisely the same terms. But over against this one difference there were not a few other conditions of a very distressing nature that fell to their lot, although Sulla's proscriptions, to all appearances, left no room for outdoing them. In Sulla's time, to be sure, the perpetrators had committed their shocking deeds on the spur of the moment, inasmuch as they were trying this sort of thing for the

[1] Cf. Frg. 109.

τοιούτου πειρώμενοι, καὶ οὐκ ἐκ προβουλῆς ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ διὰ τοῦθ' ἧττον τὰ πλείω κακοτρόπως, οἷα οὐκ ἐκ προνοίας ἀλλ' ἐκ συντυχίας, ἔπραττον· καὶ οἱ πάσχοντες ἐξαπιναίαις τε καὶ ἀνηκούστοις συμφοραῖς περιπίπτοντες ῥᾳστώνην τινὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἀνελπίστου τῶν παθῶν ἐλάμβανον.
2 τότε δὲ πάντα μὲν τὰ προτολμηθέντα οἱ μὲν αὐτοὶ χειρουργήσαντες, οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες, οἱ δ' ἀκοῇ γοῦν ὑπογύῳ[1] ἀκριβοῦντες, πολλὰ δ' οὖν[2] ἐν τῷ διὰ μέσου τῇ προσδοκίᾳ τῶν ὁμοίων οἱ μὲν ὡς δράσουσι προσεπινοήσαντες, οἱ δ' ὡς πείσονται
3 προσδείσαντες, ἐκεῖνοί τε πλείστην ἀτοπίαν τῇ τε ζηλώσει τῶν προτέρων ἔργων καὶ τῇ ἀπ' αὐτῶν σπουδῇ[3] ἐς τὸ καινῶσαί[4] πως τὰ ἐπιβουλεύματα ἐξ ἐπιτεχνήσεως παρεῖχον, καὶ οἱ ἕτεροι πάνθ' ὅσα παθεῖν ἐδύναντο λογιζόμενοι πολὺ ταῖς ψυχαῖς καὶ πρὸ τῶν σωμάτων, ὡς καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς
5 ἤδη ὄντες, διεκναίοντο. κἄν τε[5] τούτῳ χαλεπωτέρως ἢ πρὶν ἀπήλλασσον, καὶ διότι τότε μὲν μόνοι οἱ τοῦ Σύλλου τῶν τε περὶ αὐτὸν δυνατῶν ἐχθροὶ διώλοντο, τῶν δὲ δὴ φίλων αὐτοῦ τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων οὐδεὶς ἐκείνου γε κελεύσαντος
2 ἐφθάρη, ὥστε ἔξω τῶν πάνυ πλουσίων (τούτοις γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτε εἰρήνη πρὸς τὸν ἰσχυρότερον ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις γίγνεται) οἵ γε λοιποὶ ἐθάρσουν· ἐν δὲ δὴ ταῖς δευτέραις ταύταις σφαγαῖς οὐχ ὅπως οἱ

[1] ὑπογύῳ R. Steph., ὑπογυίωι LM.
[2] δ' οὖν Bk., γοῦν LM.
[3] σπουδῇ supplied by Xyl.
[4] καινῶσαί R. Steph., κενῶσαί LM.
[5] τε added by Bk.

first time, and not as the result of deliberate planning, and hence in most cases they behaved less wickedly, since they were acting, not with malice aforethought, but as chance dictated; and the victims, encountering misfortunes which came upon them suddenly and had never before been heard of by them, found some alleviation in the unexpectedness of their sufferings. At this time, however, when men had either taken part themselves in all the former terrible deeds, or had beheld them, or were at any rate thoroughly acquainted with them from recent descriptions, and accordingly in all the time between, in the expectation of a recurrence of similar outrages, had, on the one hand, been devising many additional horrors, with the idea that they would inflict them, and, on the other hand, been conjuring up additional terrors with the idea that they would suffer them, the perpetrators resorted to most unusual devices in their emulation of the outrages of yore and their consequent eagerness to introduce into their schemes, by their ingenuity, novel features of some sort; and the victims, reflecting upon all that they might suffer, underwent great tortures in their minds even before their bodies were put to torture, as if they were already in the very midst of their sufferings. Another reason for their faring worse on this occasion than before was that previously only the enemies of Sulla and of the leaders associated with him were destroyed, whereas among the friends of Sulla or of the other men no one perished, at least not at Sulla's bidding; so that, apart from the very wealthy, who can never be at peace on such occasions with the man more powerful than themselves, all the rest had no cause for fear. In this second series of murders,

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ἐχθροὶ αὐτῶν ἢ καὶ οἱ πλούσιοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ πάνυ 3 φίλοι καὶ παρὰ δόξαν ἐκτείνοντο. ἄλλως μὲν γὰρ ἤ τις ἢ οὐδεὶς ἐς ἔχθραν ἀπ' ἰδίας τινὸς αἰτίας τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐκείνοις, ὡς καὶ σφαγῆναι πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἐληλύθει· τὰ δὲ δὴ κοινὰ πράγματα καὶ αἱ τῶν δυναστειῶν διαλλαγαὶ καὶ τὰς φιλίας τάς τε ἔχθρας τὰς σφοδρὰς αὐτοῖς ἐπεποιήκεσαν. 4 πάντας γὰρ τοὺς τῷ πέλας συναραμένους[1] τέ τι καὶ συμπράξαντας ἐν πολεμίου μοίρᾳ οἱ ἕτεροι ἐτίθεντο· καὶ οὕτω συνέβαινε τοὺς αὐτοὺς καὶ φίλους τινὶ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐχθροὺς πάντων[2] γεγονέναι ὥστε, ἐν ᾧ ἰδίᾳ ἕκαστος τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύσαντάς οἱ ἠμύνετο, καὶ τοὺς φιλτάτους κοινῇ συν-5 απώλλυσαν. ἐκ γὰρ τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους πραγμάτων τό τε οἰκειωθέν σφισι καὶ τὸ ἀλλοτριωθὲν ἐν λόγῳ τινὶ τιθέμενοι οὔτε τὸν ἑαυτοῦ τις αὐτῶν ἐχθρὸν τιμωρήσασθαι, φίλον ἑτέρου ὄντα, ἐδύνατο μὴ ἀντιδιδοὺς ἄλλον, καὶ ἐκ τῆς τῶν γεγονότων ὀργῆς τῆς τε ἔπειτα ὑποψίας παρ' οὐδὲν τὴν τοῦ ἑταιρικοῦ σωτηρίαν πρὸς τὴν τοῦ διαφόρου τιμωρίαν ποιούμενοι ῥᾳδίως σφᾶς ἀντεδίδοσαν. 6 κἀκ τούτου τούς τε φιλτάτους ἀντὶ τῶν ἐχθίστων ἀλλήλοις προέβαλλον, καὶ τοὺς πολεμιωτάτους ἀντὶ τῶν ἑταιροτάτων, τοῦτο μὲν ἴσους πρὸς ἴσους, τοῦτο δὲ ἀνθ' ἑνὸς πλείονας ἢ καὶ ἀντὶ

[1] *συναραμένους* R. Steph., *συναιραμένους* LM.
[2] *πάντων* Kuiper, *πάντως* LM.

however, not only the men's enemies or the rich were being killed, but also their best friends, incredible as it may seem. For in general almost nobody had incurred the enmity of those men for any mere private cause, to such an extent as to be murdered by them; but it was their public relations and their changing of their allegiance from one political leader to another that had created for the Romans not only their friendships, but also their violent enmities. For everyone who had made common cause or coöperated with his neighbour in anything was regarded by all the rest in the light of an enemy. And thus it came about that the same persons had become friends of some one of the leaders and enemies of them all as a body, so that while privately each leader was merely taking vengeance upon those who had plotted against him, as a group they were destroying even their dearest friends. For in consequence of the dealings they had had with one another they kept a sort of reckoning of the items of "friend" and "enemy," and no one of their number could take vengeance on one of his own enemies, if he was a friend of one of the other two, without giving up some friend in return; and because of their resentment over what was past and their suspicion regarding the future they cared nothing about the saving of an associate as over against their vengeance upon an adversary, and therefore readily gave their friends in return. In consequence they were now offering up to each other their staunchest friends in return for their bitterest enemies, and getting their most implacable foes in return for their closest comrades, sometimes exchanging equal numbers and some-

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πλειόνων ἐλάττονας, ἠλλάττοντο, τά τε ἄλλα ἐν ἀγορᾶς τρόπῳ ποιούμενοι, καὶ ὑπερβάλλοντες 2 ὥσπερ ἐν πρατηρίῳ. εἰ μὲν γὰρ[1] εἷς τις ἑνός τινος ἀντάξιος ὥστ' ἰσομοιρεῖν εὑρίσκετο, ἁπλῆ ἡ ἀντίδοσις ἐγίγνετο· ὅσους δὲ δὴ ἀρετή τις ἢ ἀξίωσις ἢ καὶ συγγένεια ἀνετίμα, ἀντὶ πλειόνων ἀπώλλυντο. ἅτε γὰρ ἐν ἐμφυλίοις πολέμοις, καὶ πολλῷ μὲν χρόνῳ πολλαῖς δὲ καὶ πράξεσι γενομένοις, συχνοὶ καὶ τοῖς πάνυ συγγενέσι[2] κατὰ τὸ 3 στασιωτικὸν προσεκεκρούκεσαν. ἀμέλει τῷ τε Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ ὁ θεῖος Λούκιος[3] Καῖσαρ καὶ τῷ Λεπίδῳ καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς Λούκιος Παῦλος ἐπεπολέμωντο. ἀλλ' οὗτοι μὲν ἐσώθησαν, τῶν δὲ δὴ ἄλλων πολλοὶ καὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς τε φίλοις καὶ τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις, ὑφ' ὧνπερ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα καὶ σωθήσεσθαι καὶ τιμηθήσεσθαι προσεδόκων, ἐσφά- 4 γησαν. ὅπως γὰρ μηδεὶς στερηθήσεσθαι τῶν ἄθλων φοβηθείς, ὅτι τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ Σύλλου φονεύσαντάς τινας ὁ Κάτων ὁ Μᾶρκος ταμιεύσας ἀπήτησε πάνθ' ὅσα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς εἰλήφεσαν, ἧττόν τινα ἀποκτείνῃ, προηγόρευσαν ὅτι οὐδένα αὐτῶν 5 ἐς τὰ δημόσια γράμματα ἐσγράψουσι.[4] τούς[5] τε οὖν ἄλλους ἑτοιμότερον διὰ τοῦτ' ἔσφαζον καὶ τοὺς εὐπόρους, εἰ καὶ μηδενὶ αὐτῶν ἀπήχθοντο· παμπόλλων τε γὰρ χρημάτων δεόμενοι, καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες ὁπόθεν ἄλλοθεν τὰς ἐπιθυμίας τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀποπληρώσωσι, κοινήν τινα κατὰ τῶν

[1] γὰρ supplied by Bk.
[2] συγγενέσι R. Steph., συγγενεῦσι LM.
[3] Λούκιος Xyl., λούκιος ἀντώνιος LM.
[4] ἐσγράψουσι Reim., ἐσγράφουσι LM.
[5] τούς M cod. Peir., τούτους L.

times several for one or fewer for more, and carrying on their negotiations in general after the fashion of a market, particularly in over-bidding one another as at an auction. If one person was found who matched another in value so that there was a parity between them, there was an even exchange; but those whose value was enhanced by some excellence or rank or even relationship perished each at the price of several lives. For, as is natural in civil wars, which last a long time and involve many incidents, many had in the course of the strife come into collision even with their nearest relatives. For example, Antony had found an enemy in his uncle, Lucius Caesar, and Lepidus in his brother, Lucius Paullus. But though the lives of these men were spared, yet many of the rest were slaughtered even in the houses of their friends and relatives, at whose hands they most confidently expected to be saved and honoured. For, in order that no one should hesitate to kill another out of fear of being deprived of the rewards,—inasmuch as Marcus Cato, in his quaestorship, had demanded back from those who had murdered anyone in the time of Sulla all that they had received for their work,—they proclaimed that the name of none of the perpetrators should be registered in the public records. Encouraged by this, men proceeded to slay, in addition to the others, also the well-to-do, even when they had no dislike for any of them. For since they stood in need of vast sums of money and had no other source from which to satisfy the desires of their soldiers, they affected a kind of common enmity

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6 πλουσίων ἔχθραν προσέθεντο.[1] καὶ ἄλλα τε διὰ τοῦτο πολλὰ παρενομήθη,[2] καὶ παιδίσκον τινὰ ἐς ἐφήβους ἐσήγαγον, ἵν' ὡς ἐς ἄνδρας ἤδη τελῶν ἀποθάνῃ.

7 Ταῦτα δὲ ἐπράττετο μὲν ὑπό τε τοῦ Λεπίδου καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου μάλιστα (πρός τε γὰρ τοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ προτέρου ἐπὶ μακρότατον τιμηθέντες, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ταῖς τε ἡγεμονίαις ἐπὶ πλεῖστον γενόμενοι, πολλοὺς ἐχθροὺς εἶχον), 2 ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος κατὰ τὴν τῆς δυναστείας κοινωνίαν γίγνεσθαι, ἐπεὶ αὐτός γε οὐδέν τι συχνοὺς ἀποκτεῖναι ἐδεήθη· τῇ τε γὰρ φύσει οὐκ ὠμὸς ἦν, καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς ἤθεσιν ἐνετέθραπτο. πρὸς δ' ἔτι νέος τε ὢν καὶ ἄρτι ἐς τὰ πράγματα παριὼν οὔτ' ἄλλως ἀνάγκην[3] πολλοὺς σφοδρῶς μισεῖν εἶχε καὶ φιλεῖσθαι 3 ἤθελε. σημεῖον δὲ ὅτι, ἀφ' οὗ τῆς τε πρὸς ἐκείνους συναρχίας ἀπηλλάγη καὶ τὸ κράτος μόνος ἔσχεν, οὐδὲν ἔτι τοιοῦτον ἔπραξεν. καὶ τότε δὲ οὐχ ὅσον πολλοὺς οὐκ ἔφθειρεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔσωσε πλείστους, τοῖς τε προδοῦσι τοὺς δεσπότας ἢ τοὺς φίλους χαλεπώτατα καὶ τοῖς συναρα-4 μένοις[4] τισὶν ἐπιεικέστατα ἐχρήσατο. τεκμήριον δέ, Τανουσία γυνὴ ἐπιφανὴς τὸν ἄνδρα Τίτον Οὐίνιον ἐπικηρυχθέντα τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐς κιβωτὸν παρὰ ἀπελευθέρῳ τινὶ Φιλοποίμενι κατέκρυψεν, ὥστε καὶ πίστιν τοῦ τεθνηκέναι αὐτὸν παρασχεῖν· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο δημοτελῆ ἑορτήν, ἣν συγγενής τις αὐτῆς ποιήσειν ἔμελλε, τηρήσασα, τόν τε Καίσαρα

[1] προσέθεντο M cod. Peir., προέθεντο L.
[2] παρενομήθη L, παρενομίσθη M, παρενεμήθη cod. Peir.
[3] ἀνάγκην Xiph., ἂν ἀνάγκην LM.
[4] συναραμένοις cod. Peir., συναιραμένοις LM.

against the rich. And among the many other lawless acts they committed in carrying out this policy, they took a lad and enrolled him among the youths of military age, in order that they might kill him as now classed among the grown men. B.C. 43

These acts were committed chiefly by Lepidus and Antony; for they had been honoured by the former Caesar for many years, and as they had been holding offices and governorships for a long time they had many enemies. But Caesar seems to have taken part in the business merely because of his sharing the authority, since he himself had no need at all to kill a large number; for he was not naturally cruel and had been brought up in his father's ways. Moreover, as he was still a young man and had just entered politics, he was under no necessity in any case of hating many persons violently, and, besides, he wished to be loved. A proof of this is that from the time he broke off his joint rulership with his colleagues and held the power alone he no longer did anything of the sort. And even at this time he not only refrained from destroying many but actually saved a very large number; and he treated with great severity those who betrayed their masters or friends and very leniently those who helped others; witness the case of Tanusia, a woman of note. She at first concealed her husband Titus Vinius, one of the proscribed, in a chest at the house of a freedman named Philopoemen and so made it appear that he had been killed. Later she waited for a popular festival, which a relative of hers was to direct, and through the

διὰ τῆς Ὀκταουίας τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἐς τὸ θέατρον
5 μόνον τῶν τριῶν ἐσελθεῖν διεπράξατο, κἀνταῦθα ἐσπηδήσασα τό τε πραχθὲν ἀγνοοῦντί οἱ ἐμήνυσε, καὶ τὴν κιβωτὸν αὐτὴν ἐσκομίσασα ἐκεῖθεν τὸν ἄνδρα ἐξήγαγεν, ὥστε τὸν Καίσαρα θαυμάσαντα πάντας μὲν αὐτοὺς ἀφεῖναι (καὶ γὰρ τοῖς συγκρύψασί τινα θάνατος προείρητο), τὸν δὲ[1] Φιλοποίμενα καὶ ἐς τὴν ἱππάδα κατατάξαι.

8 Ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν πολλούς, ὅσους γε καὶ ἠδυνήθη,[2] διεσώσατο· ὅ τε Λέπιδος τῷ τε ἀδελφῷ τῷ Παύλῳ ἐς Μίλητον ἐκδρᾶναι ἐπέτρεψε, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους οὐκ ἀπαραίτητος ἦν· ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ὠμῶς καὶ ἀνηλεῶς οὐχ ὅτι τοὺς ἐκτεθέντας ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐπικουρῆσαί τινι αὐτῶν ἐπιχειρήσαντας
2 ἔκτεινε. τάς τε κεφαλάς σφων, εἰ καὶ σιτούμενος ἐτύγχανεν, ἐπεσκόπει, καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τῆς τε ἀνοσιωτάτης καὶ τῆς οἰκτροτάτης αὐτῶν ὄψεως ἐνεπίμπλατο. καὶ ἥ γε[3] Φουλουία πολλοὺς καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ κατ' ἔχθραν καὶ διὰ χρήματα, καὶ ἔστιν οὓς οὐδὲ γιγνωσκομένους ὑπὸ τοῦ
3 ἀνδρός, ἐθανάτωσεν· ἑνὸς γοῦν τινος κεφαλὴν ἰδὼν εἶπεν ὅτι "τοῦτον οὐκ ἠπιστάμην." ὡς δ' οὖν καὶ ἡ τοῦ Κικέρωνός ποτε ἐκομίσθη σφίσι (φεύγων γὰρ καὶ καταληφθεὶς ἐσφάγη), ὁ μὲν[4] Ἀντώνιος πολλὰ αὐτῷ καὶ δυσχερῆ ἐξονειδίσας ἔπειτ' ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὴν ἐκφανέστερον τῶν ἄλλων ἐν τῷ βήματι προτεθῆναι, ἵν' ὅθεν κατ' αὐτοῦ δημηγορῶν ἠκούετο, ἐνταῦθα μετὰ τῆς χειρὸς τῆς
4 δεξιᾶς, ὥσπερ ἀπετέτμητο, ὁρῷτο· ἡ δὲ δὴ Φουλουία ἔς τε τὰς χεῖρας αὐτὴν πρὶν ἀποκομισθῆναι

[1] δὲ LM, δὲ δὴ cod. Peir. [2] ἠδυνήθη St., ἐδυνήθη LM.
[3] γε Bk., τε LM. [4] ὁ μὲν M Xiph., ὁ μὲν οὖν L.

influence of Caesar's sister Octavia brought it about B.C. 43 that Caesar alone of the triumvirs entered the theatre. Then she rushed in and informed him of her deed, of which he was still ignorant, brought in the chest itself and produced from it her husband. Caesar, astonished, released all of them—for death was the penalty also for such as concealed anyone—and enrolled Philopoemen among the knights.

So Caesar saved the lives of as many as he could; and Lepidus allowed his brother Paulus to escape to Miletus and was not inexorable toward the others. But Antony killed savagely and mercilessly, not only those whose names had been posted, but likewise those who had attempted to assist any of them. He always viewed their heads, even if he happened to be eating, and sated himself to the fullest extent on this most unholy and pitiable sight. And even Fulvia also caused the death of many, both to satisfy her enmity and to gain their wealth, in some cases men with whom her husband was not even acquainted; at any rate, when he saw the head of one man, he exclaimed: "I knew not this man!"[1] When, however, the head of Cicero also was brought to them one day (he had been overtaken and slain in flight), Antony uttered many bitter reproaches against it and then ordered it to be exposed on the rostra more prominently than the rest, in order that it might be seen in the very place where Cicero had so often been heard declaiming against him, together with his right hand, just as it had been cut off. And Fulvia took the head into her hands before it was

ἐδέξατο, καὶ ἐμπικραναμένη οἱ καὶ ἐμπτύσασα ἐπί τε τὰ γόνατα ἐπέθηκε, καὶ τὸ στόμα αὐτῆς διανοίξασα[1] τήν τε γλῶσσαν ἐξείλκυσε καὶ ταῖς βελόναις αἷς ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐχρῆτο κατεκέντησε, πολλὰ ἅμα καὶ μιαρὰ προσεπισκώπτουσα.
5 καὶ οὗτοι δ' οὖν ὅμως ἔσωσάν τινας, παρ' ὧν γε καὶ πλείω χρήματα ἔλαβον ἢ τελευτησάντων εὑρήσειν ἤλπισαν· καὶ ἵνα γε μὴ κεναὶ αἱ ἐν τοῖς λευκώμασι χῶραι τῶν ὀνομάτων αὐτῶν ὦσιν, ἑτέρους ἀντενέγραψαν. πλήν γε ὅτι τὸν θεῖον ὁ Ἀντώνιος, πολλὰ τῆς μητρὸς τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τῆς Ἰουλίας ἱκετευσάσης, ἀφῆκεν, οὐδὲν ἄλλο χρηστὸν εἰργάσατο.[2]

9 Πολύτροποι μὲν οὖν διὰ ταῦτα αἱ σφαγαί, πολυειδεῖς δὲ καὶ σωτηρίαι τισὶν ἐγένοντο. συχνοὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ πρὸς τῶν φιλτάτων ἀπώλοντο, συχνοὶ δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθίστων ἐσώθησαν. ἄλλοι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀπέκτειναν, ἄλλους αὐτοὶ οἱ ἐπελθόντες ὡς καὶ φονεύσοντες[3] ἀπέλυσαν. προδόντες δέ τινες δεσπότας ἢ καὶ φίλους ἐκολάσθησαν, καὶ ἕτεροι δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐτιμήθησαν· οἵ τε περιποιήσαντές τινας οἱ μὲν δίκην ἔδοσαν οἱ δὲ καὶ
2 γέρα ἔλαβον. οἷα γὰρ οὐχ ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς ἀλλὰ τριῶν πρός τε τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἑκάστου καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἴδιον συμφέρον πάντα ποιούντων, καὶ μήτε τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἢ φίλους ἡγουμένων, σωθῆναί τε πολλάκις ὃν ὁ[4] ἕτερος ἀπολέσθαι, καὶ φθαρῆναι αὖ ὃν ὁ ἕτερος περιγενέσθαι ἤθελε, σπουδαζόντων, πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα συνέβαινεν, ὥς που

[1] διανοίξασα Ioann. Antioch., Xiph., Zon., διοίξασα LM.
[2] οὐδὲν—εἰργάσατο om. L.
[3] φονεύσοντες Rk., φονεύσαντες LM. [4] ὁ om. L.

removed, and after abusing it spitefully and spitting upon it, set it on her knees, opened the mouth, and pulled out the tongue, which she pierced with the pins that she used for her hair, at the same time uttering many brutal jests. Yet even this pair saved some persons from whom they got more money than they could expect to obtain by their death; and in order that the places for their names on the tablets might not be empty, they inscribed others in their stead. Indeed, with the exception of releasing his uncle at the earnest entreaty of his mother Julia, Antony performed no praiseworthy act.

For these reasons the murders took many forms, and also the rescues in individual instances were of divers kinds. Many perished at the hands of their dearest friends, and many were saved by their bitterest enemies. Some slew themselves, and others were released by the very men who came upon them to murder them. Some who betrayed masters or friends were punished, and others were honoured for this very reason; of those who helped others save their lives, some paid the penalty and others actually received rewards. For since it was not one man who was concerned, but three, each doing anything and everything according to his own desire and his private advantage and regarding different sets of men as enemies or friends, and each having often occasion to desire earnestly that the life of a man be spared whom one of the others wished to destroy, or, on the other hand, that a man be put to death whom one of the others wished to have survive, many complicated situations resulted, according as

καὶ εὐνοίας ἢ μίσους πρός τινα ἔχοντες ἦσαν.
10 ἐγὼ οὖν τὸ μὲν πάντα αὐτὰ ἀκριβῶς καθ' ἕκαστον ἐπεξελθεῖν παραλείψω (πάμπολύ τε γὰρ ἔργον ἂν εἴη, καὶ οὐδὲν μέγα τῇ συγγραφῇ παρέξεται), ἃ δὲ ἀξιομνημόνευτα μάλιστα εἶναι νομίζω, διηγήσομαι.

2 Τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἐς ἔπαυλίν[1] τις τὸν δεσπότην κατακρύψας, εἶτ' ἐπειδὴ καὶ[2] ὣς καθ' ἑτέρου τινὸς μήνυσιν ἀπολεῖσθαι ἔμελλε, τήν τε ἐσθῆτα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἠλλάξατο, καὶ μετ' αὐτῆς τοῖς ἐπιοῦσιν ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ὢν προαπήντησε καὶ ἐσφάγη· καὶ οὕτως οἱ μὲν ἀπετράποντο, νομίσαντες ὃν ἐβούλοντο πεφονευκέναι, ὁ δὲ ἀπελθόντων
3 αὐτῶν ἑτέρωσε διέφυγε. τοῦτο δὲ ἄλλος τις τὴν σκευὴν ὁμοίως ἅπασαν πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην διαλλάξας αὐτός τε ἐς φορεῖον κατάστεγον ἐσῆλθε καὶ ἐκεῖνον διφροφορεῖν ἐποίησε· κἀκ τούτου καταληφθέντες ὁ μὲν οὐδ' ὀφθεὶς ἐφονεύθη, ὁ δὲ ὥς τις
4 σκευοφόρος διεσώθη. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἴσως[3] ἐκεῖνοι ἐξ εὐεργεσίας τινὸς προϋπαρχούσης σφίσι τοῖς εὖ ποιήσασιν ἀνταπέδοσαν· στιγματίας δέ τις οὐχ ὅσον οὐ προέδωκε τὸν στίξαντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ προθύμως ἔσωσεν. ὡς γοῦν ὑπεκκομίζων ποι αὐτὸν ἐφωράθη καὶ ἐδιώκετο, ἀπέκτεινέ τέ τινα ἐντυχόντα οἱ κατὰ τύχην, καὶ τὴν στολὴν αὐτοῦ τῷ δεσπότῃ δοὺς τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ πυρὰν ἐπέθηκεν,
5 αὐτὸς δὲ τήν τε ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὸν δακτύλιον τοῦ δεσπότου λαβὼν ἀπήντησε τοῖς διώκουσι, καὶ πλασάμενος ὡς καὶ φεύγοντα αὐτὸν ἀπεκτονὼς

[1] ἔπαυλίν Schwartz (from Appian), σπήλαιόν LM cod. Peir.
[2] καὶ cod. Peir., om. LM.
[3] ἴσως cod. Peir., om. LM Xiph.

they felt good-will or hatred toward anyone. I shall accordingly refrain from giving an accurate and detailed description of all such incidents, since this would be a vast undertaking and there would be no great gain to my history, but shall relate what I regard as most worthy of remembrance. B.C. 43

In one case a slave had hidden his master in a villa, and then, when even so the master was likely to perish through information given by a third person, this slave changed clothes with him, and wearing his master's apparel, went to meet the pursuers as if he were himself the master, and was murdered. So they turned aside, thinking they had slain the man they wished, and when they had departed, the master made his escape to some other place. Again, another slave likewise changed his entire dress with his master and entered a covered litter himself, making his master one of the carriers; and so, when they were overtaken, he was killed without being even looked at, while the master was spared as being a porter. These, perhaps, are instances of favours repaid by these slaves to their indulgent masters in recognition of some kindness previously received. But there was also a branded runaway slave who, so far from betraying the man who had branded him, very gladly saved him. It was discovered that he was smuggling his master to some place of safety and a pursuit was begun; so he killed a man who met him by chance, gave the man's clothes to his master, and placing the corpse upon a pyre, he himself took his master's clothing and ring, went to meet the pursuers, and upon claiming that he had killed his master while fleeing, his word was believed,

ἐπιστεύθη ἔκ τε τῶν σκύλων καὶ ἐκ τῶν στιγμάτων, καὶ ἐκεῖνόν τε ἅμα ἔσωσε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐτιμήθη.
6 ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐς οὐδεμίαν ὀνόματος μνήμην ἀνήκει· Ὀσίδιον[1] δὲ δὴ Γέταν ὁ υἱός, ἐκφορὰν δή τινα αὐτοῦ ὡς καὶ τεθνηκότος σκευάσας, ἐξέσωσε, καὶ Κύιντον Κικέρωνα τὸν τοῦ Μάρκου ἀδελφὸν ὁ παῖς ἐξέκλεψε καὶ ὅσον ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ ἔσωσεν.
7 αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ καὶ κατέκρυψε τὸν πατέρα ὥστε μὴ εὑρεθῆναι, καὶ στρεβλωθεὶς ἐπὶ τούτῳ πάσαις βασάνοις οὐδὲν ἐξελάλησε· μαθὼν δὲ ἐκεῖνος τὸ γιγνόμενον, καὶ θαυμάσας τε ἅμα τὸν παῖδα καὶ ἐλεήσας, ἦλθεν ἐθελοντὴς ἐς τὸ ἐμφανὲς καὶ αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν τοῖς σφαγεῦσι παρέδωκεν.

11 Ἀρετῆς μὲν δὴ καὶ εὐσεβείας τοσαῦτα τότε ἐπιφανῆ ἔργα ἐγένετο· Ποπίλιος[2] δὲ δὴ Λαίνας τὸν Κικέρωνα τὸν Μᾶρκον ἀπέκτεινε καίπερ
2 εὐεργέτην αὐτοῦ ἐκ συνηγορήματος ὄντα, καὶ ἵνα γε μὴ ἀκουόμενος μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁρώμενος πίστιν τοῦ πεφονευκέναι αὐτὸν λάβῃ, εἰκόνα ἑαυτοῦ πλησίον τῆς ἐκείνου κεφαλῆς ἐστεφανωμένην ἔθηκε, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ ἐπιγεγραμμένον ἔχουσαν. καὶ οὕτω γε καὶ τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ διὰ τοῦτ' ἤρεσεν ὥστε καὶ χρήματα
3 πλείω τῶν ἐπηγγελμένων λαβεῖν. Μᾶρκος δὲ Τερέντιος Οὐάρρων ἠδίκησε μὲν οὐδέν, ὁμώνυμος δὲ δή τινι τῶν ἐπικεκηρυγμένων πλὴν μιᾶς προσηγορίας ὤν, καὶ δείσας μή τι κατὰ τοῦτο, οἷα

[1] Ὀσίδιον Fabricius, ὀσιαιον LM, ὀσίλιον cod. Peir.
[2] Ποπίλιος Xyl., πόπλιος LM cod. Peir.

because of his spoils and the marks of the branding, and thus he not only saved his master, but at the same time gained honour for himself. Now these anecdotes redound to the memory of no persons known by name; but there was Hosidius Geta, whose son arranged a funeral for him, as though he were already dead, and saved him in that way, and Quintus Cicero, the brother of Marcus, whose son secreted him and saved his life, so far as it was in his power to do so. For the boy concealed his father so well that he could not be discovered, and when tormented for it by all kinds of torture, did not utter a syllable; but his father, learning what was being done, was filled at once with admiration and pity for the boy, came out into the open of his own free will and surrendered himself to his slayers.

B.C. 43

Such were the conspicuous deeds of bravery and filial devotion performed at that time. On the other hand, Popillius Laenas killed Marcus Cicero, although Cicero had once defended him as his advocate, and in order that by means of optical proof as well as by report he might have the credit of having murdered him, he set up a statue of himself sitting crowned beside his victim's head, with an inscription that recorded his name and his deed. By this act he pleased Antony so much that he secured more than the price offered. Again, Marcus Terentius Varro was a man who had given no offence, but his name was identical with that of one of the proscribed,[1] except for the agnomen, and he was afraid that he might because of this suffer a fate

[1] The Varro who was proscribed was the celebrated antiquary and satirist; the identity of the tribune is uncertain, though perhaps he was the one whose brave death after Philippi is recorded by Velleius (ii. 71).

καὶ ὁ Κίννας, πάθῃ, ἐξέθηκε γράμμα αὐτὸ τοῦτο
4 δηλῶν· ἐδημάρχει δέ. καὶ ὁ μὲν διατριβὴν καὶ γέλωτα ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὠφλίσκανεν· τὸ δὲ δὴ ἀστάθμητον τοῦ βίου καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου ἐτεκμηριώθη, ὅτι Λούκιος[1] μὲν Φιλούσκιος ὑπό τε τοῦ Σύλλου πρότερον ἐπικηρυχθεὶς καὶ διαφυγὼν ἔς τε τὸ λεύκωμα αὖθις τότε ἐσεγράφη καὶ ἀπέθανε, Μᾶρκος δὲ Οὐαλέριος Μεσσάλας ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου θανατωθεὶς οὐχ ὅπως ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ διεβίω, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὕπατος ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου ὕστερον ἀπεδείχθη.
5 οὕτως ἔκ τε τῶν ἀπορωτάτων πολλοὶ περιγίγνονται καὶ ἐκ τῶν θαρσούντως ἐχόντων οὐκ ἐλάττους ἀπόλλυνται· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο χρὴ μήτε ἐς τὸ ἀνέλπιστον πρὸς τὰς αὐτίκα συμφορὰς ἐκπλήττεσθαί τινα μήτε ἐς τὸ ἀφρόντιστον ὑπὸ τοῦ παραχρῆμα περιχαροῦς ἐπαίρεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ μέσον ἐπ' ἀμφότερα τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ μέλλοντος τιθέμενον ἀσφαλεῖς ἐφ' ἑκάτερα τοὺς λογισμοὺς ποιεῖσθαι.

12 Καὶ τότε γοῦν ταῦτά τε οὕτως ἐγένετο, καὶ πλεῖστοι μὲν τῶν μὴ προγραφέντων διά τε ἔχθραν καὶ διὰ χρήματα παραπώλοντο, πλεῖστοι δὲ τῶν ἐπικηρυχθέντων οὐχ ὅτι περιεγένοντο ἀλλὰ καὶ κατῆλθον αὖθις, καί τινες αὐτῶν καὶ ἀρχὰς ἔσχον. ἡ δ' ἀναχώρησίς σφισι πρός τε τὸν Βροῦτον καὶ πρὸς τὸν Κάσσιον τόν τε Σέξτον
2 ἐγίγνετο. καὶ οἵ γε[2] πλείους πρὸς τοῦτον συγκατέφυγον· ναυαρχεῖν τε γὰρ πρότερον αἱρεθεὶς καὶ χρόνον τινὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ δυνηθεὶς ἰσχύν τε

[1] Λούκιος Xyl., λούσκιος LM.
[2] γε R. Steph., τε LM.

similar to that of Cinna;[1] therefore he issued a statement making known this fact (he was tribune at the time) and for this he became the subject of amusement and ridicule. Now the uncertainty of life was illustrated not only by this incident, but also by the case of Lucius Philuscius,[2] who had previously been proscribed by Sulla and had escaped, had his name now inscribed on the tablet once more and perished, whereas Marcus Valerius Messalla, who had been condemned to death by Antony, not only continued to live in safety, but was later appointed consul in place of Antony himself. So it is that many come out safe from the most desperate situations, while just as many who feel no fear lose their lives. Hence one should neither be so alarmed in the face of the calamities of the moment as to lose all hope, nor be so carried away by his immediate elation as to be reckless, but, by placing his expectation of the future midway between the two, should make reliable calculations for either event.

B.C. 43

Such, at any rate, was the course of events at that time, and while very many of those who were not proscribed also lost their lives, because they either were hated or had money, yet very many whose names were posted not only survived but were also restored from exile, and some of them were even elected to office. They were finding refuge with Brutus, with Cassius, and with Sextus, but the majority directed their flight toward Sextus. For Sextus had formerly been chosen to command the fleet and for a time had dominated the sea, so that he had

[1] See xliv. 50, 4; 52, 2.

[2] Pliny, *N.H.* vii. 134, gives the name as Fidustius. The error is doubtless due to Dio or some Greek scribe.

οἰκείαν, καίπερ τῆς ἀρχῆς μετὰ τοῦθ' ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀποστερηθείς, περιεβάλετο, καὶ τὴν Σικελίαν κατασχών, ἔπειθ' ὡς καὶ ἐκείνῳ ἐπεκηρύχθη αἵ τε ἄλλαι σφαγαὶ ἐγίγνοντο, πλεῖστον
3 τοῖς ὁμοίοις συνήρατο. τῇ γὰρ Ἰταλίᾳ ἐγγύθεν ἐφορμῶν διέπεμπεν ἔς τε τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ ἐς τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις, τά τε ἄλλα τοῖς τινα περισώσασι καὶ[1] διπλάσια τῶν τοῖς φονεύσουσι προκειμένων ἐπαγγελλόμενος, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις καὶ ὑποδοχὴν καὶ ἐπικουρίαν καὶ χρήματα καὶ τιμὰς ὑπισχνού-
13 μενος. ὅθενπερ συχνοὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἦλθον. ἀριθμὸν γὰρ οὔτε τῶν προγραφέντων οὔτε τῶν φονευθέντων ἢ καὶ διαφυγόντων οὐδὲ νῦν ἔγραψα, ὅτι πολλοὶ μὲν τῶν τὸ πρῶτον ἐς τὰ λευκώματα ἐγγραφέντων ἀπηλίφησαν,[2] πολλοὶ δὲ ὕστερον ἀντ' αὐτῶν ἀντενεγράφησαν, καὶ τούτων τε[3] οὐκ ὀλίγοι διεσώθησαν καὶ ἄλλοι συχνοὶ διεφθάρη-
2 σαν. καὶ αὐτοὺς οὐδὲ πενθεῖν τισιν ἐξουσία ἦν, ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ καὶ ἐκ τούτου παραπώλοντο. καὶ τέλος, ὡς τό τε πεπλασμένον αὐτῶν πᾶν αἱ συμφοραὶ ἐξενίκων, καὶ οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ τῶν πάνυ ἀνδρικῶν ἀντικαρτερεῖν πρὸς αὐτὰς[4] ἐδύνατο, ἀλλ' ἔν τε τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσι καὶ ἔργοις καὶ λόγοις ἐσκυθρώπαζον καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ τοῦ ἔτους οὐκ[5] ἤμελλον, ὥσπερ εἰώθασιν, ἑορτάσειν, ἐκελεύσθησαν διὰ προγραφῆς εὐθυμεῖσθαι, θάνατον ὀφλήσοντες ἂν μὴ πειθαρχήσωσιν· οὕτω που, ὡς καὶ ἐπ' ἀγαθοῖς, τοῖς κοινοῖς κακοῖς χαίρειν ἠναγκάζοντο.
3 καὶ τί τοῦτο εἶπον, ὁπότε καὶ ἐκείνοις (τοῖς τρισὶν

[1] καὶ supplied by Leuncl.
[2] ἀπηλίφησαν St., ἀπηλείφησαν LM. [3] τε Bk., γε LM.
[4] αὐτὰς M, αὐτὰ L. [5] οὐκ Bk., οὐ LM.

surrounded himself with a force of his own, even though he had subsequently been deprived of his office by Caesar. He had occupied Sicily, and then, when the order of proscription was passed against him, too, and all the other murders were taking place, he proved of the greatest assistance to those who were in like condition. For, anchoring near the coast of Italy, he kept sending to Rome and to the other cities, offering among other things to those who saved anybody double the reward that had been proposed for those who should murder them, and promising to the men themselves a refuge, assistance, money, and honours. Therefore a considerable number came to him. As to the exact number, now, either of those who were proscribed or slaughtered or of those who escaped, I refrain even at the present time from recording it, because many names originally inscribed on the tablets were erased and many were later inscribed in their place, and of these not a few were saved and many perished who were not on the lists. And it was not permitted in any case even to mourn for the victims, and many lost their lives on this account also. And finally, when the calamities broke down all their assumed calm and no one even of the most stout-hearted could longer bear up against them, but in all their work and conversation their countenances were gloomy and they had no thought of celebrating the new-year festival, as was their wont, they were ordered by a proclamation to be of good cheer, on pain of death if they should disobey. So they were forced to rejoice over their common evils as over blessings. Yet why do I mention such a thing, when they voted to those men

B.C. 43

ἀνδράσι λέγω) ἄλλα τε ὡς εὐεργέταις καὶ σωτῆρσι τῆς πόλεως γεγονόσι καὶ τοὺς στεφάνους τοὺς πολιτικοὺς ἐψηφίσαντο; οὐ γὰρ ὅτι τινὰς ἐφόνευον, αἰτίαν ἔχειν ἠξίουν, ἀλλ' ὅτι μὴ πλείο-
4 νας, προσεπαινεῖσθαι ἤθελον. καὶ πρός γε τὸν δῆμον φανερῶς ποτε εἶπον ὅτι οὔτε τὴν τοῦ Μαρίου τοῦ τε Σύλλου ὠμότητα, ὥστε καὶ μισηθῆναι, οὔτ' αὖ τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπιείκειαν, ὥστε καὶ καταφρονηθῆναι καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπιβουλευθῆναι, ἐζηλώκασι.

14 Τοιαῦτα μὲν περὶ τὰς σφαγὰς ἐγίγνετο, πολλὰ δὲ δὴ καὶ ἄτοπα καὶ περὶ τὰς τῶν ἄλλων οὐσίας συνέβαινε. καίτοι ταῖς τε γυναιξὶ ταῖς τῶν φονευομένων τὰς προῖκας καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις τοῖς μὲν ἄρρεσι τὸ δέκατον ταῖς δὲ θηλείαις τὸ εἰκοστὸν τῆς ἑκάστου σφῶν οὐσίας δώσειν, ὡς καὶ δὴ δίκαιοι φιλάνθρωποί τε ὄντες, ἐπηγγείλαν-
2 το. ἀλλ' οὔτε ταῦτα πλὴν ὀλίγων ἐδόθη, τά τε τῶν λοιπῶν καὶ πάνυ πάντα ἀδεῶς ἐπορθεῖτο. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἐνοίκιον ἐνιαύσιον πασῶν τῶν τε ἐν τῷ ἄστει καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἰταλίᾳ οἰκιῶν, ὧν μὲν ἐμεμισθώκεσάν τινες, ὅλον, ὧν δὲ αὐτοὶ ᾤκουν, ἐξ ἡμισείας, πρὸς τὴν τῆς καταγωγῆς ἀξίαν ἐσέπραξαν· τοῦτο δὲ τοὺς τὰ χωρία ἔχοντας τὸ
3 ἥμισυ τῶν προσόδων αὐτῶν ἀφείλοντο. καὶ προσέτι καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τήν τε τροφὴν παρὰ τῶν πόλεων, ἐν αἷς ἐχείμαζον, προῖκα λαμβάνειν ἐποίησαν, καὶ κατὰ τὴν χώραν, ὡς ἐπὶ τὰ δεδη-

(to the triumvirs, I mean) the civic crowns and other distinctions as to benefactors and saviours of the state? For these men not only would not allow themselves to be blamed because they were murdering people, but, what is more, wished to be praised because the number of their victims was not greater. And to the populace they once openly stated that they had emulated neither the cruelty of Marius and Sulla, that they should be hated, nor, on the other hand, the mildness of Caesar, that they should be despised and consequently plotted against. B.C. 43

So much for the murders; but many strange proceedings took place also in connection with the property of persons left alive. To be sure, the triumvirs announced, as if they were indeed just and humane rulers, that they would give to the widows of the slain their dowries, and to the male children a tenth and to the female childen a twentieth of the property of each one's father; but these portions were not actually given save in a few cases, and the possessions of the other classes of persons were plundered with impunity even down to the last farthing. For, in the first place, they levied upon all the houses, both in the city and in the rest of Italy, a tax which was the entire amount of the annual rent in the case of dwellings which people had leased, and half of that amount in the case of such as they occupied themselves, all based on the value of the domicile; and secondly, from those who possessed lands they took away half of the revenues they produced. Furthermore, they required that the soldiers should receive their support free from the cities in which they were wintering, and also distributed them throughout the country districts, pre-

μευμένα τά τε τῶν ἀνθισταμένων ἔτι, διαπέμποντες (καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνους, ὅτι μὴ ἐντὸς τῆς προρρηθείσης σφίσιν ἡμέρας μετέστησαν, πολεμίους ἐποιήσαντο) πάντα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ προσδιήρπαζον.
4 ἵνα γὰρ καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἔργων τοὺς μισθοὺς ἔχοντες πᾶν τὸ πρόθυμόν σφισι παρέχωνται, ταῦτά τε αὐτοῖς πράττειν ἐπέτρεπον καὶ πόλεις χώρας τε δώσειν ὑπισχνοῦντο· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ γεωνόμους ὁμοῦ καὶ οἰκιστὰς αὐτοῖς[1] προσαπέδειξαν. τὸ μὲν οὖν πλῆθος τῶν στρατιωτῶν τούτοις ἀνηρτῶντο, τῶν δὲ δὴ λογιμωτέρων τοὺς μὲν τοῖς κτήμασι τοῖς τῶν ἀπολλυμένων ἐδελέαζον, τὰ μὲν ἐπευωνίζοντες τὰ δὲ καὶ προῖκά σφισι χαριζόμενοι, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ταῖς τε ἱερωσύναις
5 αὐτῶν ἐτίμων. ὅπως γὰρ ἀδεῶς αὐτοί τε τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ τῶν χωρίων καὶ τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων λαμβάνωσι καὶ ἐκείνοις ὅσα βούλονται διδῶσι, προεῖπον μηδένα τῶν ἄλλων μὴ ὠνησείοντα ἐς τὸ πρατήριον ἀπαντᾶν, εἰ δὲ μή γε, θνήσκειν[2] τὸν τοῦτο ποιήσαντα. καὶ ἐκείνους γε οὕτω μετεχειρίζοντο ὥστε μήτε[3] τι καταφωρᾶν καὶ πλείστου ὅσου ἀγοράζειν ὧν ἔχρῃζον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μηδ' ὠνητιᾶν ἔτι.

15 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τὰ κτήματα τοῦθ' οὕτως ἐγίγνετο,

[1] αὐτοῖς Leuncl., αὐτοὺς LM.
[2] θνήσκειν R. Steph., θνήσειν LM.
[3] μήτε supplied by Madvig.

tending that they were sent to take charge of the confiscated property or that of the persons who still opposed them. For they counted the latter class as enemies, because they had not come over to the side of the triumvirs before the appointed day. Thus the whole country outside the towns was also pillaged. Indeed, the triumvirs not only allowed the soldiers to do this, in order that, having their pay even in advance of their services, they might devote all their zeal to their commanders' interests, but also promised to give them cities and lands. And to carry out this promise they appointed special commissioners to divide the lands among them and to establish them in colonies. Now the mass of the soldiers was made loyal by these measures; but in the case of the more prominent, they tempted some with the possessions of those who were being put to death, both by lowering the price on certain articles and by granting others to them free, and others they honoured with the offices and priesthoods of the victims. For, in order that they themselves might with impunity secure the finest both of the lands and of the buildings and yet might give their followers all they wanted, the triumvirs gave notice that no one but themselves and the soldiers should visit the auction unless he wanted to buy something; whoever did so should die. And they managed even those who came under these conditions in such a way that they detected no irregularity and had to pay the very highest price for what they wanted, and consequently had no further desire to buy.

B.C. 43

This was the course followed in regard to the property of the proscribed. As to the offices and

τὰς δὲ[1] ἀρχὰς τάς τε ἱερωσύνας τῶν θανατωθέντων οὐ πρὸς τὸ νομιζόμενον ἐκ τῶν νόμων, ἀλλ' ὥς που καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς, διέδοσαν. καὶ ὑπάτους 2 τε,[2] τοῦ μὲν Καίσαρος τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπειπόντος[3] (ἧς γὰρ οὕτως ἐπεθύμησεν ὥστε καὶ πολεμῆσαι δι' αὐτήν,[4] ταύτης ἑκὼν ἐξέστη) τοῦ δὲ συνάρχοντος αὐτοῦ μεταλλάξαντος, ἄλλον τέ τινα καὶ τὸν Οὐεντίδιον τὸν Πούπλιον καίπερ στρατηγοῦντα ἀπέδειξαν, ἔς τε τὴν στρατηγίαν αὐτοῦ 3 τῶν ἀγορανομούντων τινὰ ἐσήγαγον· καὶ πάντας μετὰ τοῦτο τοὺς στρατηγούς, πέντε ἡμέρας ἔτι ἄρχοντας, παύσαντες ἐκείνους μὲν ἐς τὰς ἡγεμονίας τῶν ἐθνῶν ἔστειλαν, ἑτέρους δὲ ἀντ' αὐτῶν ἀντικατέστησαν. νόμους τε τοὺς μὲν ἀπήλειψαν τοὺς δὲ ἀντενέγραψαν. καὶ συνελόντι εἰπεῖν, καὶ τἆλλα πάντα ὅπως ποτὲ καὶ ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς 4 ἔπρασσον· τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἐπικλήσεων τῶν ἐπιφθόνων καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καταλυθεισῶν οὐκ ἀντεποιήσαντο, τὰ δὲ δὴ πράγματα πρός τε τὸ βούλημα καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθύμημα τὸ ἑαυτῶν διῆγον, ὥστε χρυσὸν τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος μοναρχίαν φανῆναι.

Τὸν μὲν οὖν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκεῖνον ταῦτά τε οὕτως ἐποίησαν, καὶ νεὼν τῷ τε Σαράπιδι καὶ τῇ Ἴσιδι 16 ἐψηφίσαντο· τοῦ δὲ δὴ Λεπίδου τοῦ Μάρκου τοῦ τε Πλάγκου τοῦ Λουκίου ὑπατευσάντων λευκώματα αὖθις ἐξετέθη, θάνατον μὲν μηδενὶ ἔτι φέροντα, τὰς δὲ οὐσίας τῶν ζώντων ἀποσυλῶντα· 2 προσδεόμενοι γὰρ χρημάτων, ἅτε πολλὰ μὲν καὶ

[1] δὲ Leuncl., τε LM. [2] τε added by Bk.
[3] ἀπείποντος M, ἀπείποντες L.
[4] δι' αὐτὴν Bk., διὰ ταύτην LM.

priesthoods of such as had been put to death, they distributed these, not in the fashion prescribed by law, but apparently just as suited their fancy. As regards the consulship, when Caesar resigned the office,—thus giving up willingly the position he had so eagerly desired that he had even made war to gain it,—and when his colleague[1] died, they appointed Publius Ventidius, although he was praetor at the time, and another man[2]; and to the praetorship vacated by Ventidius they promoted one of the aediles. Afterwards they relieved all the praetors, who still had five days to hold office, and sent them to be governors of the provinces, and installed others in their places. Some laws they abolished entirely and in others inserted new provisions; and, in brief, they ordered everything else just as seemed good to them. They did not, to be sure, lay claim to titles which were offensive and had therefore been done away with, but they managed matters according to their own wish and desire, so that Caesar's sovereignty by comparison appeared all gold.

B.C. 43

That year, besides doing these things, they voted a temple to Serapis and Isis. And when Marcus Lepidus and Lucius Plancus became consuls, tablets were again set up, not involving the death of any one this time, but defrauding the living of their property. For the triumvirs found themselves in need of more money, inasmuch as they already owed

B.C. 42

[1] Q. Pedius; cf. xlvi. 46, 1.
[2] C. Carrinas.

πολλοῖς στρατιώταις προοφειλήσαντες,[1] πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς γιγνομένοις δι' αὐτῶν δαπανῶντες, πολλῷ δὲ ἔτι πλείω ἐς τοὺς προσδοκωμένους πολέμους ἀναλώσειν νομίζοντες, ἠργυρολόγουν.
3 οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν τῶν τελῶν τῶν πρότερον μέν ποτε καταλυθέντων τότε δὲ αὖθις ἐπαναχθέντων ἢ καὶ ἐκ καινῆς προσκαταστάντων, τό τε τῶν συντελειῶν, ἃς πολλὰς μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ πολλὰς δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς οἰκέταις ἐπράττοντο, μετρίως πως
4 τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐλύπει· τὸ δὲ δὴ τοὺς καὶ ἐφ' ὁποσονοῦν ἔτι οὐ μόνον τῶν βουλευτῶν ἢ καὶ τῶν ἱππέων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐξελευθέρων, καὶ ἀνδρῶν ὁμοίως καὶ γυναικῶν, εὐποροῦντας ἐς λευκώματα ἐσγραφῆναι καὶ δεκατείαν τινὰ καινὴν δεκατευθῆ-
5 ναι σφόδρα πάντας ἠνίασε. τῷ μὲν γὰρ λόγῳ τὸ δέκατον τῆς οὐσίας παρ' ἑκάστου σφῶν ἐπράχθη, ἔργῳ δὲ οὐδὲ τὸ δέκατόν τινι κατελείφθη· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὐ ῥητόν τι ἀργύριον πρὸς τὴν τῶν κτημάτων ἀξίαν ἐσενεγκεῖν ἐκελεύσθησαν, ἀλλ' ἐπ' αὐτοῖς αἱ τιμήσεις τῶν σφετέρων ἐγένοντο, κἀκ τούτου ὡς οὐκ ὀρθῶς αὐτὰ τετιμημένοι διεβάλλοντο, καὶ τὰ
17 λοιπὰ προσαπώλλυσαν. εἰ δ' οὖν τινες τοῦτό πως διέφυγον, ἀλλ' ὑπό τε τῶν τάξεων ἐς στενὸν κατακλειόμενοι καὶ ἀργυρίου δεινῶς σπανίζοντες πάντων καὶ αὐτοὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἀπεστεροῦντο. καὶ μέντοι καὶ ἕτερόν τι τοιόνδε, βαρὺ μὲν καὶ
2 ἀκοῦσαι βαρύτατον δὲ πραχθῆναι, ἐγένετο· τῷ γὰρ βουλομένῳ σφῶν ἐδόθη, πάσης τῆς οὐσίας ἐκστάντι, τὸ τρίτον μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτῆς ἀπαιτῆσαι, τοῦτ' ἔστι μήτε τι[2] λαβεῖν καὶ προσέτι καὶ

[1] προοφειλήσαντες Leuncl., προσοφειλήσαντες LM.
[2] τι M Zon., τινα L.

large sums to large numbers of soldiers, were spending large sums on undertakings then being carried out by them, and expected to spend far more still on the wars in prospect; they therefore proceeded to collect funds. Now the reintroduction of the taxes which had been formerly abrogated, or the establishment of new ones, and the institution of the joint contributions, which they levied in large numbers both on the land and on the slaves, caused the people some little distress, it is true; but that those who were in the slightest degree still prosperous, not only senators or knights, but even freedmen, men and women alike, should be listed on the tablets and mulcted of another "tithe" of their wealth irritated everybody exceedingly. For it was in name only that a tenth of each one's property was exacted; in reality not so much as a tenth was left. For since they were not ordered to contribute a stated amount according to the value of their possessions, but had the duty of assessing the value of their own goods, they were as a result liable to be accused of not having made a fair assessment and to lose in addition what they had left. And even if some persons did somehow escape this fate, yet they were brought into straits by the assessments, found themselves terribly short of ready money, and so, like the others, were deprived of practically everything. Moreover, the following device, distressing even to hear about, but most distressing in practice, was put into operation. Any one of the proscribed who wished to do so was permitted, if he would abandon all his property, to make requisition afterwards for one-third of it, which meant getting nothing and having trouble besides.

B.C. 42

πράγματα σχεῖν. ὁπότε γὰρ βίᾳ τὰ δύο μέρη φανερῶς ἐσυλῶντο, πῶς ἂν τὸ τρίτον ἀπέλαβον, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐλαχίστου αὐτῶν πωλουμένων;
3 τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ πολλῶν ἅμα ἀποκηρυττομένων, καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν πλειόνων καὶ ἀχρύσων καὶ ἀναργύρων ὄντων, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν μὴ τολμώντων ὡς καὶ ἐχόντων τι ἀγοράσαι, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνο προσαπολέσωσιν, αἱ τιμαὶ ἀνεῖντο·[1] τοῦτο δὲ τοῖς στρατιώταις πολὺ παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν πάντα ἐπι-
4 πράσκετο. ὥστε τῶν μὲν ἰδιωτῶν οὐδεὶς οὐδέν, ὅ τι καὶ ἄξιον εἰπεῖν, διεσώσατο· πρὸς γὰρ αὖ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔς τε τὸ ναυτικὸν οἰκέτας, εἰ καὶ μὴ εἶχόν τινες, ὠνούμενοί γε ἐδίδοσαν, καὶ τὰς ὁδοὺς οἰκείοις οἱ βουλευταὶ δαπανήμασιν ἐπεσκεύαζον. μόνοι δὲ δὴ οἱ τὰ ὅπλα ἔχοντες ὑπερεπλούτησαν.
5 οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐξήρκει σφίσιν οὔτε ἡ μισθοφορὰ[2] καίπερ ἐντελὴς[3] οὖσα, οὔτε αἱ ἔξωθεν ἐπιφοραὶ[4] καίτοι παμπληθεῖς γενόμεναι, οὐ τὰ ἆθλα τῶν φόνων μέγιστα δὴ δοθέντα, οὐχ αἱ κτήσεις τῶν χωρίων προικιμαῖαι τρόπον τινὰ αὐτοῖς ὑπάρξασαι· ἀλλὰ καὶ προσέτι οἱ μὲν τὰς οὐσίας τῶν τελευτώντων ὅλας καὶ ᾔτουν καὶ ἐλάμβανον, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ τῶν ζώντων ἔτι γερόντων τε καὶ ἀτέκνων
6 γένη ἐσεβιάζοντο. ἐς τοσοῦτον γὰρ τῆς τε ἀπληστίας καὶ τῆς ἀναισχυντίας ἐχώρησαν ὥστε τινὰ καὶ τὴν τῆς Ἀττίας τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος μητρὸς οὐσίαν, ἀποθανούσης τότε καὶ δημοσίᾳ ταφῇ[5] τιμηθείσης, παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Καίσαρος αἰτῆσαι.

[1] ἀνεῖντο M, ἀνεῖνταί L. [2] μισθοφορὰ Rk., μισθοφορία LM.
[3] καίπερ ἐντελὴς Bk., καὶ ὑπερεντελὴς LM.
[4] ἐπιφοραὶ Xyl., ἐπιφθοραὶ LM.
[5] ταφῇ Polak, following Xyl., τε ταφῇ LM.

For when they were being openly and violently despoiled of two-thirds, how were they to recover the other third, especially since their goods were being sold for an extremely low price? For, in the first place, a great deal of property was being offered at auction all at once and most people were without gold or silver and the rest did not dare to show by buying that they had money, lest they should lose that too, and consequently the prices were lowered; in the second place, anything would be sold to the soldiers far below its value. Hence none of the private citizens saved anything worth mentioning; for, over and above all the other exactions, they had to furnish slaves for the navy, buying them if they had none, and the senators had to repair the roads at their individual expense. Only those, indeed, who bore arms gained great wealth. For they were far from satisfied with their pay, though it was given in full, or with their outside perquisites, though these were very numerous, or with the prizes bestowed for the murders, though they were exceedingly large, or with the lands they acquired, though they were practically a free gift to them; but in addition some would ask for and receive all the property of those who died, and others would force their way into the families of the survivors who were old and childless. For they had reached such a degree of greed and shamelessness that one man actually asked Caesar himself for the property of Atia, his mother, who had died at that time and had been honoured with a public funeral.

B.C. 42

18 Ταῦτά τε οὖν οὕτως οἱ ἄνδρες ἐκεῖνοι οἱ τρεῖς ἐποίουν, καὶ ἅμα καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα τὸν πρότερον ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐσέμνυνον. ἅτε γὰρ τῆς μοναρχίας ἐφιέμενοι καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐπειγόμενοι τούς τε 2 σφαγέας αὐτοῦ τοὺς λοιποὺς ὀργῇ μετῄεσαν, ὡς καὶ ἐκ τούτου τήν τε ἄδειάν σφισιν ὧν ἐποίουν καὶ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν πόρρωθεν προπαρασκευάσοντες, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα ἐς τιμὴν αὐτοῦ ἔφερε, προθύμως ἔπραττον ἐς ὑποδοχὴν τοῦ καὶ αὐτοί ποτε τῶν ὁμοίων ἀξιωθῆναι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοῖς τε ἐψηφισμένοις ἤγαλλον αὐτὸν καὶ ἑτέροις ἃ τότε[1] 3 προσέθεσαν. ἔν τε γὰρ τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ ἔτους ἡμέρᾳ αὐτοί τε ὤμοσαν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ὥρκωσαν βέβαια νομιεῖν πάντα τὰ ὑπ' ἐκείνου γενόμενα (καὶ τοῦτο καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς τὸ κράτος ἀεὶ ἴσχουσιν, ἢ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ποτε γενομένοις καὶ μὴ 4 ἀτιμωθεῖσι, γίγνεται), καὶ ἡρῷόν οἱ ἔν τε τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἐν ᾧ ἐκέκαυτο προκατεβάλοντο,[2] καί τι καὶ ἄγαλμα αὐτοῦ ἐν ταῖς ἱπποδρομίαις μεθ' ἑτέρου Ἀφροδισίου ἔπεμπον. εἴ τε νίκη τις ἠγγέλθη ποθέν, χωρὶς μὲν τῷ κρατήσαντι χωρὶς δὲ ἐκείνῳ καὶ τεθνεῶτι τιμὴν ἱερομηνίας 5 ἔνεμον. τά τε γενέσια αὐτοῦ δαφνηφοροῦντας καὶ εὐθυμουμένους πάντας ἑορτάζειν ἠνάγκασαν, νομοθετήσαντες τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους τοὺς ἀμελήσαντας αὐτῶν ἐπαράτους τῷ τε Διὶ καὶ αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ δὴ βουλευτὰς τούς τε υἱεῖς 6 σφων πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας ὀφλισκάνειν. καὶ συνέβαινε γὰρ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ τὰ Ἀπολλώ-

[1] ἑτέροις ἃ τότε (ἑτέροις ἃ αὐτοὶ τότε) Rk., ἑτέροις αὐτότε LM.

[2] προκατεβάλοντο Bk., προκατεβάλλοντο LM.

BOOK XLVII

While these three men were behaving in this wise, B.C. 42 they were also magnifying the former Caesar to the utmost degree. For as they were eager for sole rulership and were striving for it, they vindictively pursued the rest of the assassins, with the idea that in this way they would be preparing, long in advance, immunity for themselves in what they were doing as well as safety; and so they eagerly did everything which tended to his honour, in expectation of some day being themselves thought worthy of like honours, and for this reason they exalted him, not only by the honours which had already been voted him, but also by others which they now added. Thus, on the first day of the year they themselves took an oath and made all the rest swear that they would consider all his acts binding; and the same thing is still done to-day in honour of all those who successively enter upon the supreme power and also of those who have possessed it and have not been dishonoured. They also laid the foundation of a shrine to him, as hero, in the Forum, on the spot where his body had been burned, and caused an image of him, together with a second image, that of Venus, to be carried in the procession at the Circensian games. And whenever news came of a victory anywhere, they assigned the honour of a thanksgiving to the victor by himself and to Caesar, though dead, by himself. And they compelled everybody to celebrate his birthday by wearing laurel and by merry-making, passing a law that those who neglected these observances should be accursed in the sight of Jupiter and of Caesar himself, and, in the case of senators or senators' sons, that they should forfeit a million sesterces. Now it happened that the Ludi Apollinares fell on the

νια[1] γίγνεσθαι, ἐψηφίσαντο τῇ προτεραίᾳ τὰ γενέσια ἀγάλλεσθαι, ὡς καὶ λογίου τινὸς Σιβυλλείου ἀπαγορεύοντος μηδενὶ θεῶν τότε πλὴν
19 τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἑορτάζεσθαι. ταῦτά τε οὖν αὐτῷ ἔδωκαν, καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν ᾗ ἐφονεύθη, κυρίαν ἀεί ποτε ἕδραν βουλῆς ἔχουσαν, ἀποφράδα ἐνόμισαν. τό τε οἴκημα ἐν ᾧ ἐσφάγη, παραχρῆμά τε ἔκλεισαν καὶ ὕστερον ἐς ἄφοδον μετεσκεύασαν· καὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον τὸ Ἰούλιον ἐπ' αὐτοῦ κληθὲν παρὰ τῷ Κομιτίῳ ὠνομασμένῳ ᾠκοδόμουν, ὥσπερ
2 ἐψήφιστο. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀπεῖπον μὲν μηδεμίαν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ, καθάπερ θεοῦ τινος ὡς ἀληθῶς ὄντος, ἐν ταῖς τῶν συγγενῶν αὐτοῦ ἐκφοραῖς πέμπεσθαι, ὅπερ ἐκ τοῦ πάνυ ἀρχαίου καὶ τότε ἔτι ἐγίγνετο· ἀπηγόρευσαν δὲ μηδένα ἐς τὸ ἡρῷον αὐτοῦ καταφυγόντα ἐπ' ἀδείᾳ μήτε ἀνδρηλα-
3 τεῖσθαι μήτε συλᾶσθαι, ὅπερ οὐδενὶ οὐδὲ τῶν θεῶν, πλὴν τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ῥωμύλου γενομένων, ἐδεδώκεσαν. καίτοι καὶ ἐκεῖνο τὸ χωρίον ὀνόματι τὴν ἀσυλίαν, μετὰ τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἄθροισιν, ἄνευ τοῦ ἔργου αὐτῆς ἔσχεν· οὕτω γὰρ περιεφράχθη ὥστε μηδένα ἔτι τὸ παράπαν ἐσελθεῖν ἐς αὐτὸ δυνηθῆναι.

4 Τῷ μὲν δὴ Καίσαρι ταῦτ' ἔδωκαν, ταῖς δὲ ἀειπαρθένοις ῥαβδούχῳ ἑνὶ ἑκάστῃ χρῆσθαι, ὅτι τις αὐτῶν ἀπὸ δείπνου πρὸς ἑσπέραν οἴκαδε ἐπανιοῦσα ἠγνοήθη τε καὶ ὑβρίσθη. τάς τε

[1] Ἀπολλώνια Bs., ἀπολλώνεια LM (and so in chap. 20).

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[1] In B.C. 208 the Ludi Apollinares were set for the thirteenth of July, but by the year B.C. 42 the entire period from the sixth to the thirteenth was allotted to their cele-

same day, and they therefore voted that his birthday feast should be celebrated on the previous day,[1] on the ground that there was an oracle of the Sibyl which forbade the holding of a festival on Apollo's day to any god except Apollo. Besides granting him these honours, they made the day on which he had been murdered, a day on which there had always been a regular meeting of the senate, an unlucky day. The room in which he had been murdered they closed for the time being and later transformed into a privy. They also built the Curia Julia, named after him, beside the place called the Comitium, as had been voted. Moreover, they forbade any likeness of him to be carried at the funerals of his relatives,—just as if he were in very truth a god,—though this was an ancient custom and was still being observed. And they enacted that no one who took refuge in his shrine to secure immunity should be driven or dragged away from there—a distinction which had never been granted even to any one of the gods, save to such as were worshipped in the days of Romulus. Yet after men began to congregate in that region even this place had inviolability in name only, without the reality; for it was so fenced about that no one could any longer enter it at all.

B.C. 42

These were the honours which they granted to Caesar; they also allowed the Vestal Virgins to employ one lictor each, because one of them, not being recognised, had been insulted while returning home from dinner toward evening. And they assigned

bration. Now Caesar's birthday fell on the twelfth, and the day before that would have conflicted quite as much with the festival of Apollo; hence this expression, "the previous day," must mean the fifth.

ἀρχὰς τὰς ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐπὶ πλείω ἔτη προαπέδειξαν, τούς τε ἐπιτηδείους σφίσιν ἅμα δι' αὐτῶν τιμῶντες, καὶ τὰ πράγματα ἐπὶ μακρότερον ταῖς τῶν ἀρξόντων διαδοχαῖς κρατυνόμενοι.

20 Πράξαντες δὲ ταῦτα, Λέπιδος μὲν αὐτοῦ, τήν τε πόλιν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν διάξων, ὥσπερ εἶπον, ὑπέμεινε, Καῖσαρ δὲ καὶ Ἀντώνιος ἐξεστράτευσαν. ὅ τε γὰρ Βροῦτος καὶ ὁ Κάσσιος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον μετὰ τὴν ὁμολογίαν τὴν πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον τούς τε ἄλλους σφίσι γενομένην καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐσῄεσαν, καὶ τὰς στρατηγίας ἐν τῷ 2 αὐτῷ ᾧ καὶ πρὶν κόσμῳ διῴκουν· ἐπεὶ δ' ἤρξαντό τινες ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος σφαγῇ χαλεπαίνειν, ἐξεχώρησαν ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἔξω ἀρχάς, ἃς προσετετάχατο, ἐπειγόμενοι. καίτοι καὶ ἀστυνόμος ὁ Κάσσιος ἦν, τά τε Ἀπολλώνια οὐδέπω διεωρτάκει. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνα μὲν δι' Ἀντωνίου τοῦ συστρατηγοῦ καὶ ἀπὼν ἐκπρεπέστατα ἐπετέλεσεν, αὐτὸς 3 δὲ οὐκ εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀπέπλευσεν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ Καμπανίᾳ μετὰ τοῦ Βρούτου χρονίσας ἐπετήρει τὰ γιγνόμενα. καί τινα καὶ γράμματα ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, ἅτε καὶ στρατηγοῦντες, πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἔπεμπον, μέχρις οὗ ὁ Καῖσαρ ὁ[1] Ὀκταουιανὸς τῶν τε πραγμάτων ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι καὶ τὸ 4 πλῆθος σφετερίζεσθαι ἤρξατο. τότε γὰρ τῆς τε δημοκρατίας ἅμα ἀπογνόντες καὶ ἐκεῖνον φοβηθέντες ἀπῆραν. καὶ αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι λαμπρῶς ὑπεδέξαντο· ἐτιμῶντο μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν

[1] ὁ added by R. Steph.

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[1] This is apparently an error, due either to Dio or to some scribe. For, according to Plutarch, Appian, and Cicero, it

the offices in the city for several years ahead, thus at the same time honouring their friends and strengthening their cause for a longer time by controlling the succession of those officials.

B.C. 42

When all this had been accomplished, Lepidus remained there, as I have said, to take up the administration of the city and of the rest of Italy, and Caesar and Antony set out upon their campaign. It should be explained that Brutus and Cassius, after the compact made by them with Antony and the rest, had at first gone regularly into the Forum and discharged the duties of the praetorship with the same ceremonial as before. But when some began to be displeased at the killing of Caesar, they withdrew, pretending to be in haste to reach the governorships abroad to which they had been appointed. And yet Cassius was praetor urbanus[1] and had not yet celebrated the Ludi Apollinares. But, although absent, he performed that duty most brilliantly through his colleague Antony; he did not himself sail away from Italy at once, however, but lingered with Brutus in Campania and watched the course of events. And in their capacity as praetors they kept sending letters to the people at Rome, until Caesar Octavianus began to take a hand in affairs and to win the affections of the populace. Then, despairing of the republic and at the same time fearing him, they departed. The Athenians gave them a splendid reception; for, though they were honoured by nearly

was Brutus instead of Cassius who was praetor urbanus and had the games given in his absence. Therefore the true account, though not necessarily the true reading, would state that "Brutus was praetor urbanus," and (below) that he "lingered in Campania with Cassius."

ἄλλων σχεδόν τι πάντων ἐφ' οἷς ἐποίησαν, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ καὶ εἰκόνας σφίσι χαλκᾶς παρά τε τὴν τοῦ Ἁρμοδίου καὶ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἀριστογείτονος, ὡς καὶ ζηλωταῖς αὐτῶν γενομένοις, ἐψηφίσαντο.

21 Κἀν τούτῳ πυθόμενοι τὸν Καίσαρα ἐπὶ μεῖζον αἴρεσθαι, Κρητῶν μὲν καὶ Βιθυνῶν, ἐφ' οὓς ἐστέλλοντο, ἠμέλησαν, οὐδεμίαν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀξιόχρεων ὠφελίαν ὁρῶντες οὖσαν, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τήν τε Συρίαν καὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν, καίπερ μηδέν σφισι προσηκούσας, ἀλλ' ὅτι τῷ καιρῷ καὶ τοῖς χρήμασι ταῖς 2 τε δυνάμεσιν ἤκμαζον, ἐτράποντο. καὶ Κάσσιος μὲν πρὸς τοὺς Σύρους ὡς καὶ συνήθεις οἱ καὶ φίλους ἐκ τῆς μετὰ τοῦ Κράσσου στρατείας ὄντας ὥρμησε, Βροῦτος δὲ τήν τε Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν συνίστη. ἄλλως τε γὰρ ἔκ τε τῆς δόξης τῶν πεπραγμένων καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσι τῶν 3 ὁμοίων προσεῖχον αὐτῷ, καὶ διότι καὶ στρατιώτας συχνούς, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Φαρσάλῳ μάχης ἐκεῖ που καὶ τότε ἔτι περιπλανωμένους, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν τῷ Δολοβέλλᾳ συνεξελθόντων ὑπολειφθέντας ἢ διὰ νόσον ἢ διὰ ἀταξίαν, προσλαβὼν εἶχε· καί οἱ καὶ χρήματα ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας 4 παρὰ τοῦ Τρεβωνίου ἦλθε. τὸ μὲν οὖν Ἑλληνικὸν ἀπονητότατα ἐκ τούτων, ἅτε μηδὲ δύναμίν τινα ἀξιόλογον ἔχον, προσεποιήσατο· ἐς δὲ δὴ τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἦλθε μὲν ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἐν ᾧ ὅ τε Ἀντώνιος ὁ Γάϊος ἄρτι ἀφῖκτο καὶ Κύιντος

everybody else for what they had done, the inhabitants of this city voted them bronze images by the side of those of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, thus intimating that Brutus and Cassius had emulated their example. B.C. 42

Meanwhile, learning that Caesar was growing stronger, they neglected Crete and Bithynia, whither they were being sent, since they saw no prospect of any noteworthy aid in those countries; but they turned to Syria and to Macedonia, although these provinces did not belong to them at all, because they excelled as stragetical positions and in point of money and troops. Cassius went to Syria, because its people were acquainted with him and friendly as a result of his campaign with Crassus, while Brutus proceeded to unite Greece and Macedonia. For the inhabitants of those districts were inclined to give heed to him in any case because of the glory of his deeds and in the expectation of a similar service to their country,[1] and particularly because he had acquired numerous soldiers, some of them survivors of the battle of Pharsalus,[2] who were even then still wandering about in that region, and others who by reason either of sickness or slack discipline had been left behind from the force which had set out with Dolabella.[3] And money also came to him from Trebonius in Asia. So for these reasons he won over Greece without the least effort, although for that matter it contained no force worth mentioning. He reached Macedonia at the moment when Gaius Antonius had just arrived and Quintus Hor-

[1] *i.e.*, they hoped that Brutus would liberate them from the Romans as he had liberated the Romans from Caesar.

[2] In B.C. 48, *i.e.* six years before this.

[3] Cf. xlv. 15, 2.

Ὁρτήσιος ὁ προάρξας αὐτῆς ἀπαλλαγήσεσθαι
5 ἔμελλεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ πρᾶγμά τι ἔσχεν. οὗτός τε γὰρ εὐθὺς αὐτῷ προσεχώρησε, καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος κωλυθεὶς κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπικράτησιν πράσσειν τι τῶν τῇ ἀρχῇ προσηκόν-
6 των ἀσθενὴς ἦν. ὅ τε Οὐατίνιος ἦρχε μὲν Ἰλλυριῶν τῶν πλησιοχώρων, καὶ τό τε Δυρράχιον ἐκεῖθεν ἐπελθὼν προκατέλαβε καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸ στασιωτικὸν διάφορος, οὐ μὴν ἠδυνήθη τι αὐτὸν βλάψαι· οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται ἀχθόμενοί τε αὐτῷ καὶ προσκαταφρονήσαντες αὐτοῦ διὰ νόσον
7 μετέστησαν. καταλαβὼν οὖν καὶ τούτους ἐπί τε τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνίᾳ ὄντα ἐστράτευσε, καὶ προαπαντήσαντός οἱ αὐτοῦ τούς τε στρατιώτας ᾠκειώσατο, καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἐς τὸ τεῖχος προκαταφυγόντα ἀπετείχισε μὲν καὶ ἐζώγρησεν ἐκ προδοσίας, κακὸν δὲ οὐδὲν εἰργάσατο.

22 Πράξας δὲ ταῦτα, καὶ τήν τε Μακεδονίαν μετὰ τοῦτο πᾶσαν καὶ τὴν Ἤπειρον προσλαβών, ἐπέστειλε τῇ γερουσίᾳ, τά τε πραχθέντα οἱ δηλῶν καὶ ἑαυτὸν τά τε ἔθνη καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐπ'
2 αὐτῇ ποιούμενος. οἱ δέ (ἔτυχον γὰρ ὑπόπτως ἤδη πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἔχοντες) ἰσχυρῶς τε αὐτὸν ἐπῄνεσαν καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐκεῖ χωρίων ἄρχειν ἐκέλευσαν. ὡς οὖν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ δόγματος τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐβεβαιώσατο, αὐτός τε ἐπὶ πλεῖον προεθυμήθη καὶ τὸ ὑπήκοον ἀπροφασίστως συν-
3 αιρόμενον ἔσχε. καὶ τέως μὲν τῷ τε Καίσαρι πέμπων, ὅτε[1] ἐδόκει τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ πολεμεῖν, παρῄνει ἐκείνῳ τε ἀνθίστασθαι καὶ ἑαυτῷ συναλ-

[1] ὅτε R. Steph., ἅτε LM.

tensius, who was his predecessor in the governorship, B.C. 42 was about to retire; however, he experienced no trouble. For Hortensius embraced his cause at once, and Antonius was weak, being hindered during Caesar's supremacy in Rome from performing any of the duties belonging to his office. Vatinius, who was governor of Illyricum near by, came from there to Dyrrachium, seized it before Brutus could prevent, and acted as an enemy in the present strife, but could not injure him at all; for his soldiers, who disliked him and furthermore despised him by reason of a disease, went over to the other side. So Brutus, taking over these troops, led an expedition against Antonius, who was in Apollonia; and when Antonius came out to meet him, Brutus won over his soldiers, shut him up within the walls when he fled thither before him, and captured him alive through betrayal, but did him no harm.

After this success, Brutus next acquired all Macedonia and Epirus, and then despatched a letter to the senate, stating what he had accomplished and placing at its disposal himself as well as the provinces and the soldiers. The senators, who, as it chanced, already felt suspicious of Caesar, praised him highly and bade him be governor of all that region. When, then, he had had his command confirmed by the decree, he not only felt more encouraged himself, but also found his subjects ready to support him unreservedly. For a time he both communicated with Caesar, when the latter appeared to be making war on Antony, urging him to resist his enemy and to become reconciled

λαγῆναι, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν πλεῦσαι παρεσκευάζετο, ὅτι[1] ἡ γερουσία μετέπεμψεν αὐ-
4 τόν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ τά τε ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἀκριβῶς κατέσχε καὶ τοὺς τοῦ πατρὸς φονέας φανερῶς ἐτιμωρεῖτο, κατὰ χώραν ἔμεινε, καὶ διεσκόπει ὅπῃ ποτὲ ἐπιόντα αὐτὸν καλῶς ἀμύναιτο, καὶ τά τε ἄλλα ἄριστα δὴ τήν τε Μακεδονίαν διήγαγε, καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα στασιασθέντα οἱ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου κατεστήσατο.

23 Ἐκεῖνος γάρ, καίτοι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ οὐδὲ[2] τοῦ στρατηγικοῦ[3] κόσμου στερηθείς, οὐκ ἠγάπησε τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἔν τε ἀδείᾳ καὶ ἐν τιμῇ ἔχων, ἀλλ' ἐς τοὺς τοῦ Βρούτου στρατιώτας ἔπραττεν ἀπόστα-
2 σιν· φωραθείς τε ἐπὶ τούτῳ πρὶν μέγα τι κακὸν δρᾶσαι, καὶ τῶν τε ἐπισήμων τῆς στρατηγίας ἀφαιρεθεὶς καὶ φυλακῇ τινι ἀδέσμῳ, ἵνα μηδὲν νεοχμώσῃ, παραδοθεὶς οὐδ' ὣς ἡσύχασεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ἢ πρὶν ἐνεωτέρισεν, ὥστε καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοὺς μὲν ἀλλήλοις ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐπ' ἐκεῖνον ἐς τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν, ὅπως
3 ἐξαρπάσωσιν αὐτόν, ὁρμῆσαι. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν ποιῆσαι· ὁ γὰρ Βροῦτος ἐκ γραμμάτων τινῶν ἁλόντων προμαθὼν τὸ γενησόμενον ὑπεξήγαγεν αὐτόν, ὡς καὶ νοσοῦντά τινα ἐς δίφρον κατάστεγον ἐμβαλών· οὔτε δὲ ἐκεῖνον εὑρεῖν δυνάμενοι καὶ τὸν Βροῦτον φοβούμενοι λόφον
4 ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως κατέλαβον. καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Βροῦτος ἔς τε ὁμολογίαν ὑπαγαγόμενος, καὶ ὀλίγους τῶν θρασυτάτων τοὺς μὲν θανατώσας τοὺς δὲ ἀπαλλάξας ἐκ τῆς συστρατείας, οὕτω διέθηκεν

[1] ὅτι Reim., ὅθεν LM.
[2] αὐτοῦ οὐδὲ supplied by Bk., τοῦ Βρούτου οὐδὲ Xyl.
[3] τοῦ στρατηγικοῦ Xyl., τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ LM.

with the writer himself, and was himself making B.C. 42 preparations to sail to Italy, because the senate had summoned him; but after Caesar had got matters thoroughly in hand in Rome and was proceeding openly to take vengeance on his father's slayers, Brutus remained where he was, deliberating how he should successfully ward off the other's attack when it occurred; and besides managing admirably the other districts as well as Macedonia, he calmed the minds of his legions when they had been stirred to mutiny by Antonius.

For Antonius, although Brutus had not even deprived him of his praetorian dress, was not content to keep quiet, his safety and office secure, but was stirring up a revolt among the soldiers of Brutus. And when he was discovered at this work before he had done any great harm, he was stripped of his praetorian insignia, and delivered up to be guarded, though not confined, that he might not cause any rebellion. Yet he did not remain quiet even then, but concocted more schemes of rebellion than ever, so that some of the soldiers came to blows with one another and others set out for Apollonia to fetch Antonius himself, with the intention of rescuing him. This, however, they were unable to do; for Brutus had learned beforehand from some intercepted letters what was to be done and by putting him into a covered litter, on the pretence that he was moving a sick man, got him out of the way. The soldiers, unable to find Antonius and being also afraid of Brutus, seized a hill commanding the city. Brutus induced them to come to an understanding, and by taking a few of the most audacious, of whom he executed some and dismissed others

ὥστε σφᾶς τούς τε ἀποπεμφθέντας ὡς καὶ τῆς στάσεως αἰτιωτάτους συλλαβεῖν καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι, καὶ τὸν ταμίαν τούς τε ὑποστρατήγους τοῦ Ἀν-
24 τωνίου ἐξαιτῆσαι. ὁ οὖν Βροῦτος ἐκείνων μὲν οὐδένα σφίσιν ἐξέδωκεν, ἀλλ' ἐς πλοῖα αὐτοὺς ἐμβαλὼν ὡς καὶ καταποντώσων ἐς τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἀπέπεμψε· φοβηθεὶς δὲ μὴ καὶ αὖθις τῶν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ πραττομένων ἐπὶ τὸ φοβερώτερον ἀγγελ-
2 λομένων πυνθανόμενοι μεταβάλωνται,[1] τὸν μὲν Ἀντώνιον ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνίᾳ κατέλιπε, Γαΐῳ τινὶ Κλωδίῳ παραδοὺς φυλάσσειν, αὐτὸς δὲ τό τε πλεῖστον καὶ τὸ ἰσχυρότατον τοῦ στρατοῦ λαβὼν ἔς τε τὴν ἄνω Μακεδονίαν ἀνεχώρησε, κἀντεῦθεν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ὕστερον ἔπλευσεν, ὅπως σφᾶς ὅτι τε πορρωτάτω τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀπαγάγῃ κἀκ τῶν
3 ἐκεῖ ὑπηκόων διατρέφῃ. καὶ ἄλλους τε ἐν τούτῳ συμμάχους προσεποιήσατο καὶ τὸν Δηιόταρον, καίπερ ὑπεργήρων[2] τε ὄντα καὶ τῷ Κασσίῳ ἀπειπόντα τὴν βοήθειαν.

Διατρίβοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ, ἐκείνῳ τε Γέλλιος Ποπλικόλας ἐπεβούλευσε καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὁ ἀδελφὸς ὁ Μᾶρκος ἐξαρπάσαι, πέμψας τινάς,
4 ἐπεχείρησε. καὶ τοῦτον μὲν ὁ Κλώδιος, ὡς οὐκ ἠδυνήθη σῶον[3] φυλάξαι, ἀπέκτεινεν, εἴτ' αὐτογνωμονήσας εἴτε καὶ ἐξ ἐντολῆς τοῦ Βρούτου· καὶ γὰρ λόγος ἔχει ὅτι πρότερον μὲν ἐν παντὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτοῦ ἐποιεῖτο, ὕστερον δέ, μαθὼν τὸν Δέκιμον ἀπολωλότα, παρ' οὐδὲν αὐτὴν ἤγαγεν.
5 ὁ δὲ δὴ Γέλλιος ἐφωράθη μέν, ἔπαθε δὲ δεινὸν

[1] μεταβάλωνται Zon., μεταβάλλωνται LM.
[2] ὑπεργήρων R. Steph., ὑπεργήρω LM.
[3] σῶον R. Steph., σῶιον LM.

from his service, persuaded the other mutineers to arrest and kill those who had been sent away, on the ground that they were chiefly responsible for the sedition, and also to ask for the surrender of the quaestor and the lieutenants of Antonius. Now Brutus did not deliver any of these officials into their hands, but put them aboard ships, as if he were going to drown them, and so conveyed them to safety; fearing, however, that the troops would change sides again when they should hear reports of the events in Rome, all exaggerated to inspire alarm, he delivered Antonius to a certain Gaius Clodius to guard and left him in Apollonia. Meanwhile Brutus himself took the largest and strongest part of the army and retired into upper Macedonia, whence he later sailed to Asia, in order to remove his men as far as possible from Italy and to support them on the subject territory there. Among the various allies whom he gained at this time was Deiotarus, although this ruler was very old and had refused his assistance to Cassius.

B.C. 42

While Brutus was delaying there, a plot was formed against him by Gellius Publicola, and Mark Antony also sent some men and attempted to rescue his brother. Clodius, accordingly, as he could not keep his prisoner in custody alive, killed him, either on his own responsibility or following instructions from Brutus; for the story is that at first Brutus made his prisoner's safety of supreme importance, but later, after learning that Decimus had perished, cared nothing more about it. Gellius was detected, but suffered no punishment;

οὐδέν· ὁ γὰρ Βροῦτος ἐκεῖνόν τε ἐν τοῖς φιλτάτοις ἀεί ποτε νομίσας εἶναι, καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Μᾶρκον Μεσσάλαν πάνυ τῷ Κασσίῳ προσκείμενον εἰδώς, ἀφῆκεν αὐτόν. καὶ ὃς ἐπέθετο μὲν καὶ τῷ Κασσίῳ, οὐδὲν δὲ οὐδὲ τότε κακὸν ἔπαθεν.
6 αἴτιον δὲ ὅτι ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ Πώλλα[1] προμαθοῦσα τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, καὶ δείσασα περί τε τῷ Κασσιῳ μὴ προκαταληφθῇ (σφόδρα γὰρ αὐτὸν ἠγάπα) καὶ περὶ τῷ υἱῷ μὴ καταφωραθῇ, τό τε ἐπιβούλευμα αὐτὴ ἑκοῦσα τῷ Κασσίῳ προεμήνυσε καὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν τοῦ παιδὸς ἀντέλαβεν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ βελτίω αὐτὸν ἐποίησεν· πρός τε γὰρ τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀπὸ τῶν εὐεργετῶν ἀπηυτομόλησεν.

25 Ὁ δ' οὖν Βροῦτος ὡς τάχιστα τήν τε τοῦ Ἀντωνίου τοῦ Μάρκου πείρασιν καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ σφαγὴν ἔμαθεν, ἔδεισε μὴ καὶ ἄλλο τι ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ παρὰ τὴν ἀπουσίαν αὐτοῦ νεωτερισθῇ, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐπειχθεὶς τήν τε χώραν τὴν τοῦ Σαδάλου[2] γενομένην παρέλαβεν (ἄπαις γὰρ τελευτῶν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις αὐτὴν κατέ-
2 λιπε), καὶ ἐς Βησσοὺς ἐμβαλών, εἴ πως ἀμύναιτό τε ἅμα αὐτοὺς ὧν ἐκακούργουν, καὶ ὄνομα ἀξίωμά τε αὐτοκράτορος, ὡς καὶ ῥᾷον ἐκ τούτου τῷ τε Καίσαρι καὶ τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ προσπολεμήσων, περιβάλοιτο,[3] ἀμφότερα διεπράξατο, Ῥασκυπόριδός οἱ δυνάστου τινὸς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα βοηθήσαντος. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἐλθὼν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐκεῖ κρατυνάμενος ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν αὖθις ἀνεκομίσθη.

[1] Πώλλα Bs., πάλλα LM. [2] Σαδάλου Xyl., ἀθάλου LM.
[3] περιβάλοιτο Bk., περιβάλλοιτο LM.

for Brutus released him, inasmuch as he had always held him to be among his best friends and knew that his brother, Marcus Messalla, was on very close terms with Cassius. The man also made an attempt upon Cassius, but suffered no harm in that case, either. The reason was that his mother Polla learned of the plot in advance, and fearing for Cassius lest he should be caught off his guard (for she was very fond of him) and for her son lest he should be detected, in person and of her own free will informed Cassius of the plot beforehand, and received the life of her son as a reward. However, she did not succeed in making a better man of him; for he deserted his benefactors to join Caesar and Antony. B.C. 42

Now as soon as Brutus learned of the attempt of Mark Antony and of the killing of Antony's brother, he feared that some other insurrection might take place in Macedonia during his absence, and immediately hastened to Europe. On the way he took charge of the territory which had belonged to Sadalus, who had died childless and had left it to the Romans, and he also invaded the country of the Bessi, in the hope that he might at one and the same time punish them for the mischief they were doing and invest himself with the title and dignity of *imperator*, thinking that he should thus carry on his war against Caesar and Antony more easily. He accomplished both objects chiefly by the aid of a certain prince named Rhascyporis. And after going thence into Macedonia and making himself master of everything there, he withdrew again into Asia.

3 Βροῦτος μὲν ταῦτά τε ἔπρασσεν, καὶ ἐς τὰ νομίσματα ἃ ἐκόπτετο εἰκόνα τε αὐτοῦ καὶ πιλίον[1] ξιφίδιά τε δύο ἐνετύπου, δηλῶν ἔκ τε τούτου καὶ διὰ τῶν γραμμάτων ὅτι τὴν πατρίδα μετὰ τοῦ
26 Κασσίου ἠλευθερωκὼς εἴη· ἐν δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις χρόνοις ὁ Κάσσιος ἔς τε τὴν Ἀσίαν πρὸς τὸν Τρεβώνιον, φθάσας τὸν Δολοβέλλαν,[2] ἐπεραιώθη, καὶ λαβὼν παρ' αὐτοῦ χρήματα, τῶν τε ἱππέων συχνούς, οὓς ὁ Δολοβέλλας ἐς τὴν Συρίαν προεπεπόμφει, καὶ ἑτέρους πολλοὺς τῶν τε Ἀσια-
2 νῶν καὶ τῶν Κιλίκων προσέθετο. κἀκ τούτου καὶ τὸν Ταρκονδίμοτον τούς τε Ταρσέας καὶ ἄκοντας ἐς τὸ συμμαχικὸν προσηγάγετο· οὕτω γὰρ προσφιλῶς τῷ Καίσαρι τῷ προτέρῳ, καὶ δι' ἐκεῖνον καὶ τῷ δευτέρῳ, οἱ Ταρσεῖς εἶχον ὥστε καὶ Ἰουλιόπολίν σφας ἀπ' αὐτοῦ μετονομάσαι. ταῦτ' οὖν ὁ Κάσσιος πράξας ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἦλθε, καὶ ἀμαχεὶ πάντα τά τε τῶν δήμων καὶ τὰ τῶν στρατευμάτων
3 προσεποιήσατο. ἡ δὲ δὴ κατάστασις ἡ ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ τότε τοιάδε ἦν. Καικίλιος Βάσσος ἱππεὺς συστρατεύσας[3] τε τῷ Πομπηίῳ καὶ ἀναχωρήσας ἐς Τύρον, ἐκεῖ ἐν τῷ ἐμπορίῳ τὰς διατριβὰς λανθάνων ἐποιεῖτο. ἦρχε δὲ τῶν Σύρων Σέξτος· τούτῳ γὰρ καὶ ταμίᾳ καὶ συγγενεῖ αὐτοῦ ὄντι ὁ Καῖσαρ πάντα τὰ τῇδε κατὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐπὶ τὸν
4 Φαρνάκην ἔλασιν ἐπέτρεψεν. ὁ οὖν Βάσσος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἡσυχίαν ἦγεν, ἀγαπῶν εἴ τις αὐτὸν ζῆν ἐάσειεν· ὡς δὲ τῶν τε ὁμοίων τινὲς πρὸς αὐτὸν

[1] πιλίον Reim., πείλιον LM.
[2] Δολοβέλλαν R. Steph., δολαβέλλαν LM (so just below and in chap. 28, 5 ; elsewhere δολοβέλλαν, etc.).
[3] συστρατεύσας Bs., στρατεύσας LM.

In addition to these activities Brutus stamped upon the coins which were being minted his own likeness and a cap[1] and two daggers, indicating by this and by the inscription that he and Cassius had liberated the fatherland. Meanwhile Cassius crossed over to Trebonius in Asia, forestalling Dolabella, and after securing money from him, attached to himself many of the cavalry, which Dolabella had sent before him into Syria, and also many Asiatics and Cilicians besides. He next brought Tarcondimotus, also, and the people of Tarsus into the alliance, though against their will, for the Tarsians were so devoted to the former Caesar, and out of regard for him to the second also, that they changed the name of their city to Juliopolis after him. After accomplishing this much Cassius went to Syria, and without striking a blow completely won over both the people and the legions. The situation in Syria at that time was as follows. Caecilius Bassus, a knight, who had made the campaign with Pompey and in the retreat had arrived at Tyre, was secretly spending his time there in the mart. The governor of Syria was Sextus;[2] for since he was not only quaestor but also a relative of Caesar's, Caesar had placed in his charge all the Roman interests in that quarter, having done this on the occasion of his march from Egypt against Pharnaces. So Bassus at first remained quiet, satisfied if only he might be allowed to live; but when some men in like case had associated them-

B.C. 42

[1] The cap of liberty, given to slaves at the time of their manumission.

[2] Sextus Julius.

συνελέγησαν, καὶ τῶν τοῦ Σέξτου στρατιωτῶν ἄλλοτε ἄλλους ἐς φυλακὴν τῆς πόλεως φοιτῶντας ἀνηρτήσατο, περί τε τοῦ Καίσαρος πολλὰ καὶ
5 δεινὰ ἐκ τῆς Ἀφρικῆς ἠγγέλλετο, οὐκέτι τοῖς παροῦσιν ἔστερξεν, ἀλλ' ἢ τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα τόν τε Κάτωνα καὶ τοὺς Πομπηίους συναιρόμενος, ἢ καὶ ἑαυτῷ δυναστείαν τινὰ περιβαλλόμενος, ἐνεόχμου. φωραθείς τε ὑπὸ τοῦ Σέξτου πρὶν παρασκευάσασθαι, ἔφη τε τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ τῷ Περγαμηνῷ τὴν ἐπικουρίαν ἐπὶ τὸν Βόσπορον ἀθροί-
6 ζειν, καὶ πιστευθεὶς ἀπελύθη. καὶ οὕτω μετὰ ταῦτα γράμματά τινα συνέπλασεν ὡς καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Σκιπίωνός οἱ πεμφθέντα, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν τόν τε Καίσαρα ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ ἡττῆσθαι καὶ ἀπολωλέναι διήγγελλε, καὶ ἑαυτῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Συρίας προσ-
7 τετάχθαι ἔλεγε. κἀκ τούτου τήν τε Τύρον μετὰ τῶν προπαρεσκευασμένων κατέλαβε, κἀντεῦθεν πρὸς τὰ τοῦ Σέξτου στρατόπεδα προσχωρῶν περιέπεσεν αὐτῷ καὶ ἡττηθεὶς ἐτρώθη. παθὼν δὲ τοῦτο κατὰ μὲν τὸ ἰσχυρὸν οὐκέτ' αὐτοῦ ἐπείρασε, τοῖς δὲ δὴ στρατιώταις προσπέμπων τινὰ τρόπον οὕτω τινὰς αὐτῶν ἐσφετερίσατο ὥστε καὶ αὐτόχειρας τοῦ Σέξτου γενέσθαι.

27 Ἀποθανόντος δὲ ἐκείνου τό τε στράτευμα πᾶν πλὴν ὀλίγων προσηταιρίσατο (τοὺς γὰρ ἐν Ἀπαμείᾳ χειμάζοντας ἐπεδίωξε μὲν ἐς Κιλικίαν προαποχωρήσαντας, οὐ μὴν καὶ προσεποιήσατο), καὶ ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἐπανελθὼν στρατηγός τε ὠνομάσθη καὶ τὴν Ἀπάμειαν ἐκρατύνατο, ὅπως ὁρμητήριόν
2 οἱ τοῦ πολέμου γένηται. τήν τε ἡλικίαν οὐχ ὅτι τὴν ἐλευθέραν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τῶν δούλων κατέλεγε,

selves with him and he had attached to himself various soldiers of Sextus who came there at different times to garrison the city, and when, morever, many alarming reports kept coming in from Africa about Caesar, he was no longer content with the existing state of affairs, but began to stir up a rebellion, his aim being either to help the followers of Scipio and Cato and the Pompeians or to win for himself some political power. But he was discovered by Sextus before he had finished his preparations, and explained that he was collecting these troops for the use of Mithridates the Pergamenian in an expedition against Bosporus; his story was believed, and he was released. So after this he forged a letter, which he pretended had been sent to him by Scipio, on the basis of which he announced that Caesar had been defeated and had perished in Africa and claimed that the governorship of Syria had been assigned to him. He then seized Tyre with the aid of the forces he had got ready, and from there he advanced against the legions of Sextus, but was defeated and wounded while attacking him. After this experience, he did not again make an attempt by force upon Sextus, but sent messages to his soldiers, and in some way or other won some of them to himself to such an extent that they murdered Sextus with their own hands. B.C. 42

When Sextus was dead, Bassus gained possession of all his army except a few; for the soldiers who had been wintering in Apamea withdrew into Cilicia before his arrival, and although he pursued them, he did not win them over. Returning then to Syria, he took the title of praetor and fortified Apamea, so as to have it as a base for the war. And he proceeded to enlist the men of military age, not only freemen

καὶ χρήματα ἤθροιζε καὶ ὅπλα κατεσκευάζετο. πράσσοντα δὲ αὐτὸν ταῦτα Γάϊός τις Ἀντίστιος ἐς πολιορκίαν κατέκλεισε. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀγχώμαλα ἀγωνιζόμενοι, καὶ μηδέτεροι ἰσχυρόν τι παραλαβεῖν δυνάμενοι, ἀσπόνδῳ διοκωχῇ πρὸς 3 *συμμάχων ἐπαγωγὴν διελύθησαν. καὶ Ἀντιστίῳ μὲν ἔκ τε τῶν περιχώρων οἱ τὰ τοῦ* Καίσαρος *φρονοῦντες καὶ ἐκ τῆς* Ῥώμης *στρατιῶται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεμφθέντες προσεγένοντο, τῷ δὲ δὴ* Βάσσῳ *ὁ* Ἀλχαυδόνιος *ὁ* Ἀράβιος· *οὗτος γὰρ τῷ τε* Λουκούλλῳ *πρότερον, ὥσπερ εἴρηταί μοι, ὁμολογήσας, καὶ τοῖς* Πάρθοις *μετὰ τοῦτο κατὰ τοῦ* 4 Κράσσου *συναράμενος, τότε παρεκλήθη μὲν ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων, ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς τὸ μέσον τῆς τε πόλεως καὶ τῶν στρατοπέδων, πρίν τι ἀποκρίνασθαί σφισι, τήν τε συμμαχίαν ἀπεκήρυξε, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ* Βάσσος *ὑπερέβαλε τοῖς χρήμασιν, ἐπεκούρησέ τε αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πολὺ τοῖς τοξεύμασιν ἐπε-* 5 *κράτησεν. οἱ δὲ δὴ* Πάρθοι *ἦλθον μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ τῷ* Βάσσῳ *ἐπίκλητοι, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ αὐτῷ διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα συνεγένοντο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ ἔπραξάν τι ἀξιόλογον. καὶ ὁ μὲν δυνηθείς τινα χρόνον, ἔπειτα ὑπό τε* Μαρκίου[1] Κρίσπου *καὶ ὑπὸ* Λουκίου Σταΐου[2] Μούρκου *αὖθις κατείρχθη.*

28 Τοιούτων *δὲ δὴ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτοῖς ὄντων, ὁ* Κάσσιος *ἐπελθὼν τάς τε πόλεις πάσας εὐθὺς πρός τε τὴν δόξαν ὧν ἐν τῇ ταμιείᾳ ἐπεποιήκει καὶ πρὸς τὴν λοιπὴν εὔκλειαν ᾠκειώσατο, καὶ τὰ*

[1] Μαρκίου Reim., *μάρκου* LM.
[2] Σταΐου Bs., *στατίου* LM (and so in the following chapters except 33, where they read *σταδίου*).

but slaves as well, to gather money, and to prepare arms. While he was thus engaged, one Gaius Antistius besieged him. Later they had a fairly equal struggle, and when neither party was able to gain any great advantage, they parted, without any definite truce, to await the bringing up of allies. Antistius was joined by such persons of the vicinity as favoured Caesar and by soldiers who had been sent from Rome by Caesar, while Bassus was joined by Alchaudonius the Arabian. He it was who had formerly made terms with Lucullus, as I have stated,[1] and later joined with the Parthians against Crassus. On this occasion he was summoned by both sides, but entered the space between the city and the camps and before making any answer called for bids for his services as an ally; and as Bassus outbid Antistius, he assisted him, and in the battle proved greatly superior in his archery. Even the Parthians, too, came at the invitation of Bassus, but on account of the winter failed to remain with him for any considerable time, and hence did not accomplish anything of importance. Bassus prevailed for a time, to be sure, but was later again held in check by Marcius Crispus[2] and Lucius Staius Murcus. B.C. 42

Affairs with them were in this state when Cassius came on the scene and at once conciliated all the cities because of the renown of his acts while quaestor and of his fame in general, and attached the legions of

[1] Cf. xxxvi. 2, 5. [2] Q. Marcius Crispus.

στρατόπεδα τά τε τοῦ Βάσσου καὶ τὰ τῶν ἑτέρων
2 οὐδὲν ἐπιπονήσας προσέθετο. καὶ αὐτῷ καθ' ἓν μετὰ πάντων αὐτῶν αὐλιζομένῳ ὕδωρ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ αἰφνίδιον πολὺ ἐπεγένετο, κἀν τούτῳ σύες ἄγριοι ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον κατὰ πάσας ἅμα τὰς πύλας ἐσπεσόντες πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ ὄντα συνέχεαν καὶ συνετάραξαν, ὥστε τινὰς ἐκ τούτων τήν τε ἰσχὺν αὐτοῦ τὴν αὐτίκα καὶ τὴν μετὰ ταῦτα
3 καταστροφὴν τεκμήρασθαι. παραλαβὼν οὖν τὴν Συρίαν ἐς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ὥρμησε, πυθόμενος τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος καταλειφθέντας προσιέναι, καὶ ἐκείνους τε
4 ἀκονιτὶ καὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους παρεστήσατο. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὸν μὲν Βάσσον καὶ τὸν Κρίσπον, τούς τε ἄλλους τοὺς οὐκ ἐθελήσαντάς οἱ συστρατεῦσαι, ἀπέπεμψε μηδὲν ἀδικήσας, τῷ δὲ δὴ Σταΐῳ τό τε ἀξίωμα μεθ' οὗ ἀφῖκτο ἐτήρησε, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐπέτρεψεν.

5 Οὕτω μὲν καὶ ὁ Κάσσιος ἰσχυρὸς διὰ ταχέων ἐγένετο, καὶ τῷ τε Καίσαρι περὶ τῶν συναλλαγῶν καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ περὶ τῶν παρόντων ὅμοια τῷ Βρούτῳ ἐπέστειλε. καὶ αὐτῷ διὰ ταῦτα ἡ βουλὴ τήν τε ἀρχὴν τῆς Συρίας ἐβεβαίωσε καὶ τὸν τοῦ
29 Δολοβέλλου πόλεμον ἐψηφίσατο. οὗτος γὰρ ἐτέτακτο μὲν τῆς Συρίας ἄρχειν καὶ τὴν ἔξοδον ὑπατεύων ἐπεποίητο,[1] χρόνιος δὲ διά τε τῆς Μακεδονίας καὶ διὰ τῆς Θρᾴκης ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν τὸ ἔθνος
2 κομισθεὶς καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐνδιέτριψεν. ἐπειδή τε ἐνταῦθα ἔτι ὄντι αὐτῷ τὸ δόγμα ἠγγέλθη, πρὸς μὲν τὴν Συρίαν οὐ προεχώρησεν, αὐτοῦ δὲ δὴ καταμείνας τὸν Τρεβώνιον οὕτω μετεχειρίσατο ὥστε δόξαν οἱ

[1] ἐπεποίητο Naber, ἐποιεῖτο LM.

Bassus and of the others without any further trouble. B.C. 42
While he was encamped in one place with all of these forces, a great downpour from the sky suddenly occurred, during which wild swine rushed into the camp, through all the gates at once, overturning and throwing into confusion everything there; hence some inferred from this his immediate rise to power and his subsequent overthrow. So when Cassius had secured possession of Syria, he set out for Judaea on learning that the followers of Caesar who had been left behind in Egypt were approaching; and without any difficulty he won to his cause both them and the Jews. Next he sent away, without harming them in the least, Bassus and Crispus and such others as did not care to share the campaign with him; as for Staius, he retained him in the rank which he had when he came there and entrusted the fleet to him besides.

Thus Cassius quickly became strong; and he sent a despatch to Caesar about reconciliation, and to the senate about the situation, composed in similar language to that of Brutus. Therefore the senate confirmed him in the governorship of Syria and voted for the war with Dolabella. Dolabella, it will be recalled, had been appointed to govern Syria and had set out while consul, but travelling by way of Macedonia and Thrace, had been late in arriving in the province of Asia, and he had delayed there also. He was still there when he received news of the decree, and so did not go on into Syria, but remained where he was; and he treated Trebonius in such a manner as to inspire

εὐνοίας πλείστην παρασχεῖν, καὶ τήν τε τροφὴν τοῖς στρατιώταις παρ' ἑκόντος αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν καὶ
3 τὴν δίαιταν ἀδεῶς σὺν αὐτῷ ποιεῖσθαι. ἐπειδή τε ἔν τε τῷ θαρσοῦντι διὰ ταῦτ' ἐγένετο καὶ φυλακὴν οὐδεμίαν ἑαυτοῦ ἐποιεῖτο, τήν τε Σμύρναν, ἐν ᾗ ἦσαν, νυκτὸς ἐξαπιναίως κατέλαβε, καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἀποκτείνας τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος εἰκόνα ἔρριψε, κἀκ τούτου πᾶσαν τὴν
4 Ἀσίαν κατέσχε. πυθόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα οἱ ἐν οἴκῳ Ῥωμαῖοι πόλεμον αὐτῷ ἐπήγγειλαν· οὐδέπω γὰρ ὁ Καῖσαρ οὔτε τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐνενικήκει οὔτε τὰ ἐν τῷ ἄστει διὰ χειρὸς ἐπεποίητο. καὶ τοῖς τε συνοῦσίν οἱ ῥητὴν ἡμέραν ἐς ἔκλειψιν τῆς φιλίας αὐτοῦ προεῖπον, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἐν ἐχθρῶν
5 μοίρᾳ γένωνται, καὶ τὴν ἀντίταξιν τόν τε πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸ μὲν σύμπαν τοῖς ὑπάτοις προσέταξαν, ἐπειδὰν τὰ παρόντα κατορθώσωσι, ποιήσασθαι (τὸν γὰρ Κάσσιον οὐδέπω τὴν Συρίαν ἔχοντα ᾔδεσαν), ἵνα δὲ μὴ ἐπὶ μεῖζον ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ χρόνῳ αὐξηθῇ, τοῖς τῶν προσόρων ἐθνῶν ἄρχουσιν
6 ἐνεχείρισαν· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο μαθόντες τὰ κατὰ τὸν Κάσσιον, πρὶν καὶ ὁτιοῦν ὑπ' ἐκείνων πραχθῆναι, ταῦθ' ἅπερ εἶπον ἐψηφίσαντο.

30 Ὁ δ' οὖν Δολοβέλλας ἐγκρατὴς οὕτω τῆς Ἀσίας γενόμενος ἐς τὴν Κιλικίαν ἦλθε, τοῦ Κασσίου ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ ὄντος, καὶ τοὺς Ταρσέας ἑκουσίους προσλαβὼν φρουρούς τινας αὐτοῦ ἐν Αἰγέαις ὄν-
2 τας ἐνίκησε, καὶ ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἐνέβαλε. καὶ τῆς μὲν Ἀντιοχείας ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμφρουρούντων αὐτὴν ἀπεκρούσθη, τὴν δὲ δὴ Λαοδίκειαν ἀμαχεὶ διὰ τὴν φιλίαν αὐτῶν, ἣν πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα τὸν πρότερον

in him a firm belief in his friendly disposition toward him, and thus to secure from him, with his full consent, food for his soldiers and the privilege of living with him in security. And when Trebonius became in this way imbued with confidence and ceased to be on his guard, Dolabella one night suddenly seized Smyrna, where they were staying, slew him, and hurled his head at Caesar's statue; and after that he occupied all Asia. When the Romans at home heard of this, they declared war upon him; for as yet Caesar had neither conquered Antony nor got the affairs of the city under his control. They also set a definite day before which Dolabella's followers must leave off friendship with him if they also were not to be regarded in the light of enemies. And they instructed the consuls to take complete charge of the measures against him and of the war, as soon as they should have brought their present business to a successful conclusion (for they did not yet know that Cassius held Syria); however, in order that he should not become more powerful in the meantime, they gave the governors of the neighbouring provinces charge of the matter. When they subsequently learned the truth about Cassius, they passed the decree mentioned above before anything had been done by the provincial governors.

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Dolabella, accordingly, after becoming in this way master of Asia, came into Cilicia while Cassius was in Palestine, took over the people of Tarsus with their consent, conquered a few of Cassius' guards who were at Aegae, and invaded Syria. From Antioch he was repulsed by the garrison of the place, but he gained Laodicea without a struggle on account of the friendship which its inhabitants felt for the former

εἶχον, προσεποιήσατο. κἀκ τούτων ἡμέρας τινὰς ἰσχύσας (τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν αὐτῷ διὰ ταχέων ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπῆλθε) διέβαλεν[1] ἐς Ἄραδον, ὅπως καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων καὶ χρήματα καὶ 3 ναῦς λάβῃ· κἀνταῦθα ἀποληφθεὶς μετ' ὀλίγων ἐκινδύνευσε. διαφυγὼν δ' οὖν ἀπήντησέ τε τῷ Κασσίῳ προσελαύνοντι, καὶ συμβαλὼν αὐτῷ ἡττήθη. κατακλεισθείς τε ἐς τὴν Λαοδίκειαν ἐπορθεῖτο, τῆς μὲν ἠπείρου παντελῶς εἰργόμενος (ἄλλοι τε γὰρ τῷ Κασσίῳ καὶ Πάρθοι τινὲς ἐβοή- 4 θησαν), ταῖς δὲ δὴ ναυσὶ ταῖς τε Ἀσιαναῖς καὶ ταῖς Αἰγυπτίαις, ἃς ἡ Κλεοπάτρα αὐτῷ ἔπεμψε, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τοῖς χρήμασι τοῖς παρ' αὐτῆς ἐλθοῦσιν ἰσχύων, μέχρις οὗ ὁ Στάϊος τό τε ναυτικὸν συνεκρότησε, καὶ ἐς τὸν τῶν Λαοδικέων λιμένα ἐσπλεύσας τούς τε ἀνταναχθέντας ἐκρά- 5 τησε καὶ ἀπέκλεισέν οἱ καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν. τότε γὰρ ἀμφοτέρωθεν τῆς ἐπαγωγῆς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων εἰρχθεὶς ἐπεκδρομὴν μὲν σπάνει τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐποιήσατο, καταραχθεὶς δὲ διὰ ταχέων ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, καὶ προδιδόμενον αὐτὸ ἰδών, ἐφοβήθη μὴ ζῶν ἁλοίη[2] καὶ ἑαυτὸν κατεχρήσατο. ὅπερ που καὶ Μᾶρκος Ὀκτάουιος ὑποστράτηγος αὐτοῦ ἔπραξε. 6 καὶ οἱ μὲν ταφῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ Κασσίου, καίπερ τὸν Τρεβώνιον ἄταφον ῥίψαντες, ἠξιώθησαν· οἵ τε συστρατεύσαντές σφισι καὶ περιγενόμενοι καὶ σωτηρίας καὶ ἀδείας, καίτοι πολέμιοι ὑπὸ τῶν 7 οἴκοι Ῥωμαίων νομισθέντες, ἔτυχον. οὐ μέντοι οὐδ' οἱ Λαοδικεῖς κακόν τι πλὴν συντελείας χρημάτων ἔπαθον. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἄλλος οὐδείς, συχνῶν

[1] διέβαλεν R. Steph., διέβαλλεν LM.
[2] ἁλοίη Dind., ἁλώῃ LM.

Caesar. Thereupon he became powerful for a few days, especially as the fleet came to him speedily from Asia, and he crossed over to Arados with the object of getting both money and ships from the people of that island also; there he was intercepted with only a few followers, and ran into danger. But he made his escape, and then encountering Cassius, who was marching against him, he joined battle with him and was defeated. He was then shut up and besieged in Laodicea, entirely cut off from the main land (for Cassius was assisted by some Parthians among others), though he was still powerful on the sea, not only because of the ships he had from Asia, but also because of those from Egypt which Cleopatra had sent him, and powerful also by reason of the money which came to him from her. This situation lasted until Staius got together a fleet, and sailing into the harbour of Laodicea, defeated the ships that sailed out to meet him, and barred Dolabella from the sea also. Then, prevented on both sides from bringing in supplies, he was forced by lack of provisions to make a sortie; but he was quickly driven back within the fortress, and seeing that it was being betrayed, he feared that he might be taken alive, and so took his own life. His example was followed by Marcus Octavius, his lieutenant. To these two burial was conceded by Cassius, although they had cast out Trebonius unburied; and the men who had participated in the campaign with them and survived obtained both safety and pardon, in spite of their having been regarded as enemies by the Romans at home. Furthermore, the Laodiceans also suffered no harm apart from a forced contribution of money. But for that matter no one else was punished, either,

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μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπιβουλευσάντων τῷ Κασσίῳ, ἐκολάσθη.

31 Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο, οἱ Ταρσεῖς Τίλλιον Κίμβρον φονέα τε τοῦ Καίσαρος ὄντα καὶ τότε Βιθυνῶν ἄρχοντα πρός τε τὴν τοῦ Κασσίου ἐπικουρίαν ἐπειγόμενον ἐπεχείρησαν τῶν τοῦ Ταύρου διόδων εἶρξαι, προεκλιπόντες δὲ[1] αὐτὰς ὑπὸ δέους παραχρῆμα μὲν ἐσπείσαντο αὐτῷ, νομίσαντες ἰσχυρὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὴν ὀλιγότητα τῶν στρατιωτῶν κατανοήσαντες οὔτε τῇ πόλει αὐτὸν ἐδέξαντο οὔτε τὰ ἐπιτήδειά οἱ παρέσχον. 2 ἐπειδή τε φρούριόν τι ἐπιτειχίσας σφίσιν ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἀπῆρε, προτιμότερον τὸ τῷ Κασσίῳ βοηθῆσαι τοῦ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὸς ἐξελεῖν ποιησάμενος, τοῦτό τε ἐπιστρατεύσαντες αὐτῷ παρεστήσαντο, καὶ πρὸς τὰ Ἀδανὰ ὅμορά τέ σφισι καὶ διάφορα ἀεὶ ὄντα ὥρμησαν, πρόφασιν ὡς καὶ τὰ 3 τοῦ Κασσίου πρασσοντα ποιησάμενοι. πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ἐκεῖνος πρότερον μέν, ὡς ἔτι ὁ Δολοβέλλας ἔζη, Λούκιον Ῥοῦφον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔπεμψεν, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἦλθε, καὶ (ἤδη γὰρ ἀμαχεὶ τῷ Ῥούφῳ προσεκεχωρήκεσαν) ἄλλο μέν σφας οὐδὲν δεινὸν εἰργάσατο, τὰ δὲ χρήματα τά τε ἴδια 4 καὶ τὰ δημόσια πάντα[2] ἀφείλετο. κἀκ τούτου Ταρσεῖς ἐπαίνους τε παρὰ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν (ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ τὰ πράγματα ἤδη τὰ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ εἶχον) καὶ ἐλπίδα ἀντιλήψεσθαί τι ἀντὶ τῶν 5 ἀπολωλότων ἔλαβον· ἥ τε Κλεοπάτρα διὰ τὴν συμμαχίαν ἣν τῷ Δολοβέλλᾳ ἔπεμψεν, εὕρετο[3] τὸν υἱόν, ὃν Πτολεμαῖον μὲν ὠνόμαζεν, ἐπλάττετο

[1] δὲ v. Herw., τε LM. [2] πάντα M, πάντας L.
[3] εὕρετο M, εὕρετό τε L.

although many of them subsequently plotted against Cassius. B.C. 42

While this was going on the people of Tarsus had attempted to keep from the pass through the Taurus Tillius Cimber, an assassin of Caesar, who was then governor of Bithynia and was hurrying forward to help Cassius. Out of fear, however, they abandoned the place and at the time made a truce with him, because they thought him strong; but afterwards, when they perceived the small number of his troops, they neither received him into their city nor furnished him with provisions. And when he had constructed a fort against them and had set out for Syria, believing it to be of more importance to aid Cassius than to destroy their city himself, they made an attack upon this fort and got possession of it, and then set out for Adana, a place on their borders always at variance with them, giving as an excuse that it was supporting the cause of Cassius. Now when Cassius heard of this, he at first, while Dolabella was still alive, sent Lucius Rufus against them, but later came himself; and finding that they had already surrendered to Rufus without a struggle, he inflicted no severe penalty upon them, except to take away all their money, private and public. As a result, the people of Tarsus received praise from the triumvirs (for they were already holding sway in Rome), and were inspired with hope of obtaining some return for their losses. Cleopatra also, on account of the aid she had sent to Dolabella, was granted the right to have her son called king of Egypt; this son, whom she named Ptolemy,

δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Καίσαρος τετοκέναι καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο Καισαρίωνα προσηγόρευε, βασιλέα τῆς Αἰγύπτου κληθῆναι.

32 Κάσσιος δὲ ἐπειδὴ τά τε ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Κιλικίᾳ κατεστήσατο, ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν πρὸς τὸν Βροῦτον ἀφίκετο. ὡς γὰρ τήν τε συνωμοσίαν τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔμαθον καὶ τὰ πραττόμενα ὑπ' αὐτῶν κατὰ σφῶν ᾔσθοντο, συνῆλθόν τε ἐκεῖ καὶ 2 τὰ πράγματα ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον ἐκοινώσαντο· τήν τε γὰρ αἰτίαν τὴν τοῦ πολέμου τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχοντες καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον τὸν αὐτὸν προσδεχόμενοι, τήν τε ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ δήμου ἐλευθερίας γνώμην μηδὲ τότε ἐξιστάμενοι, καὶ ἐκείνους ἅτε καὶ τρεῖς ὄντας καὶ τοιαῦτα δρῶντας προσκαταλῦσαι γλιχόμενοι, πολλῷ προθυμότερον κοινῇ πάντα καὶ ἐβουλεύ- 3 οντο καὶ ἐποίουν. καὶ τὸ μὲν σύμπαν ἔγνωσαν ἔς τε τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἐλθεῖν καὶ περαιωθῆναι αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖσε κωλῦσαι, ἢ καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν προδιαβῆναι· ἐπεὶ δὲ τά τε ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ καθίστασθαι ἔτ' ἐλέγοντο, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Σέξτον ἅτε καὶ ἐγγύθεν ἐφεδρεύοντά σφισιν ἀσχολίαν ἕξειν 4 ἐνομίζοντο, οὐκ εὐθὺς ταῦτ' ἐποίησαν, ἀλλ' αὐτοί τε περιιόντες καὶ ἑτέρους διαπέμποντες τούς τε μηδέπω ὁμοφρονοῦντάς σφισι προσεκτῶντο καὶ χρήματα καὶ στρατιώτας ἤθροιζον.

33 Καὶ αὐτοῖς οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ταύτῃ πάντες, καὶ οἱ πρόσθεν περιορώμενοι, παραχρῆμα ὡμολόγησαν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Ἀριοβαρζάνης οἵ τε Ῥόδιοι καὶ οἱ Λύκιοι ἄλλως μὲν οὐκ ἀνθίσταντο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ συμ- 2 μαχῆσαι ἤθελον. ὑποπτεύσαντες οὖν αὐτοὺς τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων, ἐπειδὴ εὖ ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ

she pretended was her son by Caesar, and she was therefore wont to call him Caesarion. B.C. 42

And when Cassius had settled matters in Syria and in Cilicia, he came into Asia to meet Brutus. For when they learned of the league of the triumvirs and what these men were doing against them, they came together there and made common cause more than ever. As they shared the responsibility for the war and looked forward to the danger in the same degree, and as they did not even now recede from their determination to defend the freedom of the people, but were eager to overthrow these men also, inasmuch as they were three in number and were engaged in such evil undertakings, they proceeded with the greater zeal to make all their plans in common and to carry them out. In short, they resolved to enter Macedonia and to hinder the others from crossing over there, or even to forestall them by crossing over into Italy; but inasmuch as the triumvirs were reported to be still settling affairs in Rome and it was thought likely that they would have their hands full with Sextus, who was lying in wait against them near by, they did not carry out their plans immediately. Instead, they not only visited various places themselves, but also sent others in various directions, winning over such as were not yet in accord with them, and collecting both money and troops.

Nearly all the other peoples in that region, even those who had before been waiting for the turn of events, at once came to terms; but Ariobarzanes, the Rhodians, and the Lycians, while not opposing them, were yet unwilling to form an alliance with them. Brutus and Cassius therefore suspected them of favouring their enemies, since they had been well treated by

προτέρου ἐπεπόνθεσαν, φρονεῖν, καὶ φοβηθέντες μὴ καὶ[1] αὐτοί τε ἀπελθόντων σφῶν ταράξωσί τι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους συναποστήσωσι, γνώμην ἐποιήσαντο ἐπ' ἐκείνους πρῶτον τραπέσθαι, ἐλπίσαντές σφας, ἅτε καὶ τοῖς ὅπλοις πολὺ αὐτῶν ὑπερέχοντες καὶ ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις ἀφθόνως χρώμενοι, 3 διὰ βραχέος πείσειν ἢ καὶ βιάσεσθαι.[2] καὶ Κάσσιος μὲν Ῥοδίους, καίτοι τοσοῦτον ἐπὶ τῷ ναυτικῷ φρονοῦντας ὥστε ἔς τε[3] τὴν ἤπειρον ἐπ' αὐτὸν προδιαπλεῦσαι καὶ τὰς πέδας ἃς ἐκόμιζον ὡς καὶ ζῶντας πολλοὺς αἱρήσοντες ἐπιδεικνύναι σφίσι, ναυμαχίᾳ πρότερον μὲν περὶ Μύνδον, ἔπειτα δὲ πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ Ῥόδῳ διὰ τοῦ Σταΐου, τῷ τε πλήθει καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τῶν νεῶν τὴν ἐμπειρίαν 4 σφῶν κρατήσας, ἐνίκησε· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν νῆσον περαιωθεὶς ἄλλο μὲν κακὸν οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς ἔδρασεν (οὔτε γὰρ ἀντέστησάν οἱ, καὶ εὔνοιαν αὐτῶν ἐκ τῆς διατριβῆς ἣν ἐκεῖ κατὰ παιδείαν ἐπεποίητο εἶχε), τὰς δὲ δὴ ναῦς καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὰ ὅσια καὶ τὰ ἱερά, πλὴν τοῦ ἅρματος τοῦ Ἡλίου, παρεσπάσατο. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τὸν Ἀριοβαρζάνην συλλαβὼν ἀπέκτεινε.

34 Βροῦτος δὲ τό τε κοινὸν τῶν Λυκίων στράτευμα ἀπαντῆσαν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰ μεθόρια μάχῃ τε ἐκράτησε καὶ συγκαταφυγὸν ἐς τὸ ἔρυμα αὐτοβοεὶ εἷλε, καὶ τῶν πόλεων τὰς μὲν πλείους ἀμαχεὶ προσηγάγετο, Ξάνθον δὲ ἐς πολιορκίαν κατέ- 2 κλεισε. καὶ αὐτῶν ἐξαίφνης ἐκδραμόντων καὶ πῦρ ἐς τὰς μηχανὰς ἐμβαλόντων, τά τε τοξεύματα

[1] μὴ καὶ M, μὴ L.
[2] βιάσεσθαι R. Steph., βιάσασθαι LM.
[3] τε om. L.

the former Caesar, and they feared that when they themselves should have departed those peoples would cause some turmoil and lead the rest to revolt. Hence they determined to turn their attention to them first, in the hope that, since they themselves were far superior to them in point of armed forces and were also lavish with the favours they bestowed, they might soon either persuade or force them to join their cause. The Rhodians, who had so great an opinion of the strength of their fleet that without waiting for Cassius they sailed to the mainland against him and displayed to his army the fetters they were bringing with the idea that they were going to capture many alive, were nevertheless defeated by him in a naval battle, first near Myndus and later close to Rhodes itself; he accomplished this through Staius, who overcame their skill by the superior number and size of his ships. Afterwards Cassius himself crossed over to their island, where he met with no resistance, possessing, as he did, their good-will because of the stay he had made there while pursuing his education; and though he did the people no harm, yet he appropriated their ships, money, and public and sacred treasures, with the exception of the chariot of the Sun. Afterwards he arrested and killed Ariobarzanes.

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As for Brutus, he overcame in battle the combined army of the Lycians which met him near the border, and when it fled in a body into the camp, captured it without a blow; he won over the majority of the cities without a struggle, but Xanthus he besieged. Suddenly the inhabitants made a sortie, hurling fire upon his machines, and at the same time shooting

καὶ ἀκόντια ἅμα ἀφέντων,[1] ἐς πᾶν κινδύνου ἀφίκετο. κἂν πασσυδὶ ἀπώλετο, εἰ μὴ δι' αὐτοῦ τοῦ πυρὸς ὠσάμενοι οἱ στρατιῶται προσέμιξαν αὐτοῖς ἀπροσδόκητοι γυμνητεύουσιν, καὶ ἐκείνους τε ἐς τὸ 3 τεῖχος κατήραξαν, καὶ αὐτοὶ συνεσπεσόντες σφίσι τοῦ τε πυρὸς ἐς οἰκίας τινὰς ἐνέβαλον, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ὁρῶντας τὸ γιγνόμενον προκατέπληξαν, τοῖς δ' ἄπωθεν οὖσι δόξαν ὡς καὶ πάντα ἄρδην ᾑρηκότες παρέσχον· ἐκ γὰρ τούτου καὶ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι τὰ λοιπὰ ἐθελονταὶ συγκατέπρησαν καὶ ἀλλήλους 4 οἱ πλείους ἀνεχρήσαντο. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο πρὸς τὰ Πάταρα ὁ Βροῦτος ἦλθε, καὶ προεκαλέσατο[2] μὲν αὐτοὺς ἐς φιλίαν, ὡς δ' οὐχ ὑπήκουσαν (οἵ τε γὰρ δοῦλοι καὶ τῶν ἐλευθέρων οἱ πένητες, οἱ μὲν ἐλευθερίας οἱ δὲ χρεῶν ἀποκοπῆς προτετυχηκότες, ἐκώλυόν σφας συμβῆναι), τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους τῶν Ξανθίων (καὶ γὰρ ἐν γένει αὐτοῖς κατ' ἐπιγαμίαν πολλοὶ ἦσαν) ἔπεμψέ σφισιν, ἐλπίδα ἔχων δι' ἐκείνων αὐτοὺς προσ-5 άξεσθαι· ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐνέδοσαν καίπερ προῖκα αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἀναγκαίους ἑκάστῳ διδόντος, πρατήριόν τι ὑπ' αὐτὸ τὸ τεῖχος ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ κατεστήσατο, καὶ παράγων ἕνα ἕκαστον τῶν πρώτων ἀπεκήρυττεν, εἴ πως διά γε τούτου τοὺς Παταρέας[3] ὑπαγάγοιτο. ὡς δ' οὐδὲ τότε αὐτῷ προσεχώρησαν, ὀλίγους ἀποδόμενος τοὺς λοιποὺς 6 ἀφῆκεν. ἰδόντες δὲ τοῦτο οἱ ἔνδον οὐκέτ' ἀντῆραν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς αὐτῷ ὡς καὶ ἀρετὴν ἔχοντι προσέθεντο, μηδὲν ἔξω τῶν χρημάτων ζημιωθέντες. καὶ τοῦτο

[1] ἀφέντων Bs., ἐφέντων LM.
[2] προεκαλέσατο St., προσεκαλέσατο LM.
[3] Παταρέας R. Steph., παταραίας LM.

their arrows and javelins, and he was brought into the greatest danger. Indeed, his forces would have been utterly destroyed had they not pushed their way through the very fire and unexpectedly attacked their assailants, who were light-armed. These they hurled back within the walls, and themselves rushing in along with them, they cast fire into some of the houses, striking terror into those who witnessed what was being done and giving those at a distance the impression that they had captured absolutely everything; thereupon the inhabitants of their own accord helped set fire to the rest, and most of them slew one another. Later Brutus came to Patara and invited the people to conclude an alliance; but they would not obey, for the slaves and the poorer portion of the free population, who had just received, the former their freedom and the latter remission of their debts, prevented their making terms. So at first he sent them the captive Xanthians, to whom many of them were related by marriage, in the hope that through these he might bring them around; but when they yielded none the more, in spite of his offering to each man his own kin as a free gift, he set up an auction block in a safe place under the very wall and bringing up the prominent Xanthians one at a time, auctioned them off, to see if by this means at least he could bring the people of Patara to terms. But when they would not even then come over to him, he sold only a few and let the rest go. And when the people inside saw this, they no longer held out, but forthwith attached themselves to his cause, regarding him as an upright man; and they were punished only by the imposition of a fine. The

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καὶ οἱ Μυρεῖς ἐποίησαν, ἐπειδὴ τὸν στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ ἐπινείῳ λαβὼν ἀπέλυσε. καὶ οὕτω καὶ τἆλλα δι' ὀλίγου παρεστήσατο.

35 Ταῦτ' οὖν ἀμφότεροι πράξαντες ἔς τε τὴν Ἀσίαν αὖθις ἦλθον, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα ἐκ διαβολῶν, οἷα ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις φιλεῖ συμβαίνειν, ὕποπτα πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἶχον, ἔς τε τὸ μέσον καὶ κατὰ μόνας προενεγκόντες καὶ διαλυσάμενοι ἐς τὴν 2 Μακεδονίαν ἠπείγοντο. καὶ αὐτοὺς Γαιός τε Νωρβανὸς καὶ Δεκίδιος[1] Σάξας ἔφθησαν τόν τε Ἰόνιον, πρὶν τὸν Στάιον ἐλθεῖν, περαιωθέντες, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν μέχρι τοῦ Παγγαίου γῆν προκατασχόντες, καὶ πρὸς τοῖς Φιλίπποις στρατοπε- 3 δευσάμενοι. τὸ δὲ δὴ ἄστυ τοῦτο παρά τε τῷ Παγγαίῳ καὶ παρὰ τῷ Συμβόλῳ κεῖται· Σύμβολον γὰρ τὸ χωρίον ὀνομάζουσι καθ' ὃ τὸ ὄρος ἐκεῖνο ἑτέρῳ τινὶ ἐς μεσόγειαν ἀνατείνοντι συμβάλλει, καὶ ἔστι μεταξὺ Νέας πόλεως καὶ τῶν Φιλίππων· ἡ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τῇ θαλάσσῃ κατ' ἀντιπέρας Θάσου ἦν, ἡ δὲ ἐντὸς τῶν ὀρῶν ἐπὶ τῷ 4 πεδίῳ πεπόλισται. καὶ ἔτυχον γὰρ τὴν συντομωτάτην αὐτοῦ ὑπερβολὴν ὅ τε Σάξας καὶ ὁ Νωρβανὸς προκαταλαβόντες, ταύτῃ μὲν ὁ Βροῦτος ὅ τε Κάσσιος οὐδὲ ἐπείρασαν διαβῆναι, ἑτέραν δέ τινα μακροτέραν κατὰ τὰς Κρηνίδας ὠνομασμένας περιελθόντες φυλακῇ μὲν καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐνέτυχον, 5 βιασάμενοι δὲ αὐτὴν εἴσω τε τῶν ὀρῶν ἐγένοντο, καὶ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν κατὰ τὰ μετέωρα ἐπιπαρελθόντες ἐνταῦθα χωρὶς ἑκάτερος, ὥς γε τῷ λόγῳ εἰπεῖν, ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο·[2] τῷ γὰρ ἔργῳ καθ'

[1] Δεκίδιος H. Steph., δεκίλιος LM.
[2] ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο L, ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο M.

people of Myra also did likewise when Brutus captured their general at the harbour and then released him. And thus he secured the control of the other districts also in a short time. B.C. 42

After accomplishing these results Brutus and Cassius came again into Asia; and all the suspicions which they were harbouring against each other as the result of calumnious talk, such as is wont to arise in similar conditions, they brought forward and discussed with each other in privacy, and after becoming reconciled again they hastened into Macedonia. And they found that Gaius Norbanus and Decidius Saxa had anticipated them by crossing the Ionian Sea before Staius arrived, occupying the whole country as far as Mt. Pangaeum and encamping near Philippi. This city is situated near Pangaeum and Symbolon. Symbolon ("Junction") is the name they give the place where the mountain mentioned joins on (*symballei*) to another that extends into the interior, and it is between Neapolis and Philippi; for the former town was near the sea, opposite Thasos, while the latter is situated within the mountains on the plain. And inasmuch as Saxa and Norbanus, as it chanced, had already occupied the most direct pass across, Brutus and Cassius did not even try to get through that way but went round by a longer road that passes by a place called Crenides.[1] Here, too, they encountered a garrison, but overpowered it, got inside the mountains, approached the city along the high ground, and there encamped, nominally each by himself; but, as a matter of fact, they

[1] *i.e.* "The Springs," an early name for Philippi.

6 ἐν ηὐλίσαντο. τὰ μὲν γὰρ στρατόπεδα, ὡς καὶ εὐτακτότεροι οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ ῥᾴους ἄρχειν ὦσι, διχῇ κατέστη, παντὸς δὲ δὴ καὶ τοῦ διὰ μέσου αὐτῶν καὶ τάφρῳ καὶ σταυρώματι περιληφθέντος εἷς τε ὁ πᾶς περίβολος ἀμφοτέρων ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐν κοινῷ τὴν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀσφάλειαν εἶχον.

36 Ἦσαν δὲ πολὺ τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἐναντίων τῶν τότε παρόντων καθυπέρτεροι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τό τε Σύμβολον ἐκκρούσαντες αὐτοὺς κατέλαβον, καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ταύτῃ τε δι' ἐλάττονος ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπήγοντο καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου κατα-
2 θέοντες ἐλάμβανον. ὁ γὰρ Νωρβανὸς ὅ τε Σάξας πανστρατιᾷ μὲν οὐδὲ ἐτόλμησαν αὐτοῖς προσμῖξαι, ἐκπέμποντες δ' ἱππέας ἐκδρόμους ὅπῃ παρείκοι, οὐδὲν ἐπέραινον, ἀλλ' αὐτοί τε διὰ φυλακῆς μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ κινδύνων τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα τόν τε Ἀντώνιον
3 σπουδῇ μετεπέμποντο. οὗτοι γὰρ τέως μὲν περί τε τοὺς Ῥοδίους καὶ περὶ τοὺς Λυκίους τόν τε Κάσσιον καὶ τὸν Βροῦτον ἀσχόλους ὄντας ἐπυνθάνοντο, ἐπὶ πλεῖόν τε αὐτοὺς ἔδοξάν σφισι προσπολεμήσειν, καὶ οὐκ ἠπείχθησαν ἀλλὰ τόν τε Σάξαν καὶ τὸν Νωρβανὸν ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν
4 προέπεμψαν· αἰσθόμενοι δὲ αὐτοὺς ἑαλωκότας, τοῖς μὲν Λυκίοις καὶ τοῖς Ῥοδίοις ἐπαίνους τε ἔδοσαν καὶ χρήματα χαριεῖσθαι ὑπέσχοντο, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐκ μὲν τῆς πόλεως εὐθὺς ἐξώρμησαν, ἐγχρονίσαντες δὲ Ἀντώνιος μὲν περὶ Βρεντέσιον (ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ[1] Σταΐου καθείργετο) Καῖσαρ δὲ περὶ Ῥήγιον (πρὸς γὰρ τὸν Σέξτον τήν τε Σικελίαν

[1] τοῦ M, τοῦ τοῦ L.

bivouacked together. For, in order that the soldiers might preserve better discipline and be easier to manage, the camp consisted of two separate parts; but as all of it, including the intervening space, was surrounded by a ditch and a rampart, the entire circuit was the same for both, and from it they derived their safety in common. B.C. 42

Brutus and Cassius were far superior in numbers to their adversaries then present and hence drove out the others and got possession of Symbolon; in this way they were able not only to bring provisions from the sea over a shorter route but also to secure them from the plain by making descents thither. For Norbanus and Saxa did not venture to offer them battle even with their entire force, though they sent out horsemen as skirmishers, wherever opportunity offered; but, as they accomplished nothing, they were careful for their own part rather to keep their camp well guarded than to expose it to danger, and sent urgent summons to Caesar and Antony. For these leaders, so long as they heard that Cassius and Brutus were busy with the Rhodians and the Lycians, had supposed that their adversaries would have fighting on their hands there for a long time, and therefore had not made haste to come, but had merely sent Saxa and Norbanus ahead into Macedonia. But when they perceived that the Lycians and Rhodians had been overpowered, they bestowed praise upon these peoples and promised to make them a present of money, and they themselves at once set out from the city. Both, however, encountered delays. Antony had to spend some time at Brundisium, where he was shut up by Staius, and Caesar at Rhegium, after he had first turned aside to meet

ἔχοντα καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας πειρῶντα[1] προαπετράπετο) διετρίβησαν.

37 Ὡς δ' οὖν οὗτός τε οὐ καθαιρετὸς[2] ἔδοξεν εἶναί σφισι, καὶ τὰ τοῦ Κασσίου τοῦ τε Βρούτου μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς ἤπειξε, μέρος μέν τι τοῦ στρατοῦ πρὸς φρουρὰν τῆς Ἰταλίας κατέλιπον, τῷ δὲ δὴ πλείονι 2 τὸν Ἰόνιον ἀσφαλῶς ἐπεραιώθησαν. καὶ Καῖσαρ μὲν ἐν Δυρραχίῳ νοσήσας ὑπελείφθη, Ἀντώνιος δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Φιλίππους ἤλασε, καὶ παραυτίκα μὲν ῥώμην τινὰ τοῖς σφετέροις παρέσχεν, ἐνεδρεύσας δέ τινας τῶν ἐναντίων σιταγωγοῦντας καὶ 3 σφαλεὶς οὐκέτ' οὐδ' αὐτὸς[3] ἐθάρσει. ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ πυθόμενος τοῦτο καὶ δείσας ἑκάτερον, εἴτε τι ἐλαττωθείη κατὰ μόνας συμβαλὼν εἴτε καὶ κρατήσειεν (ἐκ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ τόν τε Βροῦτον καὶ τὸν Κάσσιον, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ τὸν Ἀντώνιον πάντως ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἰσχύσειν ἐνόμισεν), ἠπείχθη καίπερ καὶ 4 τότε ἔτι[4] ἀρρωστῶν. κἀκ τούτου ἀνεθάρσησαν μὲν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον· ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἐφαίνετο τὸ μὴ οὐχ ἅμα πάντας αὐτοὺς αὐλίζεσθαι, ἔς τε χωρίον ἓν καὶ ἐς ἔρυμα ἓν τὰ τρία 5 στρατεύματα συνήγαγον. ἀντικαθημένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἀλλήλοις ἐκδρομαὶ μὲν καὶ ἀντεπέξοδοι παρ' ἀμφοτέρων ὡς ἔτυχεν ἐγίγνοντο, μάχη δὲ ἐκ παρατάξεως οὐδεμία χρόνον τινὰ συνηνέχθη, καίτοι καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου πάνυ συμ-6 βαλεῖν σπουδαζόντων· ταῖς τε γὰρ δυνάμεσι μᾶλλον τῶν ἐναντίων ἔρρωντο, καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων

[1] Heller regards the words τήν τε Σικελίαν . . . πειρῶντα as an interpolation. They recur in chap. 38, 1, and can hardly be genuine in both instances.

[2] οὐ καθαιρετὸς Dind., οὐκ αὐθαίρετος LM.

[3] αὐτὸς M, αὐτοὺς L. [4] ἔτι M, om. L.

Sextus, who held Sicily and was making an attempt on Italy. B.C. 42

When, however, it seemed to them to be impossible to overthrow Sextus, and the operations of Cassius and Brutus urged them to greater haste, they left a small part of their army to garrison Italy and with the major portion safely crossed the Ionian Sea. Caesar fell sick and was left behind at Dyrrachium, while Antony marched toward Philippi; and for a time he was a source of some strength to his soldiers, but after laying an ambush for some of the enemy when they were gathering grain and failing in his attempt, even he was no longer hopeful. Caesar heard of the situation and feared the outcome in either case, whether Antony, acting alone, should be defeated in an engagement or should conquer, for in the one event he felt that Brutus and Cassius would gain strength to oppose him, and in the other that Antony would certainly do so; therefore he made haste, though still sick. At this the followers of Antony also took courage; and since it seemed the only safe course for them to encamp all together, they assembled the three divisions in one place and in one stronghold. While the armies were encamped opposite each other, sallies and counter-sallies took place on both sides, as chance dictated; but for some time no regular battle was joined, although Caesar and Antony were exceedingly eager to bring on a conflict. For not only were their forces stronger than those of their adversaries, but they were not so

οὐχ ὁμοίως αὐτοῖς ηὐπόρουν διὰ τὸ τῆς θαλάσσης, ἅτε τοῦ ναυτικοῦ σφων τῷ Σέξτῳ προσπολεμοῦντος, μὴ κρατεῖν.

38 *Οὗτοι μὲν οὖν δὴ διά τε ταῦτα καὶ διὰ τὸν Σέξτον τήν τε Σικελίαν ἔχοντα καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας πειρῶντα,*[1] *μὴ καὶ χρονισάντων αὐτῶν τήν τε Ἰταλίαν καταλάβῃ καὶ ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἔλθῃ,* 2 *ὤργων. ὁ δὲ δὴ Κάσσιος ὅ τε Βροῦτος ἄλλως μὲν οὐκ ὤκνουν τὴν μάχην (ὅσον γὰρ τῇ ῥώμῃ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἠλαττοῦντο, τοσοῦτον τῷ πλήθει ἐπλεονέκτουν), ἐκλογιζόμενοι δὲ τά τε ἐκείνων καὶ τὰ σφέτερα (σύμμαχοί τε γὰρ αὐτοῖς καθ' ἑκάστην* 3 *ἡμέραν προσεγίγνοντο, καὶ τὴν τροφὴν ἄφθονον ὑπὸ τῶν νεῶν εἶχον) ἀνεβάλλοντο, εἴ πως ἄνευ κινδύνου καὶ φθόρου τινῶν ἐπικρατήσειαν· ἅτε γὰρ δημεράσται τε ἀκριβῶς ὄντες καὶ πρὸς πολίτας ἀγωνιζόμενοι ἐκείνων τε οὐδὲν ἧττον ἢ τῶν συνόντων σφίσι διεσκόπουν, καὶ ἐπεθύμουν ἑκατέροις ὁμοίως καὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν καὶ τὴν ἐλευ-* 4 *θερίαν παρασχεῖν. χρόνον μὲν οὖν τινα διὰ ταῦτα ἀνέσχον, οὐκ ἐθέλοντές σφισιν ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν· ὡς μέντοι τὰ στρατεύματα, ἅτε ἐκ τοῦ ὑπηκόου τὸ πλεῖστον ὄντα, τῇ τε τριβῇ βαρυνόμενα καὶ τῶν ἀντιπολεμούντων καταφρονήσαντα, ὅτι τὸ καθάρσιον τὸ πρὸ τῶν ἀγώνων γιγνόμενον ἐντὸς τοῦ* 5 *ἐρύματος ὡς καὶ δεδιότες ἐποιήσαντο, ἔς τε τὴν μάχην ὥρμησαν καὶ διελάλουν ὅτι, ἂν ἐπὶ πλεῖον*[2] *διατριφθῶσι, τό τε στρατόπεδον ἐκλείψουσι καὶ διασκεδασθήσονται, οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἄκοντες συνέμιξαν.*

39 *Μέγιστον δὴ τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦτον καὶ ὑπὲρ πάν-*

[1] Cf. note on chap. 36, 4. [2] πλεῖον Bk., πλείω LM.

abundantly supplied with provisions, because their fleet was away fighting Sextus and they were therefore not masters of the sea.

B.C. 42

Hence these men, for the reasons given and because of Sextus, who held Sicily and was making an attempt on Italy,[1] were full of eagerness owing to their fear that while they delayed he might capture Italy and come into Macedonia. As for Cassius and Brutus, they had in general no aversion to a battle, inasmuch as the weakness of their troops was counterbalanced by their superior numbers; but when they reflected upon the situation of their opponents and upon their own and observed that fresh allies were being added to their own numbers every day and that they had abundant food by the aid of their ships, they held off in the hope of gaining their ends without danger and loss of men. For, as they were genuine friends of the people and were contending with citizens, they consulted the interests of the latter no less than those of their own associates, and desired to afford safety and liberty to both alike. For some time, therefore, they waited, for the reasons given, not wishing to come to blows with them. The troops, however, composed mostly of subject nations, were vexed by the delay and despised their antagonists because they had offered inside their camp the sacrifice of purification, which regularly precedes a conflict, and thus showed signs of fear; hence they were eager for the battle and talked to the effect that if there should be more delay, they would abandon the camp and disperse. In these circumstances Brutus and Cassius reluctantly joined battle.

That this struggle proved tremendous and surpassed

[1] See end of chap. 36 and note on Greek text there.

τας τοὺς ἐμφυλίους τοὺς τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις γεγονότας οὐκ ἀπεικότως ἄν τις συμβῆναι νομίσειεν, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἢ καὶ ταῖς ἀρεταῖς τῶν μαχεσαμένων διήνεγκεν[1] αὐτῶν (πολλῷ γὰρ καὶ πλείους καὶ ἀμείνους σφῶν πολλαχόθι ἠγωνίσαντο), ἀλλ' ὅτι περί τε τῆς ἐλευθερίας καὶ τῆς δημοκρατίας τότε ὡς οὐπώποτε ἐπολέμησαν.
2 συνέπεσον μὲν γὰρ καὶ αὖθις ἀλλήλοις, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον· ἀλλ' ἐκείνους μὲν τοὺς ἀγῶνας ὑπὲρ τοῦ τίνος ἐπακούσουσιν ἐποιήσαντο, τότε δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐς δυναστείαν αὐτοὺς ἦγον, οἱ δὲ ἐς αὐτονομίαν ἐξῃροῦντο. ὅθεν οὐδ' ἀνέκυψεν ἔτι[2] πρὸς ἀκριβῆ παρρησίαν ὁ δῆμος καίπερ ὑπ' οὐδενὸς
3 ἀλλοτρίου ἡττηθείς (τὸ γάρ τοι ὑπήκοον τό τε συμμαχικὸν τὸ τότε αὐτοῖς παραγενόμενον ἐν προσθήκης μέρει τοῦ πολιτικοῦ ἦν), ἀλλ' αὐτός τε ἑαυτοῦ κρείττων τε ἅμα καὶ ἥττων γενόμενος καὶ ἔσφηλεν ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἐσφάλη, κἀκ τούτου τό τε δημοκρατικὸν συμπαρανάλωσε καὶ τὸ μοναρχικὸν
4 ἐκράτυνε. καὶ οὐ λέγω ὡς οὐ συνήνεγκεν αὐτοῖς ἡττηθεῖσι τότε· τί γὰρ ἄν τις ἄλλο περὶ αὐτῶν ἀμφοτέρωθεν μαχεσαμένων εἴποι ἢ ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ἐνικήθησαν, Καῖσαρ δὲ ἐκράτησεν; ὁμοφρονῆσαι μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ καθεστῶτι τρόπῳ τῆς πολι-
5 τείας οὐκέθ' οἷοί τε ἦσαν· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ὅπως δημοκρατία ἄκρατος, ἐς τοσοῦτον ἀρχῆς ὄγκον προχωρήσασα, σωφρονῆσαι δύναται· πολλοὺς δ' ἂν ἐπὶ πολλοῖς καὶ αὖθις ἀγῶνας ὁμοίους ἀνελόμενοι πάντως ἄν ποτε ἐδουλώθησαν ἢ καὶ ἐφθάρησαν.

[1] διήνεγκεν Leuncl., διήνεγκαν LM.
[2] ἔτι M, ὅτι L.

all previous civil conflicts of the Romans would be naturally surmised,—not that it was greater than they in either the number of the combatants or as regards their valour, since far larger masses and braver men than they had fought on many fields, but because now as never before liberty and popular government were the issues of the struggle. For though they again came to blows with one another just as they had done previously, yet these later struggles were for the purpose of finding out what master they should obey, whereas on the present occasion the one side was trying to lead them to autocracy, the other side to self-government. Hence the people never attained again to absolute freedom of speech, even though vanquished by no foreign nation (the subject and the allied forces then present with them were of course merely a kind of complement of the citizen army); but the people at one and the same time triumphed over and were vanquished by themselves, defeated themselves and were defeated, and consequently they exhausted the democratic element and strengthened the monarchical. And yet I do not say that it was not beneficial for the people to be defeated at that time—what else, indeed, can one say regarding the contestants on both sides than that the vanquished were Romans and that the victor was Caesar!—for they were no longer capable of maintaining harmony in the established form of government. It is, of course, impossible for an unadulterated democracy that has grown to so proud an empire to exercise moderation; and so they would later on have undertaken many similar conflicts one after another, and some day would certainly have been either enslaved or ruined.

B.C. 42

40 Πάρεστι δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν σημείων τῶν τότε συμβάντων σφίσι τεκμήρασθαι ὅτι μέγιστος διαφανῶς ὁ ἀγὼν αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο· τὸ γὰρ δαιμόνιον, ὥσπερ που καὶ ἀεὶ πρὸ τῶν ἀτοπωτάτων φιλεῖ προσημαίνειν, πάντα σφίσιν ἀκριβῶς καὶ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ τὰ ἐκβάντα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ προ-2 εμαντεύσατο. ἐν γὰρ τῷ ἄστει ὅ τε ἥλιος τοτὲ μὲν ἠλαττοῦτο καὶ ἐλάχιστος ἐγίγνετο, τοτὲ δὲ καὶ μέγας καὶ τριττὸς ἐξεφαίνετο, καί ποτε καὶ νυκτὸς ἐξέλαμψε· καὶ κεραυνοὶ ἄλλοσέ τε πολλαχόσε καὶ ἐς τὸν τοῦ Νικαίου Διὸς βωμὸν ἐφέροντο, λαμπάδες τε ἐνταῦθα κἀκεῖσε ᾖττον,[1] καὶ σαλπίγγων ἠχαὶ ὅπλων τε κτύποι καὶ στρατοπέδων βοαὶ νυκτὸς ἔκ τε τῶν τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Ἀντωνίου κήπων, ὁμοχώρων ἀλλήλοις παρὰ 3 τῷ Τιβέριδι ὄντων, ἠκούοντο.[2] καὶ προσέτι καὶ κύων κυνὸς σῶμα πρὸς τὸ Δημήτριον προσελκύσας τήν τε γῆν τοῖς ποσὶν ὤρυξε καὶ κατέχωσεν αὐτό. καί τι παιδάριον δεκαδακτύλους χεῖρας ἔχον ἐγεννήθη, ἡμιονός τε διφυὲς τέρας ἔτεκε· τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρόσθια ἵππῳ, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἡμιόνῳ ἐῴκει. 4 καὶ ὁ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ὀχὸς πρὸς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἐξ ἱπποδρομίας τινὸς ἐπανιὼν συνετρίβη, τό τε ἄγαλμα τὸ τοῦ Διὸς τὸ ἐν τῷ Ἀλβανῷ ὂν αἷμα παρ' αὐτὰς τὰς ἀνοχὰς ἔκ τε τοῦ δεξιοῦ ὤμου καὶ 5 ἐκ τῆς δεξιᾶς χειρὸς ἀνέδωκε. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐκ τοῦ δαιμονίου σφίσι προεδείχθη, ποταμοί τε ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν παντάπασιν ἐξέλιπον οἱ δ' ἀνάπαλιν ῥεῖν ἤρξαντο· συνενηνέχθαι[3] δέ πως ἐς

[1] ᾖττον Oddey, ἦττον L, ἧπτον M.
[2] ἠκούοντο R. Steph., ἠκούετο LM, ἐξηκούοντο Zon.
[3] συνενηνέχθαι Bk., συνηνέχθαι LM.

BOOK XLVII

We may infer also from the portents which B.C. 42 appeared to them at that time that it was manifestly a supreme struggle in which they were engaged; for Heaven, even as it is ever accustomed to give warning signs before the most unusual events, foretold to them accurately both in Rome and in Macedonia all the results that would come of it. Thus, in the city the sun at one time would be diminished and grow extremely small, and again would show itself huge and trebled in size, and once it even shone forth at night; thunderbolts descended at many places and in particular upon the altar of Jupiter Victor; meteors darted hither and thither; notes of trumpets, clashing of arms, and shouts of armed hosts were heard by night from the gardens both of Caesar and of Antony, which were close together beside the Tiber. Moreover, a dog dragged the body of another dog to the temple of Ceres, where he dug up the earth with his paws and buried it. A child was born with hands that had ten fingers each, and a mule gave birth to a prodigy of two species, the front part of it resembling a horse and the rest a mule. The chariot of Minerva while returning to the Capitol from the races in the Circus was dashed to pieces, and the statue of Jupiter on the Alban Mount sent forth blood from its right shoulder and right hand at the very time of the Feriae. These were the warnings they had from Heaven; and there were also rivers in their land which gave out entirely or began to flow backward. And on the

ταὐτὸ καὶ ὅσα παρὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων κατὰ συντυ-
6 χίαν ἐπράχθη ἔδοξεν· ἔν τε γὰρ ταῖς ἀνοχαῖς ὁ πολίαρχος τὰ Λατιάρια, οὔτ᾽ ἄλλως προσήκοντα αὐτῷ οὔτ᾽ ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ γίγνεσθαι εἰωθότα, ἐποίησεν, καὶ οἱ ἀγορανόμοι τοῦ πλήθους ὁπλομαχίας ἀγῶνας ἀντὶ τῆς ἱπποδρομίας τῇ Δήμητρι
7 ἐπετέλεσαν. ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ταῦτ᾽ ἐγίγνετο, καί τινα καὶ λόγια[1] καὶ πρὸ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἐς τὴν κατάλυσιν τῆς δημοκρατίας συμβαίνοντα ᾔδετο· ἐν δὲ δὴ τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ (ταύτης γὰρ τό τε Παγγαῖον καὶ ἡ περὶ αὐτὸ γῆ νομίζεται) μέλισσαί τε πολλαὶ τὸ τοῦ Κασσίου στρατόπεδον περιέσχον, κἂν τῷ καθαρσίῳ αὐτοῦ τὸν στέφανόν τις
8 τραπέμπαλιν[2] αὐτῷ ἐπέθηκε, παῖς τε[3] ἐν πομπῇ τινι, οἵας οἱ στρατιῶται ἄγουσι, νίκην φέρων ἔπεσε. καὶ ὅ γε μάλιστα τὸν ὄλεθρόν σφισιν ἐσήμηνεν ὥστε καὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἔκδηλον γενέσθαι, πολλοὶ μὲν γῦπες πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι ὄρνιθες νεκροφάγοι ὑπέρ τε ἐκείνων μόνων διεφοίτων καὶ ἐς αὐτοὺς κατέβλεπον, δεινόν τέ τι καὶ φρικῶδες κλάζοντές τε καὶ τρίζοντες.

41 Τούτοις μὲν δὴ ταῦτα τὸ κακὸν ἔφερε, τοῖς δὲ ἑτέροις τέρας μὲν οὐδέν, ὅσα γε ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν, ἐγέ-
2 νετο, ὄψεις δὲ δὴ ὀνείρων τοιαίδε ἐφάνησαν. ἀνὴρ Θεσσαλὸς ἔδοξέν οἱ τὸν Καίσαρα τὸν πρότερον κεκελευκέναι εἰπεῖν τῷ Καίσαρι ὅτι τε ἐς ἕνης ἡ[4]

[1] λόγια Leuncl., λοιπὰ LM.
[2] τραπέμπαλιν Dind., τραπέντα πάλιν LM.
[3] τε M, τε γὰρ L. [4] ἐς ἕνης ἡ Reim., ἐς ἐν ἡ σὴ LM.

[1] Jupiter Latiaris was the protecting deity of Latium, and his festival is practically identical with the Feriae Latinae. Roscher thinks that Dio has here confused the *praefectus*

part of men, whatever of their doings were directed by chance seemed to point to the same end; thus, during the Feriae the prefect of the city celebrated the festival of Latiaris,[1] which neither belonged to him nor was ordinarily observed at that time, and the plebeian aediles celebrated in honour of Ceres contests in armour in place of the games in the Circus. These were the events occurring in Rome; and certain oracles also both before and after the events were recited which pointed to the downfall of the republic. In Macedonia, of which Mt. Pangaeum and the territory surrounding it are regarded as a part, bees in swarms surrounded the camp of Cassius, and in the course of the purification of the camp some one set the garland upon his head wrong end foremost, and a boy fell down while carrying a Victory in a procession such as the soldiers hold. But the thing which most of all portended the destruction that was to come upon them, so that it became plain even to their enemies, was that many vultures and also many other birds that devour corpses gathered above the heads of the conspirators only and gazed down upon them, screaming and screeching in a horrible and frightful manner.

B.C. 42

To that side, then, these signs brought evil, while to the other, so far as we know, no bad omen occurred, but visions appeared to them in their dreams as follows. A Thessalian dreamed that the former Caesar had bidden him tell Caesar that the battle would occur on the second day after that one and to

urbi with a special official (*dictator feriarum Latinarum causa*) appointed when the consuls were unable to attend. Compare xxxix. 30, 4, where our historian does not commit himself to any definite name for this magistrate.

μάχη γενήσοιτο, καὶ ἵνα ἀναλάβῃ τι ὧν δικτατορεύων αὐτὸς ἐφόρει· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸν δακτύλιον αὐτοῦ τότε τε εὐθὺς περιέθετο καὶ ἔπειτα πολ- 3 *λάκις ἔφερεν. οὗτος μὲν δὴ τοῦτο εἶδεν, ὁ δ' ἰατρὸς ὁ συνὼν τῷ Καίσαρι ἐνόμισέν οἱ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν προστάσσειν ἔκ τε τῆς σκηνῆς αὐτόν, καίτοι καὶ τότε ἔτι κακῶς ἀρρωστοῦντα, ἐξαγαγεῖν καὶ ἐς τὴν παράταξιν καταστῆσαι· ὑφ' οὗπερ καὶ ἐσώθη. ὃ γάρ τοι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐν μὲν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῷ τε ἐρύματι αὐτοῦ μένουσι σωτηρίαν,*[1] *ἐς δὲ δὴ τὰ ὅπλα τάς τε μάχας ἰοῦσι κίνδυνον φέρει,* 4 *τοῦτο τότε*[2] *ἐπὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος διηλλάγη· ἔκ τε γὰρ τῆς ἐξόδου τῆς ἐκ τοῦ ταφρεύματος καὶ ἐκ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς μαχομένους ὁμιλίας περιφανέστατα, καίπερ χαλεπῶς καὶ ἄνευ τῶν ὅπλων ὑπὸ τῆς ἀσθενείας ἑστώς, περιεγένετο.*

42 *Ἐπράχθη δὲ ὧδε. οὐχ ὡμολόγησαν μὲν ὁπότε τὴν μάχην ποιήσονται, ὥσπερ δὲ ἀπὸ συγκειμένου τινὸς πάντες ἅμα ἕῳ ἐξωπλίσαντο, καὶ ἔς τε τὸ χωρίον τὸ μεταίχμιόν σφων καθάπερ ἀγωνισταί τινες σχολῇ προῆλθον, κἀνταῦθα ἡσυχῇ παρε-* 2 *τάξαντο. ὡς δ' ἀντικατέστησαν, παραινέσεις, τοῦτο μὲν ἀθρόοις τοῦτο δὲ καὶ καθ' ἑκάστους, ἀμφοτέροις ἀπό τε τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ὑποστρατήγων τῶν θ' ὑπομειόνων ἐγένοντο, πολλὰ μὲν πρὸς τὸ αὐτίκα τοῦ κινδύνου ἀναγκαῖα πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα ἁρμόζοντα αὐτῶν λεγόντων, οἷα ἄν τινες ἔν τε τῷ παραχρῆμα κινδυνεύσοντες καὶ τῷ μέλλοντι προκάμνοντες*

[1] LM read *μένουσιν* in the text, but add *σωτηρίαν* in the margin.
[2] *τοῦτο τότε* M, *τοῦ τότε* L.

request him to assume and wear some article which the other Caesar had used to wear while dictator; Caesar therefore immediately put his father's ring on his finger and wore it often afterwards. This was the Thessalian's vision; but the physician who attended Caesar dreamed that Minerva commanded him to lead his patient, though still in poor health, from his tent and place him in the line of battle—the very means by which he was actually saved. For whereas in most cases safety is the lot of such as remain in the camp and within its ramparts, while it is dangerous to go into the midst of weapons and battles, this was reversed in the case of Caesar, since it was very manifestly the result of his leaving the intrenchments and mingling with the combatants that he survived, although by reason of his sickness he found it difficult to stand even without his arms. B.C. 42

The contest took place as follows. Although no arrangement had been made as to when they should begin the battle, yet as if by some compact they all armed themselves at dawn, advanced into the space between the two camps leisurely, as though they were competitors in a game, and then quietly drew themselves up in battle order. When they had taken their stand facing each other, exhortations were addressed to each side, partly to the armies collectively and partly to the separate bodies of troops, according as the speakers were the generals or the lieutenants or the lesser officers; and much that was said consisted of the necessary advice called for by the immediate danger and also of sentiments that bore upon the consequences of the battle,—words such as men would speak who were to encounter danger at the moment and were looking forward

3 εἴποιεν.[1] καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὁμοιοτροπώτατα, ἅτε καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἀμφοτέρωθεν ὁμοίως μετὰ τῶν συμμάχων σφῶν ὄντων, ἐρρήθη· διήλλαξε δὲ ὅτι οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Βροῦτον τήν τε ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν τό τε ἀτυράννευτον καὶ τὸ ἀδέσ-
4 ποτον τοῖς σφετέροις προεβάλλοντο, καὶ τά τε ἐν ἰσονομίᾳ χρηστὰ καὶ τὰ ἐν μοναρχίᾳ ἄτοπα, ὅσα ποτὲ αὐτοί τε ἐπεπόνθεσαν καὶ περὶ ἑτέρων ἠκηκόεσαν, προέφερον, παραδεικνύντες τε καθ' ἓν ἕκαστον ἑκάτερα καὶ ἱκετεύοντές[2] σφας τῶν μὲν ὀριγνήσασθαι τὰ δὲ ἐκκλῖναι καὶ τῶν μὲν
5 ἔρωτα λαβεῖν τὰ δὲ μὴ παθεῖν φυλάξασθαι, οἱ δὲ ἕτεροι τῷ σφετέρῳ στρατῷ τούς τε σφαγέας τιμωρήσασθαι καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀντικαθεστώτων σχεῖν, ἄρξαι τε πάντων τῶν ὁμοφύλων ἐπιθυμῆσαι, παρῄνουν, καὶ ὅ γε μάλιστα αὐτοὺς ἐπέρρωσε, καὶ κατὰ πεντακισχιλίας σφίσι δραχμὰς δώσειν ὑπέσχοντο.

43 Κἀκ τούτου πρῶτον μὲν τὰ συνθήματα αὐτοῖς διῆλθεν (ἦν δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον Ἐλευθερία, τοῖς δὲ ἑτέροις ὅ τι ποτὲ καὶ ἐδόθη), ἔπειτα σαλπικτὴς[3] εἷς ἑκατέρωθεν ὑπεσήμηνε,
2 καὶ οὕτω καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἐπήχησαν, πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ τό τε στάσιμον[4] καὶ τὸ παρασκευαστικὸν ἐν τόπῳ τινὶ κυκλοτερεῖ διὰ[5] σαλπίγγων μελῳδοῦντες, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ τόν τε θυμὸν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπεγείροντες καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν σύνοδον αὐτοὺς ἐξοτρύνοντες. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο σιωπή τε

[1] εἴποιεν R. Steph., εἴποιε LM.
[2] ἱκετεύοντές Polak, ἱκέτευόν LM.
[3] σαλπικτὴς Dind., σαλπιγκτὴς LM.
[4] στάσιμον Xiph., στάσιμοι LM.
[5] διὰ Xiph., om. LM.

with anxiety to the future. For the most part the speeches were very similar, inasmuch as on both sides alike they were Romans with their allies. Still, there was a difference. The officers of Brutus set before their men the prizes of liberty and democracy, of freedom from tyrants and freedom from masters; they cited the benefits of equality and the excesses of monarchy, appealing to what they themselves had suffered or had heard related about other peoples; and giving instances of the working of each system separately, they besought them to strive for the one and to avoid the other, to conceive a passion for the former and to take care that they should not suffer the latter. The opposing leaders, on the other hand, urged their army to take vengeance on the assassins of Caesar, to get the property of their antagonists, to be filled with a desire to rule all the men of their own race, and—the thing which heartened them most—they promised to give them twenty thousand sesterces apiece. B.C. 42

Thereupon watchwords were going around—for the followers of Brutus it was "Liberty" and for the other side whatever the word was which was given out,—and then one trumpeter on each side sounded the first note, after which the rest joined in, first those who sounded the "at rest" and the "ready" signals on their trumpets while standing in a kind of circular space, and then the others who were to rouse the spirit of the soldiers and incite them to the onset. Then there was suddenly a great silence, and after

ἐξαπίνης πολλὴ ἐγένετο, καὶ σμικρὸν ἐπισχόντες αὐτοί τε διάτορον ἐξεφώνησαν καὶ αἱ τάξεις 3 *ἑκατέρωθεν συνεβόησαν. κἀκ τούτου ἀλαλάξαντες οἱ ὁπλῖται τάς τε ἀσπίδας τοῖς δορατίοις ἔκρουσαν καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ἐξηκόντισαν, καὶ οἱ σφενδονῆται οἵ τε τοξόται βέλη καὶ λίθους ἧκαν. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τό τε ἱππικὸν ἀντεξήλασαν καὶ τὸ θωρακοφόρον συνεπισπόμενόν σφισιν ἐν χερσὶν ἐγένετο.*

44 Καὶ *πολλῷ μὲν ὠθισμῷ πολλῷ δὲ καὶ ξιφισμῷ ἐχρήσαντο, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα περισκοποῦντες ὅπως τε τρώσουσί τινας καὶ ὅπως αὐτοὶ μὴ τρωθῶσι (τούς τε γὰρ ἀνθεστηκότας ἅμα ἀποκτεῖναι καὶ ἑαυτοὺς σῶσαι ἐβούλοντο), ἔπειτα δὲ ὡς ἥ τε ὁρμή σφων ηὐξήθη καὶ ὁ θυμὸς ἐφλέγμηνεν, ὁμόσε τε ἀπερισκέπτως χωροῦντες καὶ μηδεμίαν ἔτ' ἀσφάλειαν ἑαυτῶν ποιούμενοι, ἀλλ' ἐπιθυμίᾳ τοῦ τοὺς ἀντιπάλους ἀπολέσαι καὶ ἑαυτοὺς προϊέμενοι.* 2 *καί τινες τάς τε ἀσπίδας ἀπερρίπτουν, καὶ ἀντιλαμβανόμενοι τῶν ἀντιτεταγμένων οἱ μὲν ἔκ τε τῶν κρανῶν αὐτοὺς ἦγχον καὶ κατὰ νώτου ἔπαιον, οἱ δὲ τά τε προβλήματα ἀπέσπων καὶ ἐς τὰ στήθη ἔτυπτον. ἄλλοι τῶν ξιφῶν αὐτῶν λαμβανόμενοι τὰ σφέτερα ὡς καὶ ἐς*[1] *ἀόπλους σφᾶς ἐώθουν· καὶ ἕτεροι τρωθῆναί τι μέρος τῶν σωμάτων σφῶν προβάλλοντες ἑτοιμότερον τῷ λοιπῷ* 3 *ἐχρῶντο. συμπλεκόμενοί τέ τινες τὸ μὲν παίειν ἀλλήλους ἀφῃροῦντο, τῇ δὲ δὴ συμμίξει καὶ τῶν ξιφῶν καὶ τῶν σωμάτων διώλλυντο. καὶ οἱ μὲν μιᾷ πληγῇ οἱ δὲ καὶ πολλαῖς ἔθνησκον, καὶ οὔτε τῶν τραυμάτων αἴσθησιν εἶχον, τὸ γὰρ ἀλγῆσον*

[1] ἐς added by Xyl.

waiting a little the leaders uttered a piercing shout and the lines on both sides joined in. Then the heavy-armed troops gave the war-cry, beat their shields with their spears and then hurled their spears, while the slingers and the archers discharged their stones and missiles. Then the two bodies of cavalry rode out against each other and the cuirassiers following behind them came to close quarters with each other. B.C. 42

For a long time there was pushing of shield against shield and thrusting with the sword, as they were at first cautiously looking for a chance to wound others without being wounded themselves, since they were as eager to save themselves as to slay their antagonists; but later, when their ardour increased and their rage was inflamed, they rushed together recklessly and paid no more attention to their own safety, but in their eagerness to destroy their adversaries would even throw away their own lives. Some cast away their shields and seizing hold of the foes facing them choked them by means of their helmets while they struck them in the back, or else tore away their armour and smote them on the breast. Others seized hold of the swords of their opponents, who were thus as good as unarmed, and then ran their own into their bodies; and some exposed a part of their own bodies to be wounded and thus gained a freer use of the rest. Some clutched their opponents in an embrace that prevented either one from striking and perished through the commingling of their swords and bodies. Some died of a single blow, others of many, and they neither were conscious of their

ὁ θάνατος προελάμβανεν,[1] οὔτε τοῦ ὀλέθρου σφῶν ὀλοφυρμὸν ἐποιοῦντο, ἐς γὰρ τὸ λυπῆσον οὐκ 4 ἐξικνοῦντο. ἄλλος τις ἀποκτείνας τινὰ οὐδ' ἀποθανεῖσθαί ποτε ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτίκα περιχαρείας ἤλπιζε· καὶ ὁ ἀεὶ πίπτων ἔς τε τὸ ἀναίσθητον καθίστατο καὶ σύνεσιν τοῦ πάθους οὐκ ἐλάμβανεν.

45 Ἔμενον δὲ κατὰ χώραν ἀκριβῶς ἀμφότεροι, καὶ οὔθ' ὑπαγωγαῖς οὔτε διώξεσιν οὐδέτεροι ἐχρήσαντο, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ, ὥσπερ εἶχον, ἐτίτρωσκον ἐτιτρώσκοντο, ἐφόνευον ἐφονεύοντο μέχρι πόρρω 2 τῆς ἡμέρας. καὶ εἴγε πάντες πᾶσιν, οἷα ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ συμβαίνει, συνεμεμίχεσαν, ἢ Βροῦτος μὲν κατὰ Ἀντώνιον Κάσσιος δὲ κατὰ Καίσαρα ἀντετέτακτο, ἰσοπαλεῖς ἂν ἐγεγόνεσαν. νῦν δὲ ὅ τε Βροῦτος τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀρρωστίαν ἐξεβιάσατο, καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος τὸν Κάσσιον οὐδέν 3 οἱ ὅμοιον τὰ πολέμια ὄντα ἐξενίκησε. καὶ τότε δὲ τῷ μὴ πάντας ἅμα τοὺς ἑτέρους,[2] ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ μέρει ἀμφοτέρους καὶ ἡττηθῆναι καὶ κρατῆσαι ταὐτὸν ὡς εἰπεῖν ἐγένετο· καὶ γὰρ ἐνίκησαν ἀμφότεροι καὶ ἡττήθησαν, ἔτρεψάν τε τοὺς ἀντιτεταγμένους σφίσιν ἑκάτεροι καὶ ἐτράποντο, καὶ αἵ τε διώξεις καὶ αἱ φυγαὶ ἀμφοῖν ὁμοίως συνέβησαν, καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα ἀμφοτέρωθεν 4 ἑάλω. τοῦ τε γὰρ πεδίου ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, ἅτε καὶ πολλοὶ ὄντες, ἐπέσχον, ὥστε μὴ καθορᾶν ἀλλήλους· καὶ οὔτε ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πλὴν τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἕκαστος ἔγνω, ἐπεί τε ἡ τροπὴ ἐγένετο, ἔς τε τὰ οἰκεῖα ἐρύματα πολὺ ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἀφεστηκότα 5 τὴν ἐναντίαν ἑκάτεροι ἀμεταστρεπτὶ[3] ἔφυγον, καὶ

[1] προελάμβανεν Xiph., προσελάμβανεν LM.
[2] ἑτέρους St., ἑταίρους LM.
[3] ἀμεταστρεπτὶ St., ἀμεταστρεπτεὶ LM.

wounds, since death forestalled their suffering, nor lamented their end, since they never reached the point of grieving. One who killed another thought in the excessive joy of the moment that he could never die; and whoever fell lost consciousness and had no knowledge of his state. B.C. 42

Both sides remained precisely where they were at the beginning and neither side retired or pursued, but there, just as they were, they wounded and were wounded, slew and were slain, until late in the day. And if each side as a whole had joined in the conflict with the other as a whole, as generally happens in a struggle like this, or if Brutus had been arrayed against Antony and Cassius against Caesar, they would have proved equally matched. But as it was, Brutus forced Caesar, because of his sickness, to yield ground, while Antony vanquished Cassius, who was by no means his equal in warfare. And so at this time, since they were not opposing each other as united armies, but each side was in part defeated and in part victorious, the result was practically the same for each; for both had conquered and had been defeated, each had routed its adversaries and had been routed, pursuits and flights had been the fortune of both alike, and the camps on both sides had been captured. For, as the combatants were many, they stretched far out over the plain, so that they could not see each other distinctly; and not alone in the battle could each one recognize only what was opposite him, but also when the rout took place both armies fled in opposite directions to their respective camps, which were separated from each other by a considerable distance, without stopping to look back.

ἀπό τε τούτου καὶ ἐκ τοῦ κονιορτοῦ ἀπλέτου γενομένου ἠγνόησαν τὸ τέλος τῆς μάχης, καὶ οἵ τε νενικηκότες πάντα κεκρατηκέναι καὶ οἱ ἡττημένοι πάντα νενικῆσθαι ἐνόμισαν, καὶ οὐ πρότερον τὸ γεγονὸς ἔμαθον πρὶν τά τε ταφρεύματα διαπορθηθῆναι καὶ ἀλλήλοις τοὺς νενικηκότας πρὸς τὸ οἰκεῖον ἑκατέρους ἀναχωροῦντας συντυχεῖν.

46 Τῆς μὲν δὴ οὖν μάχης ἕνεκα καὶ ἐκράτησαν οὕτως ἀμφότεροι καὶ ἡττήθησαν· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐς χεῖρας ἔτι τότε ἀφίκοντο, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἰδόντες ἐν τῇ ὑποστροφῇ ἀλλήλους καὶ τὸ συμβεβηκὸς ἔγνωσαν, ἀντιπαρεξῆλθον μηδὲν μηδέτεροι 2 τολμήσαντες. ἐπλεονέκτησαν δὲ καὶ ἠλαττώθησαν ἀλλήλων τῷ τό τε τάφρευμα τὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ τ' Ἀντωνίου πᾶν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ πάντα ἁλῶναι (ἀφ' οὗπερ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα τέκμαρσιν τὸ ὄναρ ἔσχεν· εἰ γάρ τοι κατὰ χώραν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐμεμενήκει, πάντως ἂν ἅμα τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπωλώ- 3 λει) καὶ τῷ τὸν Κάσσιον ἐκ μὲν τῆς μάχης σωθῆναι, τοῦ τε ἐρύματος στερηθέντα ἄλλοσέ ποι διαφυγεῖν, ὑποτοπήσαντα δὲ καὶ τὸν Βροῦτον ἐσφάλθαι καί τινας τῶν κεκρατηκότων ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν 4 ἐπιέναι, ἐπειχθῆναι πρὸς τὸν θάνατον. ἔπεμψε μὲν γὰρ ἑκατόνταρχον κατασκεψόμενον καὶ ἀναγγελοῦντα αὐτῷ ὅπου τε ὁ Βροῦτος εἴη καὶ ὅ τι ποιοίη· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνος συμβαλὼν ἱππεῦσιν οὓς ὁ Βροῦτος ζητήσοντας αὐτὸν ἀπεστάλκει ἀνέστρεψε, καὶ σχολῇ μετ' αὐτῶν ὡς οὐδενὸς ἐπείγοντος, ἅτε μηδενὸς δεινοῦ ὄντος, ᾔει, ὑπώπτευσέ 5 τε αὐτοὺς πόρρωθεν ὁρῶν πολεμίους εἶναι, καὶ

Because of this fact and of the immense quantities of dust that rose they were ignorant of the outcome of the battle, and those who had won thought that they had conquered everywhere, and those who were defeated that they had been worsted everywhere; and they did not learn what had happened until their intrenchments had been pillaged and the victors on each side encountered each other as they went back to their own quarters.

So far, then, as the battle was concerned, both sides both conquered and were defeated, as I have described; for they certainly did not again resume the conflict at this time, but as soon as they saw each other as they turned and went back, and recognized what had taken place, they withdrew, neither side venturing anything further. As for their mutual successes and reverses, the whole camp of Caesar and Antony and everything within it was captured,—and Caesar's dream found a most striking confirmation in this circumstance, for if he had remained where he was he would certainly have perished with the rest,—while Cassius, on his side, returned in safety from the battle, and then escaped to a different spot when he found that he had been despoiled of his camp, but suspecting that Brutus, too, had been defeated and that a party of the victors was coming in pursuit of himself, he made haste to die. For he had sent a centurion to view the situation and report to him where Brutus was and what he was doing, and this man, falling in with some horsemen whom Brutus had sent out to seek his colleague, turned back with them and proceeded leisurely, with the idea that there was no hurry, because no danger presented itself; but Cassius, seeing them afar off,

Πινδάρῳ τινὶ ἐξελευθέρῳ ἀποκτεῖναι ἑαυτὸν προσέταξε. καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ ἑκατόνταρχος, μαθὼν ὅτι διὰ τὴν βραδυτῆτα αὐτοῦ διώλετο, ἐπαπέθανεν.

47 Ὁ οὖν Βροῦτος τὸ μὲν τοῦ Κασσίου σῶμα ἐς Θάσον εὐθὺς κρύφα ἔπεμψεν, ὀκνήσας κατὰ χώραν αὐτὸ θάψαι, μὴ τῷ στρατῷ πένθος τε ἅμα καὶ ἀθυμίαν ἐκ τῆς τῶν ποιουμένων ὄψεως ἐμ- 2 βάλῃ· τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς τῶν στρατιωτῶν αὐτοῦ παραλαβών, καὶ λόγοις τέ σφας παραμυθούμενος καὶ δόσει χρημάτων ἀνθ' ὧν ἀπωλωλέκεσαν ἀνακτησάμενος, ἔς τε τὴν ταφρείαν αὐτῶν ἐπιτηδειοτέραν[1] οὖσαν μετεστρατοπεδεύσατο, καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ὁρμώμενος τά τε ἄλλα τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐλύπει καὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ σφῶν νυκτὸς προσέ- 3 μισγε. μάχῃ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐκ παρατάξεως οὐ διενοεῖτο αὖθις συνενεχθῆναι, πολλὴν δὲ δὴ ἐλπίδα ἀκινδύνως ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ κατεργάσεσθαί σφας ἔχων θορυβεῖν τε αὐτοὺς ἄλλως καὶ ταράττειν νύκτωρ ἐπειρᾶτο, καί ποτε καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν παρατρέψας πολὺ τοῦ ἐρύματος αὐτῶν κατέκλυ- 4 σεν. ὁ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ ὅ τε Ἀντώνιος ἐσπάνιζον μὲν τῆς[2] τροφῆς καὶ χρημάτων, ὅθεν οὐδὲ τοῖς στρατιώταις τι ἀντὶ τῶν διαρπασθέντων ἔδωκαν· καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου ἐπιδιαπλέουσαν ἐν ὁλκάσιν ἀπώλεσαν ὑπὸ 5 τοῦ Σταΐου· οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀσφαλῶς οὔτ' ἄλλοσέ ποι μεταναστῆναι οὔτ' ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀνακομισθῆναι δυνάμενοι, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ τότε ἔτι μόνον τὰς ἐλπίδας οὐχ ὅτι τῆς νίκης ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας ποιούμενοι, ὥρμηντο καὶ διακιν-

[1] ἐπιτηδειοτέραν Bk., ἐπιτηδειεστέραν M, ἐπιτηδιεστέραν L.
[2] τῆς LM, καὶ Xiph.

suspected that they were enemies and ordered Pindarus, a freedman, to kill him. And the centurion slew himself on the body of Cassius when he learned that Cassius had perished on account of his own delay.

B.C. 42

Now Brutus immediately sent the body of Cassius secretly to Thasos, since he shrank from burying it where he was, for fear he should cause grief and dejection to fall upon the army if they should witness what was taking place. But he took in charge the remnant of Cassius' soldiers, consoled them in a speech, won their devotion by a gift of money to make up for what they had lost, and then transferred his position to their intrenchments, which were more suitable. Making his headquarters there, he proceeded to harass his opponents in various ways, especially by assaulting their camp at night. For he had no intention of joining issue with them again in a set battle, but, having great hopes of overcoming them in time without risking an engagement, he tried to throw them into confusion in various ways and to disturb them by night, and once he diverted the course of the river and washed away a considerable part of their camp. Now Caesar and Antony were running short of both food and money and consequently did not so much as recompense their soldiers for the property they had lost by pillage; furthermore, the force that was sailing to them in transports from Brundisium was destroyed by Staius. Yet they could not safely transfer their position to any other region nor return to Italy, and so, even as late as this, they once more placed in their arms all their hopes not merely of victory but even of safety; and they were eager to have a decisive engagement

δυνεῦσαι πρὶν ἔκπυστον τοῖς τε σφετέροις καὶ
48 τοῖς ἐναντίοις τὸ θαλάσσιον πάθος γενέσθαι. μὴ
βουλομένου δὲ τοῦ Βρούτου συμμῖξαί σφισι βιβλία
ἐς τὸ χαράκωμα αὐτοῦ τρόπον τινὰ ἐνέβαλον,
προκαλούμενοι τοὺς στρατιώτας ἢ τὰ
σφέτερα φρονῆσαι (καὶ γὰρ ὑπισχνοῦντό τινα
αὐτοῖς) ἢ ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν, ἄν γε καὶ τὸ βραχύ-
2 τατον ἰσχύωσι. κἀν τῇ διατριβῇ ταύτῃ ηὐτομόλησαν
μὲν καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων πρὸς τὸν Βροῦτον ἐκ
τοῦ Κελτικοῦ τινες, ηὐτομόλησαν δὲ καὶ πρὸς
αὐτοὺς Ἀμύντας τε ὁ τοῦ Δηιοτάρου στρατηγὸς
καὶ ὁ Ῥασκύπορις.[1] καὶ οὗτος μὲν οἴκαδε εὐθύς,
ὥς τινές φασιν, ἀπεχώρησε· δείσας δ' οὖν ἐκ
τούτων ὁ Βροῦτος μὴ καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖόν τι νεω-
3 τερισθῇ, συμμῖξαί σφισιν ἔγνω. καὶ ἐπειδὴ πολλοί
τε αἰχμάλωτοι ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ αὐτοῦ ἦσαν,
καὶ οὐκ εἶχεν οὔθ'[2] ὅπως διὰ φυλακῆς αὐτοὺς ἐν
τῷ τῆς μάχης καιρῷ ποιήσηται οὔθ' ὅπως πιστεύσῃ
σφίσι μηδὲν λυμανεῖσθαι, διέφθειρε τοὺς
πλείους, τῇ ἀνάγκῃ καὶ παρὰ γνώμην δουλεύσας,
ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι οἱ ἐναντίοι τοὺς ζωγρηθέντας
4 τῶν στρατιωτῶν αὐτοῦ ἀπεκτόνεσαν. πράξας δὲ
τοῦτο ἐξωπλίσατο. καὶ αὐτῶν ἀντιπαρατεταγμένων
ἤδη ἀετοὶ δύο ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων ὑπερπτόμενοι
ἀλλήλοις τε ἐμαχέσαντο καὶ ἐκείνοις τὸ
τέλος τοῦ πολέμου προέφηναν· ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ
ἀετὸς ὁ κατὰ τὸν Βροῦτον ὢν ἠλαττώθη τε καὶ
ἔφυγεν, οὕτω τό τε ὁπλιτικὸν αὐτοῦ ἀγχώμαλα
ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀγωνισάμενον ἡττήθη, κἀκ τούτου
πεσόντων πολλῶν καὶ τὸ ἱππικόν, καίτοι γεν-

[1] ὁ Ῥασκύπορις Reim., θρασκύπορις LM.
[2] οὔθ' St., οὐδ' LM.

before their reverse at sea became noised abroad among their own men and their opponents. But as Brutus was unwilling to join battle with them, they managed in some way to cast pamphlets into his camp, urging his soldiers either to embrace their cause (and they made them certain promises) or to come to blows if they had the least particle of strength. During this delay some of the German contingent deserted from their side to Brutus, and Amyntas, the general of Deiotarus, and Rhascyporis deserted Brutus and came to them—though Rhascyporis, as some say, immediately returned home. As for Brutus, this incident made him afraid that the disaffection might spread and so he decided to join issue with his foes. And since there were many captives in his camp, and he had no way to guard them during the progress of the battle and could not trust them to refrain from doing mischief, he put the majority of them to death contrary to his own inclination, being a slave in this matter to necessity; but he was the more ready to do it because his opponents had killed such of his soldiers as had been taken alive. After doing this he armed his men for battle. And when the two armies were already drawn up in line of battle, two eagles that flew above the heads of the two armies battled together and foretold to the combatants the outcome of the war; for just as the eagle on the side of Brutus was beaten and fled, so his heavy-armed force was defeated after a long and close struggle, and then, when many had fallen, his

B.C. 42

5 ναίως μαχόμενον, ἐνέδωκε. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο φυγόντας αὐτοὺς ἄλλους[1] ἄλλῃ ἐπεδίωξαν μὲν οἱ κεκρατηκότες, οὔτε δὲ ἀπέκτειναν οὔθ' εἷλόν τινα, ἀλλὰ προσεδρεύσαντες αὐτοῖς τὴν νύκτα ὡς ἑκάστοις οὐκ εἴασαν αὖθις συστραφῆναι.

49 Ὁ οὖν Βροῦτος ἐπεχείρησε μὲν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδόν πῃ διαπεσεῖν (ἐς γὰρ χωρίον τι ἐρυμνὸν ἀναπεφευγὼς ἦν), μὴ δυνηθεὶς δέ, καὶ προσέτι καὶ μαθὼν ὅτι τινὲς τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοῖς νικήσασιν ὡμολογήκασιν, οὐδεμίαν ἔτ' ἐλπίδα ἔσχεν, ἀλλὰ ἀπογνοὺς μὲν τὴν σωτηρίαν ἀπαξιώσας δὲ τὴν ἅλωσιν ἐς τὸν θάνατον καὶ αὐτὸς κατέφυγεν. καὶ ἀναβοήσας τοῦτο δὴ τὸ Ἡράκλειον,

2 ὦ τλῆμον ἀρετή, λόγος ἄρ' ἦσθ',[2] ἐγὼ δέ σε
ὡς ἔργον ἤσκουν· σὺ δ' ἄρ' ἐδούλευες τύχῃ,

παρεκάλεσέ τινα τῶν συνόντων, ἵνα αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνῃ. καὶ αὐτοῦ τὸ μὲν ἄλλο σῶμα ταφῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ἔτυχεν, ἡ δὲ δὴ κεφαλὴ ἐπέμφθη μὲν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, χειμῶνι δ' ἐν τῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ Δυρραχίου διάπλῳ περιπεσοῦσα ἐς τὴν θάλασ-
3 σαν ἐρρίφη. τελευτήσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος τῶν στρατιωτῶν αὐτίκα ἀδείας σφίσι κηρυχθείσης μετέστη, ἡ δὲ δὴ Πορκία ἄνθρακα
4 διάπυρον καταπιοῦσα[3] ἀπέθανε. τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν τῶν πρώτων τῶν ἀρχάς τινας σχόντων ἢ καὶ ἐκ τῶν σφαγέων τῶν τε ἐπικεκηρυγμένων ἔτι ὄντων οἱ μὲν πλείους ἑαυτοὺς παραχρῆμα ἀπέκτειναν ἢ ἁλόντες, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ Φαουώνιος, ἐφθάρησαν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τότε ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν διέφυγον καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τῷ Σέξτῳ προσέθεντο.

[1] ἄλλους Xyl., ἄλλος LM. [2] ἦσθ' Xyl., ἦσθα ἄλλως LMXiph.
[3] καταπιοῦσα Xiph., πιοῦσα LM.

cavalry also gave way, though it fought nobly. Thereupon the victors pursued them as they fled in various directions, although they neither killed nor captured any one; but they kept watch on the separate forces during the night and did not allow them to unite again. B.C. 42

Now Brutus, who had made his escape up to a well-fortified stronghold, undertook to break through in some way to his camp; but when he was unsuccessful, and furthermore learned that some of his soldiers had made terms with the victors, he no longer had any hope, but despairing of safety and disdaining capture, he also took refuge in death. He first uttered aloud this sentence of Heracles:

"O wretched Valour, thou wert but a name,
And yet I worshipped thee as real indeed;
But now, it seems, thou wert but Fortune's slave."[1]

Then he called upon one of the bystanders to kill him. His body received burial at Antony's hands—all but his head, which was sent to Rome; but as the ships encountered a storm during the voyage across from Dyrrachium, that was thrown into the sea. At his death the majority of his soldiers immediately transferred their allegiance when a proclamation of amnesty was issued to them; but Porcia[2] perished by swallowing a red-hot coal. And most of the prominent men who had held offices or still survived of the number of Caesar's assassins or of those who had been proscribed straightway killed themselves, or, like Favonius, were captured and put to death; the remainder escaped to the sea at this time and later joined Sextus.

[1] *Frag. Trag. Graec.* (Nauck², p. 910).
[2] Cf. xliv. 13.

BOOK XLVIII

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ τετταρακοστῷ ὀγδόῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαϊκῶν

Χρόνου πλῆθος ἔτη πέντε, ἐν οἷς ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι οἵδε ἐγένοντο

Λ. Ἀντώνιος Μ. υἱ. Πιέτας
Π. Σερουίλιος Π. υἱ. Ἰσαυρικὸς[3] τὸ β' ὕπ.[4]

Γν. Δομίτιος Μ. υἱ. Καλουῖνος[5] τὸ β'
Γ. Ἀσίννιος Γν.[6] υἱ. Πωλίων ὕπ.

Λ. Μάρκιος Λ. υἱ. Κηνσωρῖνος
Γ. Καλουίσιος Γ. υἱ. Σαβῖνος ὕπ.

Ἄππιος Κλαύδιος[7] Γ. υἱ. Ποῦλχρος
Γ. Νωρβανὸς[8] Γ. υἱ. Φλάκκος ὕπ.

Μ. Οὐιψάνιος Λ. υἱ. Ἀγρίππας
Λ. Κανίνιος Λ. υἱ. Γάλλος ὕπ.[9]

Ὁ μὲν οὖν Βροῦτος ὅ τε Κάσσιος οὕτως ἀπώλοντο, τοῖς ξίφεσιν οἷς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀπεχρήσαντο σφαγέντες· οἵ τε ἄλλοι οἱ τῆς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐπιβουλῆς μετασχόντες, οἱ μὲν πρότερον, οἱ δὲ τότε,

[1] Οὐεντίδιος R. Steph., οὐεντούδιος LM.
[2] πολεμεῖν Bs., πολεμήσειν LM.
[3] Ἰσαυρικὸς R. Steph., σαυρικὸς LM.
[4] τὸ β' ὕπ. Bs., ὕπατος τὸ β̄ LM.
[5] Καλουῖνος H. Steph., καλουῆνος LM.

BOOK XLVIII

The following is contained in the Forty-eighth of Dio's *Rome*:—

How Caesar contended with Fulvia and Lucius Antonius (chaps. 1–15).
How Sextus Pompey occupied Sicily (chaps. 16–20).
How the Parthians occupied the country up to the Hellespont (chaps. 24–26).
How Caesar and Antony reached an agreement with Sextus (chaps. 27–31, 36–38).
How Publius Ventidius conquered the Parthians and acquired Asia (chaps. 39–41).
How Caesar began to make war upon Sextus (chaps. 45–49).
About Baiae (chaps. 50–51).

Duration of time, five years, in which there were the magistrates (consuls) here enumerated:—

B.C.
41 L. Antonius M. F. Pietas, P. Servilius P. F. Isauricus (II).
40 Cn. Domitius M. F. Calvinus (II), C. Asinius Cn. F. Pollio.
39 L. Marcius L. F. Censorinus, C. Calvisius C. F. Sabinus.
38 Appius Claudius C. F. Pulcher, C. Norbanus C. F. Flaccus.
37 M. Vipsanius L. F. Agrippa, L. Caninius L. F. Gallus.

Thus Brutus and Cassius perished, slain by the swords with which they had murdered Caesar; and also the others who had shared in the plot against him were all, except a very few, destroyed, some B.C. 42

[6] LM omit from Γν. υἱ. to Γ. Καλουίσιος. Thorbecke supplied Γν. υἱ., Xyl. Πωλίων (Πολλίων), Λ. Μάρκιος, and Γ. Καλουίσιος, Bs. Λ. υἱ. Κηνσωρῖνος. [7] Κλαύδιος Xyl., κλ͂ LM.
[8] Γ. Νωρβανὸς Xyl., γʹ μʹ ὠρβανὸς LM.
[9] ὑπ. supplied by Bs.

οἱ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα, πλὴν πάνυ ὀλίγων, ἐφθάρησαν, ὥς που τό τε δίκαιον ἔφερε καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἦγεν ἄνδρα αὐτοὺς εὐεργέτην σφῶν,[1] ἐς τοσοῦτον καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ τῆς τύχης προχωρήσαντα, ἀπο-
2 κτείναντας παθεῖν. ὁ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος τοῦ μὲν Λεπίδου παραχρῆμα, ἅτε μὴ συννικήσαντός σφισιν, ἐπλεονέκτησαν, ἔμελλον δὲ καὶ ἐπ' ἀλλήλους οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν τρέψεσθαι· χαλεπὸν γὰρ ἄνδρας τρεῖς ἢ καὶ δύο ὁμοτίμους, ἐγκρατεῖς τηλικούτων ἐκ πολέμου πραγμάτων
3 γενομένους, ὁμονοῆσαι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὅσα τέως ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἀνθισταμένων σφίσι καταλύσει συμφρονήσαντες κατέπραξαν, ταῦτα τότε ἆθλα τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους φιλοτιμίας ἤρξαντο ποιεῖσθαι. τήν τε γὰρ ἀρχὴν αὐτίκα ἀνεδάσαντο, καὶ Καίσαρι μὲν ἥ τε Ἰβηρία καὶ ἡ Νουμιδία, Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ ἥ τε Γαλατία καὶ ἡ Ἀφρικὴ ἐγένετο· καὶ συνέθεντο ὥστ', ἄν τινα ἀγανάκτησιν ὁ Λέπιδος ἐπὶ τούτῳ
2 ποιήσηται, τῆς Ἀφρικῆς αὐτῷ ἐκστῆναι. ταῦτα δὲ δὴ μόνα διέλαχον, ὅτι Σαρδὼ μὲν καὶ Σικελίαν ὁ Σέξτος ἔτι κατεῖχε, τὰ δ' ἄλλα τὰ ἔξω τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐν ταραχῇ ἔτι ἦν. ἐκείνης γὰρ δὴ πέρι οὐδὲν δέομαι λέγειν ὅτι ἐξαίρετος ἀεί ποτε ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἔμενεν· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ὡς περὶ αὐτῆς ποτε, ἀλλ' ὡς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἀγωνιζόμενοι τοὺς
2 λόγους ἐποιοῦντο. ἐν κοινῷ οὖν ταῦτα ἀφέντες, Ἀντώνιος μὲν τήν τε κατάστασιν τῶν ἀντιπολεμησάντων σφίσι καὶ τὴν ἀργυρολογίαν τὴν ἐς τὰ χρήματα τὰ[2] τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπαγγελθέντα ἀνεδέξατο, Καῖσαρ δὲ τόν τε Λέπιδον, ἄν τι παρα-

[1] σφῶν R. Steph., ἐφῶν LM.
[2] τὰ supplied by Rk.

before this, some at this time, and some subsequently. B.C. 42
For justice and the Divine Will seem to have led to suffer death themselves men who had killed their benefactor, one who had attained such eminence in both virtue and good fortune. As for Caesar and Antony, on the other hand, they secured an advantage over Lepidus for the moment, because he had not shared the victory with them; yet they were destined ere long to turn against each other. For it is a difficult matter for three men, or even two, who are equal in rank and as a result of war have gained control over such vast interests, to be of one accord. Hence, whatever they for a time had gained while acting in harmony for the purpose of overthrowing their adversaries, all this they now began to set up as prizes to be won by rivalry with each other. Thus, they immediately redistributed the empire, so that Spain and Numidia fell to Caesar, Gaul and Africa to Antony; and they further agreed that, in case Lepidus showed any vexation at this, they should give up Africa to him. This was all they allotted between them, since Sextus was still occupying Sardinia and Sicily, and the other regions outside of Italy were still in a state of turmoil. About Italy itself I need say nothing, of course, as it was always excluded from such allotments; for they never even talked as if they were struggling to obtain it, but as if they were defending it. So they left Italy and the places held by Sextus to be common property, and Antony undertook to reduce those who had fought against them and to collect the money necessary to pay what had been promised to the soldiers; and Caesar undertook to curtail the power of Lepidus, in case he should make any hostile move, to conduct

κινῇ, κολοῦσαι,[1] καὶ τῷ Σέξτῳ προσπολεμῆσαι, 3 τήν τε χώραν ἣν τοῖς συστρατευομένοις σφίσιν ὑπέσχηντο κατανεῖμαι τοῖς ἔξω τῆς ἡλικίας αὐτῶν οὖσιν, οὓς καὶ εὐθὺς διῆκαν. καὶ προσέτι οὗτος μὲν δύο τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ στρατόπεδα τῶν συνόντων οἱ συνέπεμψεν, ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἕτερα ἐκ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ τότε ὄντων ἴσα ἀντιδώσειν αὐτῷ ἐπηγ- 4 γείλατο. ταῦθ' οὕτω[2] κατὰ μόνας συνθέμενοι καὶ γράψαντες καὶ κατασημηνάμενοι, τά τε γραμματεῖα ἀλλήλοις ἀντέδοσαν, ἵν', ἄν τι παραβαθῇ,[3] ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐλεγχθῇ, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο Ἀντώνιος μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν Καῖσαρ δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀφωρμήθη.

3 Καὶ αὐτὸν ἡ νόσος ἔν τε τῇ πορείᾳ καὶ ἐν τῷ πλῷ ἰσχυρῶς ἐπίεσεν, ὥστε καὶ θανάτου δόξαν τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ παρασχεῖν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀρρωστίας τοσοῦτον ὅσον ἐπὶ παρασκευῇ κακοῦ τινος χρονίζειν αὐτὸν ἐνόμιζον, κἀκ τούτου πάνθ' ὅσα ἐνεδέχετό σφας παθεῖν ὑπετόπουν. 2 καίτοι ἄλλα τε ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ πολλὰ αὐτοῖς ἐψηφίσαντο, ἅπερ που καὶ τοῖς ἑτέροις ἄν, εἰ ἐκεκρατήκεσαν, ἐδέδοτο (ἐν γὰρ δὴ τοῖς τοιούτοις τό τε ἀπολωλὸς πάντες ἀεὶ κατατρέχουσι καὶ τὸ κρατῆσαν τιμῶσι), καὶ δὴ καὶ ἱερομηνίας ἐν ἅπαντι ὡς εἰπεῖν τῷ ἔτει καὶ ἄκοντες ἄγειν ἔγνωσαν· τοῦτο γάρ σφισιν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν σφαγέων 3 τιμωρίᾳ ἄντικρυς ποιῆσαι ἐκέλευσε. χρονίζοντος δ' οὖν αὐτοῦ λόγοι τε παντοδαποὶ ἐθρυλοῦντο καὶ παθήματα ἀπ' αὐτῶν παντοῖα συνέβαινε. τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ οἱ μὲν ὡς τέθνηκε διεθρόουν, καὶ

[1] κολοῦσαι LM, κωλῦσαι Xiph. Zon. (καλύσων).
[2] οὕτω M, οὕτως L. [3] παραβαθῇ St., παραβανθῆι LM.

the war against Sextus, and to assign to those of their troops who had passed the age-limit the land which they had promised them; and these they forthwith discharged. Furthermore, he sent with Antony two legions of his followers, and Antony promised to give him in return an equal number of those stationed at the time in Italy. After making these agreements by themselves, putting them in writing, and sealing them, they exchanged copies of the documents, to the end that, if any transgression were committed, it might be proved by these records. Thereupon Antony set out for Asia and Caesar for Italy. B.C. 42

Caesar was so prostrated by his sickness on the journey and during the voyage as to cause even the people in Rome to look for his death. They did not believe, however, that he was lingering so much by reason of ill health as because he was devising some mischief, and consequently they expected to suffer every possible injury. Yet they not only voted to the conquerors many honours for their victory, such as would have been given, of course, to their opponents, had they conquered (for on such occasions everybody always spurns the loser and honours the victor), but they also decided, though against their will, to celebrate a thanksgiving during practically the entire year; for Caesar ordered them outright to do this in recognition of the vengeance taken upon the assassins. During this delay of Caesar's all sorts of stories were current and all sorts of feelings resulted from them. For example, some spread a report that he was dead and caused pleasure to many

ἡδονὴν πολλοῖς ἐνέβαλλον, οἱ δὲ ὡς κακόν τι
4 βουλεύοιτο, καὶ φόβον συχνοῖς ἐνεποίουν. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οἱ μὲν τὰ σφέτερα συνέκρυπτον καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἐν φυλακῇ ἐποιοῦντο, οἱ δὲ ὅπῃ ποτὲ ἀποδράσοιντο διεσκόπουν. ἄλλοι, καὶ οἵ γε πλείους, οὐδὲ ἐπινοῆσαί τι ὑπὸ τοῦ σφοδροῦ δέους δυνάμενοι, παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς καὶ πάντως ἀπο-
5 λούμενοι. βραχύ τέ τι καὶ κομιδῇ σμικρὸν τὸ θαρσοῦν ἦν· ἐκ γὰρ δὴ τῆς πρόσθεν πολλῆς καὶ ποικίλης καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν χρημάτων φθορᾶς οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐχὶ καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων καὶ τῶν χειρόνων, ἅτε καὶ παντελῶς κεκρατημένοι, προσε-
6 δέχοντο. ὅθενπερ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ φοβηθεὶς μή τι ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ Λεπίδου παρόντος νεοχμώσωσιν, ἐπέστειλε τῇ γερουσίᾳ θαρσεῖν τε αὐτῇ παραινῶν, καὶ προσυπισχνούμενος πάντα καὶ πρᾴως καὶ φιλανθρώπως κατὰ τὸν πατέρα[1] ποιήσειν.

4 Τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐγένετο, τῷ δὲ ἐχομένῳ ἔτει ὀνόματι μὲν ὅ τε Σερουίλιος ὁ Πούπλιος καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ὁ Λούκιος, ἔργῳ δὲ οὗτός τε καὶ ἡ Φουλουία ὑπάτευσαν· τοῦ τε γὰρ Καίσαρος πενθερὰ καὶ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου γυνὴ οὖσα τόν τε Λέπιδον ὑπὸ νωθείας παρ' οὐδὲν ἦγε καὶ αὐτὴ τὰ πράγματα διεχείριζεν, ὥστε μήτε τὴν βουλὴν μήτε τὸν δῆμον ἄλλο τι παρὰ τὸ ἐκείνῃ δοκοῦν χρηματίζειν.
2 τοῦ γοῦν Λουκίου αὐτοῦ σπουδάζοντος ἐπινίκιά τινων ἐν ταῖς Ἄλπεσιν οἰκούντων, ὡς καὶ νικήσαντός σφας, πέμψαι, τέως μὲν ἡ Φουλουία ἀντέλεγεν, οὐδείς οἱ συνεχώρησεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκείνη θερα-
3 πευθεῖσα ἐπέτρεψε, πάντες ἐψηφίσαντο, ὥστε τῷ

[1] τὸν πατέρα Rk., τὸν παρόντα LM, τὰ παρόντα Xyl.

people; others said he was planning some evil and filled numerous persons with fear. Therefore some proceeded to hide their property and to protect themselves, and others considered in what way they might possibly make their escape. Others, and they were the majority, being unable even to devise a plan by reason of their excessive fear, prepared to meet a certain doom. The courageous element was insignificant and exceedingly small; for in the light of the former great and manifold destruction of both lives and property they expected that anything whatever of a like character or worse might happen, inasmuch as they now had been utterly vanquished. Therefore Caesar, fearing that they might begin a revolt, especially since Lepidus was there, forwarded a letter to the senate urging its members to be of good cheer, and promising, further, that he would do everything in a mild and humane way, after the manner of his father. B.C. 42

This was what took place then. The following year Publius Servilius and Lucius Antonius nominally became consuls, but in reality it was Antonius and Fulvia. She, the mother-in-law of Caesar and wife of Antony, had no respect for Lepidus because of his slothfulness, and managed affairs herself, so that neither the senate nor the people transacted any business contrary to her pleasure. At any rate, when Lucius urged that he be allowed to celebrate a triumph over certain peoples dwelling in the Alps, on the ground that he had conquered them, Fulvia for a time opposed him and no one was for granting it, but when her favour was courted and she gave permission, they voted for the measure unanimously; B.C. 41

μὲν λόγῳ τὸν Ἀντώνιον καθ' ὧνπερ κεκρατηκέναι ἔλεγεν (οὔτε γὰρ ἔπραξέ τι νικητηρίων ἄξιον, οὔθ' ὅλως ἡγεμονίαν ἐν τοῖς χωρίοις ἐκείνοις ἔσχε), τῇ δ' ἀληθείᾳ τὴν Φουλουίαν . . .[1] καὶ πομπεῦσαι. πολὺ γοῦν πλεῖον ἐκείνου, ἅτε καὶ ἀληθέστερον, ἐσεμνύνετο· τὸ γὰρ δοῦναί τινι ἐξουσίαν τῆς τῶν νικητηρίων πέμψεως μεῖζον τοῦ διεορτάσαι αὐτὰ παρ' ἑτέρου λαβόντα ἦν. πλήν γε ὅτι τήν τε σκευὴν τὴν ἐπινίκιον ὁ Λούκιος ἐνεδύσατο καὶ τοῦ ἅρματος ἐπέβη, τά τε ἄλλα τὰ καθήκοντα ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις ἔπραξεν, αὐτὴ[2] ἡ Φουλουία τὴν πανήγυριν, ὑπηρέτῃ ἐκείνῳ χρωμένη, ποιεῖν ἔδοξεν. ἤχθη δὲ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ ἔτους ἡμέρᾳ. καὶ ἐπί τε τούτῳ ὁ Λούκιος ἐξ ἴσου τῷ Μαρίῳ ἐσεμνύνετο, ὅτι ἐν τῇ νουμηνίᾳ αὐτήν, ἐν ᾗ ὑπατεύειν ἤρξατο, ἐπετέλεσε· καὶ προσέτι καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐκεῖνον ἠγάλλετο, λέγων αὐτὸς μὲν ἐθελοντὴς τά τε τῆς πομπῆς κοσμήματα ἀποτεθεῖσθαι καὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἐν τῇ ἀγοραίῳ στολῇ ἠθροικέναι, τὸν δὲ δὴ Μάριον ἄκοντα αὐτὰ πεποιηκέναι. προσετίθει τε ὅτι ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἤ τις ἢ οὐδεὶς στέφανος ἐδόθη, αὐτὸς δὲ ἄλλους τε καὶ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου κατὰ φυλήν, ὃ μηδενὶ τῶν προτέρων ἐγεγόνει, διά τε τὴν Φουλουίαν καὶ διὰ τὰ χρήματα ἃ λάθρᾳ τισὶν ἀνάλωσεν, ἔλαβεν.

4 (margin at "θέστερον"), 5 (margin at "ἔδοξεν"), 6 (margin at "δὴ Μάριον")

5 Ἐν δ' οὖν τῷ ἔτει τούτῳ ἔς τε τὴν Ῥώμην ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀφίκετο, καὶ τὰ νομιζόμενα ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ ποιήσας πρός τε τὴν διοίκησιν καὶ πρὸς τὴν διαγωγὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐτράπετο. ὅ τε γὰρ

[1] LM here exhibit a gap of almost three lines.
[2] αὐτὴ Leuncl., αὕτη LM.

therefore, though it was nominally Antonius who . . . . and celebrated a triumph over the people whom he claimed to have vanquished (in reality he had done nothing deserving a triumph and had held no command at all in those regions), yet it was actually Fulvia . . . .[1] At all events, she assumed a far prouder bearing over the affair than he did, because she had a truer cause; for to give any one authority to hold a triumph was a greater thing than to celebrate one which had been received at another's hands. Except that Lucius donned the triumphal garb, mounted the chariot, and performed the other rites customary in such cases, it was Fulvia herself who seemed to be giving the spectacle, employing him as her assistant. It took place on the first day of the year, and Lucius plumed himself as much as Marius had done on the circumstance that he held it on the first day of the month in which he began his consulship. Moreover, he exulted even more than Marius, claiming that he had voluntarily laid aside the trappings of the procession and had assembled the senate in his civilian dress, whereas Marius had done so unwillingly. And he added that scarcely a single crown had been given to Marius, whereas he himself had obtained many, and particularly from the people, tribe by tribe, an honour which had been conferred upon no former victor—in his case owing to the influence of Fulvia and to the money which he had secretly lavished upon various persons.

B.C. 41

It was in this year that Caesar arrived in Rome; and after he had taken the usual steps to celebrate his victory, he turned his attention to the administration and despatch of the affairs of state. Lepidus,

[1] See note on Greek text.

Λέπιδος, τὰ μὲν τῷ φόβῳ αὐτοῦ τὰ δὲ καὶ τῇ τῆς γνώμης ἀσθενείᾳ, οὐδὲν ἐνεωτέρισε· καὶ ὁ Λούκιος ἥ τε Φουλουία, ὡς καὶ συγγενεῖς καὶ κοινωνοὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας αὐτῷ ὄντες, ἡσύχασαν τήν τε πρώτην. 2 προϊόντος γὰρ δὴ τοῦ χρόνου διηνέχθησαν, οἱ μὲν ὅτι τοῦ μέρους τῆς τῶν ἀγρῶν νομῆς τοῦ τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ προσήκοντος οὐ μετέσχον, ὁ δὲ ὅτι τὰ στρατεύματα παρ' αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀντέλαβε. κἀκ τούτων ἥ τε συγγένεια αὐτῶν ἡ ἐκ τῆς ἐπιγαμίας διελύθη, καὶ πρὸς πόλεμον ἐμφανῆ προήχθησαν.[1] 3 ὁ γὰρ Καῖσαρ τὴν χαλεπότητα τῆς πενθερᾶς μὴ φέρων (ἐκείνῃ γὰρ μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ διαφέρεσθαι δοκεῖν ἐβούλετο) τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτῆς ὡς καὶ παρθένον ἔτι οὖσαν, ὃ καὶ ὅρκῳ ἐπιστώσατο, ἀπεπέμψατο, οὐκ ὀκνήσας οὔτε εἰ τοσοῦτον ἄλλως ἡ γυνὴ πεπαρθενεῦσθαι παρ' αὐτῷ χρόνον νομισθείη, οὔτε πρὸς τὴν παρασκευὴν τῶν ἐσομένων εἰ ἐκ πολλοῦ δόξειεν αὐτὸ προβεβουλευκέναι. 4 γενομένου δὲ τούτου οὐδὲν ἔτι φίλιον ἐποίουν, ἀλλ' ὅ τε Λούκιος μετὰ τῆς Φουλουίας τῶν τε πραγμάτων, ὡς καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Μάρκου ταῦτα δρῶν, ἀντελαμβάνετο καὶ οὐδενὸς αὐτῷ[2] ὑφίετο (διὰ γὰρ τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν εὐσέβειαν καὶ ἐπω- 5 νυμίαν ἑαυτῷ Πιέταν ἐπέθετο), καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ τὸν μὲν Μᾶρκον οὐδὲν δῆθεν ᾐτιᾶτο, μὴ καὶ ἐκπολεμώσειεν αὐτὸν τὰ ἐν[3] τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἔθνη διέποντα,[4] ἐκείνοις δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐπεκάλει καὶ ἀντέπραττεν ὡς

[1] προήχθησαν M cod. Peir., προηνέχθησαν L.
[2] αὐτῷ Bk., αὐτῶν LM.
[3] τὰ ἐν R. Steph., ταν LM.
[4] διέποντα Leuncl., διέχοντα LM.

it seems, did not resort to revolutionary measures, partly because he feared Caesar and partly because he was lacking in resolution; and as for Lucius and Fulvia, they kept quiet at first, because they counted upon their kinship with Caesar and upon their being partners in his supremacy. But as time went on, they quarrelled, Lucius and Fulvia, because when the lands were apportioned they did not secure a share in the portion which belonged to Antony, and Caesar, because he did not get back from the others his troops. Hence their kinship by marriage[1] was dissolved and they were brought to open warfare. For Caesar could not endure the difficult temper of his mother-in-law, and choosing to appear to be at odds with her rather than with Antony, he sent back her daughter, with the remark that she was still a virgin, —a statement which he confirmed by an oath,— indifferent whether it should be thought that the woman had remained a virgin in his house so long a time for other reasons, or whether it should seem that he had so planned it long in advance by way of preparing for the future. After this had happened there was no longer any friendship between them, but Lucius together with Fulvia attempted to get control of affairs, pretending to be doing this on behalf of Antony, and would yield to Caesar on no point (in fact because of his devotion to his brother he took the cognomen Pietas); while Caesar on his part made no open charge against Antony, fearing to make him an enemy while he was in charge of the provinces in Asia, but he accused the other two and took measures to thwart them, on the ground that

B.C. 41

[1] Cf. xlvi. 56.

καὶ παρὰ τὴν γνώμην αὐτοῦ πάντα ποιοῦσι καὶ δυναστείας ἰδίας ἐπιθυμοῦσιν.

6 Ἦν δὲ ἐν τῇ κληρουχίᾳ ἀμφοτέροις ἡ πλείστη τῆς δυνάμεως ἐλπίς, καὶ διὰ τοῦθ' ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς πρῶτον ἀρξάμενοι διεφέροντο. ὅ τε γὰρ Καῖσαρ αὐτὸς πᾶσιν τοῖς τε ἑαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ συστρατευσαμένοις ἤθελεν αὐτὴν κατὰ τὰς συνθήκας τὰς μετὰ τὴν νίκην αὐτοῖς γενομένας, ὅπως 2 ἐς εὔνοιάν σφας ὑπαγάγηται, ποιήσασθαι· καὶ ἐκεῖνοι τήν τε ἐπιβάλλουσαν τοῖς σφετέροις κληρουχῆσαι καὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτοὶ ἀποικίσαι ἠξίουν, ἵνα τὴν ἰσχὺν αὐτῶν σφετερίσωνται. καὶ γὰρ ἑτοιμότατον ἀμφοτέροις ἐδόκει εἶναι τὰ τῶν ἀόπλων τοῖς συμπολεμήσασι χαρίσασθαι. ὡς δ' οὖν[1] παρὰ τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν πολλὴ ταραχὴ ἐγίγνετο καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐς πόλεμον προήγετο 3 (πᾶσαν γὰρ κατ' ἀρχὰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, πλὴν εἴ τί τις[2] τῶν ἐστρατευμένων ἐν δωρεᾶς μέρει λαβὼν ἢ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου πριάμενος εἶχε, μετά τε τῆς δουλείας καὶ μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης κατασκευῆς τοὺς δεσπότας ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀφῃρεῖτο καὶ ἐκείνοις ἐδίδου, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῶν κτημάτων ἀποστερού- 4 μενοι δεινῶς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἠγανάκτουν), μετεβάλοντο[3] ἥ τε Φουλουία καὶ ὁ ὕπατος, πλείω δύναμιν ἐν τοῖς ἑτέροις τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις σχήσειν ἐλπίσαντες, καὶ τῶν μὲν ληψομένων τοὺς ἀγροὺς ἠμέλησαν, πρὸς δὲ ἐκείνους, ἅτε καὶ πλείονας ὄντας καὶ ὀργὴν δικαίαν ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀπεστεροῦντο 5 ποιουμένους, ἐτράποντο. κἀκ τούτου ὑπολαμ-

[1] δ' οὖν Pflugk, γοῦν LM.
[2] τί τις Rk., τίς τι Leuncl., τις LM.
[3] μετεβάλοντο Bk., μετεβάλλοντο LM.

they were acting in all respects contrary to Antony's desire and were aiming at their own supremacy. B.C. 41

Both sides placed the greatest hope of power in the allotment of land, and consequently the beginning of their quarrel was concerned with that. For Caesar wished to act by himself in distributing the territory to all those who had made the campaign with himself and Antony, according to the compact made with them after the victory, in order to win their goodwill, while Lucius and Fulvia claimed the right to assign to their troops the lands that fell to them and to colonize the cities, in order to appropriate to themselves the influence of these colonies. For it seemed to both sides to be the simplest method to give to the troops which had fought with them the possessions of the unarmed. But, contrary to their expectation, great disturbance resulted and the matter began to tend toward war. For at first Caesar proceeded to take from the possessors and to give to the veterans all Italy (except what some old campaigner might have received as a gift or bought from the government and was then holding), together with the slaves and the entire equipment of the estates; consequently the persons who were being deprived of their property were terribly enraged against him. Thereupon Fulvia and the consul changed their plan, since they hoped to gain more power in the cause of the oppressed, and consequently neglected those who were to receive the estates and turned their attention to the other class, which was more numerous and was animated by a righteous indignation at the despoliation they were suffering. Next they espoused the cause of these per-

βάνοντες αὐτοὺς ὡς ἑκάστους καὶ συνῄροντο καὶ συνίστων, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ πρὶν τὸν Καίσαρα φοβουμένους τότε προστατῶν ἐπιλαβομένους ἀναθαρσῆσαι καὶ μηδενὸς ἔτι τῶν οἰκείων ἀφεῖσθαι· καὶ γὰρ καὶ τῷ Μάρκῳ ταῦτα συνδοκεῖν ἐνόμιζον. 7 τούτους τε οὖν ὅ τε Λούκιος καὶ ἡ Φουλουία προσεποιοῦντο, καὶ τοῖς ἑτέροις τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Καίσαρα οὐδὲν προσέκρουον. οὐ γὰρ ὡς οὐ[1] δέον αὐτοὺς κληρουχῆσαί τινα προεβάλλοντο, ἀλλὰ ἀρκοῦντα αὐτοῖς τὰ τῶν ἀντιπολεμησάντων 2 σφίσιν ἀπέφαινον, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι καὶ χωρία καὶ ἔπιπλα τὰ μὲν ἔτι τότε ὄντα τὰ δὲ[2] καὶ πεπραμένα ἀπεδείκνυσαν, ὧν τὰ μὲν αὐτὰ τῶν δὲ τὴν τιμὴν ἔφασκον αὐτοῖς δοθῆναι χρῆναι. εἰ δ' οὖν μηδὲ ταῦτά σφισιν ἀρκέσειε, ταῖς γε[3] ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐλπίσι πάντας αὐτοὺς ἀνηρτῶντο. 3 ὥστε ταχὺ ἐκ τούτων συνέβη Καίσαρα μέν, ἅτε καὶ βίᾳ τὰ τῶν κεκτημένων τι ἀφαιρούμενον καὶ πόνους ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καὶ κινδύνους πᾶσιν ὁμοίως προσάγοντα, ἀμφοτέροις αὐτοῖς προσκροῦσαι, ἐκείνους δὲ δή, οἷα μήτε τι ἀποστεροῦντάς τινα καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων σφίσι τὴν πλήρωσιν τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν ἀμαχεὶ τοῖς ληψομένοις αὐτὰ[4] ὑπο4 δεικνύντας, ἑκατέρους προσθέσθαι. ἔκ τε οὖν τούτων καὶ ἐκ τοῦ λιμοῦ, ὃς τότε τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς μὲν κατὰ Σικελίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σέξτου τῆς δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ κόλπῳ ὑπὸ Γναίου Δομιτίου Ἀηνοβάρβου[5] κατεχομένης δεινῶς αὐτοὺς ἐπίεσεν, ἐν πολ5 λῇ ἀμηχανίᾳ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐγένετο. ὁ γὰρ Δομίτιος

[1] οὐ supplied by Rk. [2] τὰ δὲ supplied by Xyl.
[3] γε R. Steph., τε LM. [4] αὐτὰ Bk., αὐτὰς LM.
[5] Ἀηνοβάρβου M, ἀηνόρβου L.

sons individually, aiding and uniting them, so that B.C. 41 the men who previously had been afraid of Caesar became courageous now that they had found champions, and would no longer give up any of their property; for they supposed that Marcus, too, approved of the consul's policy. Lucius and Fulvia, accordingly, were winning over this class and at the same time were not clashing with the adherents of Caesar. For instead of pretending that there was no need for the soldiers to receive allotments, they tried to show that the possessions of those who had fought against them were sufficient for the soldiers, particularly by pointing out lots of land and articles of furniture, some still available and some already sold, of which, they declared, the former ought to be given to the men outright and the price of the latter presented to them. If even this did not satisfy them, they tried to secure the affection of them all by holding out hopes in Asia. In this way it quickly came about that Caesar, inasmuch as he was forcibly taking away the property of those who possessed anything and was causing troubles and dangers on account of it to all alike, gave offence to both parties; whereas the other two, since they were taking nothing from anybody and were showing those who were to receive the gifts how the promises made to them could be fulfilled without a conflict by drawing upon the resources lying ready at hand, won over each of the two classes. In consequence of this and of the famine, which was grievously oppressing them at this time, inasmuch as the sea off Sicily was controlled by Sextus and the Ionian Gulf by Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus, Caesar found himself in dire straits. For Domitius was one of Caesar's murderers,

ἦν μὲν τῶν σφαγέων, ἐκ δὲ δὴ τῆς μάχης τῆς πρὸς Φιλίπποις γενομένης διαφυγὼν ναυτικόν τι συνεκρότησε, καὶ τοῦ τε κόλπου χρόνον τινὰ ἐκράτησε καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἔφθειρε.

8 Ταῦτά τε οὖν τὸν Καίσαρα δεινῶς ἐλύπει, καὶ ὅτι ἐν ταῖς διαφοραῖς ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς βουλευτὰς καὶ πρὸς τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος τὸ τοὺς ἀγροὺς κεκτημένον τοῖς ἐστρατευμένοις συμβαινούσαις (πλεῖσται δὲ δὴ ἅτε καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν μεγίστων ἀγωνιζομένοις σφίσιν ἐγίγνοντο) οὐδετέροις ἀκινδύνως 2 προσετίθετο. ἀμφοτέροις μὲν γὰρ ἀδύνατον ἦν αὐτῷ χαρίζεσθαι· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὑβρίζειν οἱ δ' ἀπαθεῖς εἶναι, καὶ οἱ μὲν καὶ τὰ ἀλλότρια λαβεῖν οἱ δὲ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἔχειν ἤθελον. ὁσάκις δὲ δὴ τὰ τούτων ἢ τὰ ἐκείνων, ὥς που καὶ ἠναγκάζετο, προέλοιτο, τοῖς ἑτέροις ἀπήχθετο, καὶ οὐ τοσαύτης γε[1] χάριτος ἐξ ὧν ὑπούργει τισίν, ὅσης ὀργῆς 3 ἐξ ὧν μὴ συνεχώρει, ἐτύγχανεν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὡς καὶ ὀφειλόμενά σφισι πάντα τὰ διδόμενα[2] λαμβάνοντες ἐν οὐδεμιᾷ αὐτὰ εὐεργεσίᾳ ἐτίθεντο, οἱ δὲ ὡς καὶ τῶν οἰκείων στερισκόμενοι ἐχαλέπαινον. καὶ ἐκ τούτου διετέλει ἢ τούτοις ἢ ἐκείνοις προσκρούων καὶ τοτὲ μὲν ὡς φιλόδημος τοτὲ δὲ ὡς 4 φιλοστρατιώτης ἐγκαλούμενος. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ἐπειδὴ μήτε τι ἤνυε, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων ἔμαθεν ὅτι οὐδὲν τὰ ὅπλα πρὸς τὸ τοὺς ἀδικουμένους εὐνοϊκῶς οἱ ἔχειν ἐδύνατο, ἀλλὰ ἀπολέσθαι μὲν πᾶν τὸ μὴ ὑπεῖκον δι' αὐτῶν οἷόν τε ἦν, ἀναγκασθῆναι δέ τινα[3] φιλεῖν ὃν μὴ

[1] γε H. Steph., τε LM.
[2] διδόμενα Petrus Faber, γιγνόμενα LM.
[3] δέ τινα Rk., τινα δὲ LM.

and having escaped from the battle at Philippi, he had got together a small fleet, had made himself for a time master of the Gulf, and was doing the greatest harm to the cause of his opponents. B.C. 41

Now all this troubled Caesar greatly, and likewise the fact that in the disputes which had arisen between the veterans and the senators and the landholding class in general—and these disputes were coming up in great numbers, since they were struggling for the greatest prizes—he could not attach himself to either side without danger. It was impossible, of course, for him to please both; for the one side wished to run riot, the other to be unharmed, the one side to get the property of others, the other to hold what was their own. And as often as he gave the preference to the interests of this party or that, according as he found it necessary, he incurred the hatred of the other; and he did not meet with so much gratitude for the favours he conferred as anger for the concessions he refused to make. For the one class took as their due all that was given them and regarded it as no kindness, while the other was indignant on the ground that they were being robbed of their own belongings. And as a result he continued to offend either the one group or the other, and to be reproached, now with being a friend of the people, and now with being a friend of the army. Consequently he was making no headway, and he furthermore learned by actual experience that arms had no power to make the injured feel friendly toward him, and that, while all those who would not submit might perish by arms, yet it was out of the question for any one to be compelled to love

βούλεται ἀδύνατον ὑπάρχοι, οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἄκων
5 ὑποκατέκλινε, καὶ οὐκέτ' οὔτε[1] τῶν βουλευτῶν τι ἀφείλετο (πρότερον γὰρ καὶ τὰ ἐκείνων πάντα κατανεῖμαι ἠξίου, διερωτῶν σφας "πόθεν οὖν τὰ γέρα τοῖς ἐστρατευμένοις ἀποδώσομεν;" ὥσπερ τινὸς αὐτῷ πολεμεῖν ἢ καὶ τοσαῦτά σφισιν[2] ὑπισχνεῖσθαι κεκελευκότος), τῶν τε ἄλλων ὅσα ἢ γυναῖκες ἐς τὰς προῖκας ἐντετιμημένα ἢ καὶ ἕτεροί τινες ἐλάττω τῆς κατ' ἄνδρα τοῖς ἐστρατευμένοις διδομένης γῆς ἐκέκτηντο, ἀπέσχετο.

9 Πραχθέντος δὲ τούτου ἡ μὲν γερουσία καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ μηδενὸς στερόμενοι πράως πως πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔσχον, οἱ δὲ ἐστρατευμένοι τήν τε φειδὼ καὶ τὴν τιμὴν τὴν ἐς ἐκείνους ἀτιμίαν τε ἅμα καὶ ζημίαν ἑαυτῶν, ὡς καὶ ἐλάττω ληψομένων, νομί-
2 ζοντες εἶναι ἐδυσχέραινον, καὶ τῶν τε ἑκατοντάρχων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐπιτηδείως τε[3] τῷ Καίσαρι ἐχόντων καὶ θορυβεῖν αὐτοὺς κωλυόντων συχνοὺς ἀπέκτειναν, αὐτόν τε ἐκεῖνον παρ' ὀλίγον ἦλθον ἀποχρήσασθαι, πᾶσαν αὐτάρκη πρόφασιν
3 τῆς ὀργῆς ποιούμενοι. καὶ οὐ πρότερόν γε ἐπαύσαντο χαλεπαίνοντες πρὶν τοῖς τε συγγενέσι σφῶν καὶ τοῖς τῶν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις πεσόντων πατράσι καὶ παισὶ τὴν χώραν, ὅσην τινὲς αὐτῶν εἶχον, ἀφεθῆναι. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὰ μὲν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπιτηδειότερά οἱ αὖθις ἐγένετο, ὁ δὲ δῆμος κατ' αὐτὸ
4 δὴ τοῦτο πάλιν ἠγανάκτει. καὶ ἔς τε χεῖρας αὐτοῖς ἦσαν[4] καὶ μάχαι σφῶν συνεχεῖς ἐγίγνοντο, ὥστε καὶ τιτρώσκεσθαι καὶ ἀποθνήσκειν παρ'

[1] οὔτε Bk., οὐδὲ LM. [2] σφισιν Bk., τισιν LM Xiph.
[3] τε Rk., γε LM. [4] ἦσαν Bs., ἤιεσαν LM.

a person whom he does not wish to love. Thereupon he reluctantly yielded, and not only desisted from depriving the senators of their property (for previously he used to think it right to distribute anything that was theirs, asking them: "From what other source, then, are we to pay the veterans their prize money?"—as if anyone had commanded him to wage war or to make his large promises to the soldiers), but also kept his hands off other private property, such as the objects of value which women had acquired for their marriage portions or the property possessed by other persons, when it was of less value than the allotment of land given to the individual veteran. B.C. 41

When this was done the senate and the others who were having nothing taken from them became fairly meek in their attitude toward him, but the veterans were indignant, feeling that Caesar's sparing of the others' property and the honour shown them were at the expense of their own honour and profit, since they would thus receive less. They killed many of the centurions and of the others who were friendly to Caesar and were trying to restrain them from rioting, and they came very near slaying Caesar himself, making any excuse suffice for their anger. And they did not cease from their irritation until their own relatives and also the fathers and sons of those who had fallen in battle had had restored to them all the land that any of them had possessed. As a result of this the soldiers became more friendly toward him once more, while for that very reason the populace was again indignant. They repeatedly came to blows and there was continual fighting between them, so that many were wounded and killed on

ἀμφοτέρων ὁμοίως πολλούς. οἱ μὲν γὰρ δὴ τῇ τε τῶν ὅπλων παρασκευῇ καὶ τῇ τῶν πολέμων ἐμπειρίᾳ, οἱ δὲ τῷ τε πλήθει καὶ τῷ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν
5 τεγῶν αὐτοὺς βάλλειν ἐπεκράτουν, ὥστε καὶ οἰκίας διὰ τοῦτο συχνὰς καταπρησθῆναι, καὶ τὸ ἐνοίκιον τοῖς μὲν ἐν τῷ ἄστει μέχρι πεντακοσίων δραχμῶν οἰκοῦσι πᾶν, τοῖς δ' ἐν τῇ λοιπῇ Ἰταλίᾳ κατὰ τὸ τέταρτον ἐνιαυτοῦ ἑνὸς ἀνεθῆναι. ἐν πάσαις γὰρ δὴ ταῖς πόλεσιν ὁμοίως, ὅπῃ ποτὲ συντύχοιεν ἀλλήλοις, ἐμάχοντο.

10 Ὡς οὖν ταῦτά τε οὕτως ἐγίγνετο, καὶ στρατιῶται ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος προπεμφθέντες θόρυβόν τέ τινα ἐν Πλακεντίᾳ ἐποίησαν, καὶ οὐ πρότερον πρὶν χρήματα παρὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων λαβεῖν κατέστησαν, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Καλήνου τοῦ τε Οὐεντιδίου τὴν Γαλατίαν τὴν ὑπὲρ τὰς Ἄλπεις ἐχόντων ἐκωλύθησαν ὑπερβα-
2 λεῖν αὐτάς, ἐφοβήθη τε ὁ Καῖσαρ μὴ καὶ σφαλῇ τι, καὶ καταλλαγῆναι τῇ τε Φουλουίᾳ καὶ τῷ ὑπάτῳ ἠθέλησεν. ἐπειδή τε οὐδὲν ἰδίᾳ καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν προσπέμπων σφίσιν ἐπέραινεν, ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐστρατευμένους ὥρμησε καὶ δι' αὐτῶν τὰς συναλ-
3 λαγὰς ἔπραττεν. ἐκεῖνοι δὲ τούτοις ἐπαιρόμενοι καὶ τοὺς στερομένους τῆς χώρας προσποιούμενοι, Λούκιος μὲν πανταχόσε συνιστάς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀποσπῶν περιῄει, Φουλουία δὲ τό τε Πραινέστε κατέλαβε καὶ προσεταιριστοὺς[1] βουλευτάς τε καὶ ἱππέας ἔχουσα τά τε ἄλλα πάντα μετ' αὐτῶν ἐβουλεύετο, καὶ τὰς παραγ-
4 γέλσεις ὡς ἑκασταχόσε ἐχρῆν ἔπεμπε. καὶ τί ταῦτα θαυμάσειεν ἄν τις, ὁπότε καὶ ξίφος παρε-

[1] προσεταιριστοὺς Bk., προσηταίριστο τοὺς LM.

both sides alike. The one party was superior by reason of the arms with which it was equipped and of its experience in the wars, and the other by its larger numbers and by their tactics in hurling missiles upon their opponents from the roofs. Consequently many houses were burned down, and the rent of those who dwelt in the city was entirely remitted up to a maximum of two thousand sesterces, while for those who lived in the rest of Italy it was reduced to a fourth for one year. For the fighting went on in all the cities alike, wherever the two parties fell in with each other. B.C. 41

When these things kept occurring, and soldiers sent ahead by Caesar into Spain made an uprising at Placentia and were not quieted until they had received money from the people there, and when, furthermore, they were hindered from crossing the Alps by Calenus and Ventidius, who held Transalpine Gaul, Caesar became afraid that he might meet with some disaster and began to wish to be reconciled with Fulvia and the consul. And when he could not accomplish anything by making overtures to them personally and on his own responsibility, he had recourse to the veterans and through them attempted to effect a reconciliation. The others were elated at this, and since they were winning over those who had lost their land, Lucius went about in every direction organizing them and detaching them from Caesar, while Fulvia occupied Praeneste, and with senators and knights for her associates was wont to conduct all her deliberations with their help, even sending orders to whatever points required it. And why should anyone be surprised at this, when she

ζώννυτο καὶ συνθήματα τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐδίδου, ἐδημηγόρει τε ἐν αὐτοῖς πολλάκις; ὥστε καὶ
11 ἐκεῖνα τῷ Καίσαρι προσίστασθαι. οὐ μέντοι ἔχων ὅπως αὐτοὺς καταλύσῃ (οὐ γὰρ μόνον τῇ δυνάμει ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων εὐνοίᾳ πολὺ αὐτῶν ἠλαττοῦτο· αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ πολλοὺς ἐλύπει, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ πάντας ἐπήλπιζον) πολλάκις μέν σφας ἰδίᾳ διὰ τῶν φίλων ἐς τὰς καταλλαγὰς προεκαλέσατο, ὡς δ' οὐδὲν ἥνυτεν, ἐκ τῶν ἐστρα-
2 τευμένων πρέσβεις πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπέστειλε. μάλιστα μὲν γὰρ τεύξεσθαί τε αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ παρόντα καταστήσεσθαι ἔς τε τὸ ἔπειτα ἀντισχύσειν ἐκ τούτου ἤλπισεν· ἂν δὲ δὴ καὶ διαμάρτῃ σφῶν, τὴν γοῦν αἰτίαν τῆς διαφορᾶς οὐκ αὐτὸς ἀλλ'
3 ἐκείνους ἕξειν ἐνόμισεν. ὃ καὶ ἐγένετο. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ διὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπέρανε, βουλευτὰς ἔστειλε, τάς τε συνθήκας σφίσι τὰς πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον αὐτῷ γενομένας ἐκφήνας καὶ δικαστὰς τῶν διαφορῶν δῆθεν αὐτοὺς ποιήσας.
4 ὡς δ' οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τότε ἐπράχθη (καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι τοῦτο μὲν πολλὰ καὶ ὅσα ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐκ ἔμελλε ποιήσειν ἀντιπροετείνοντο, τοῦτο δὲ πάνθ' ὅσα ἐποίουν, ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Ἀντωνίου τοῦ Μάρκου ἐντολῆς πράττειν ἔλεγον), οὕτω δὴ πρὸς τοὺς ἐστρατευμένους αὖθις ἀπέκλινε.

12 Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκεῖνοι πλήθει πολλῷ, ὡς καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῇ τε βουλῇ κοινωσόμενοί τι, συνελθόντες τούτων μὲν οὐδὲν ἐφρόντισαν, ἀθροισθέντες δ' ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον τάς τε συνθήκας, ἃς ὅ τε Ἀντώνιος καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπεποίηντο, ἀναγνωσθῆναί σφισιν ἐκέλευσαν, καὶ

would gird herself with a sword, give out the watchword to the soldiers, and in many instances harangue them, all of which gave additional offence to Caesar? He, however, had no way of overthrowing his opponents, being far inferior to them not only in troops, but also as regards the good-will of the citizens; for he was causing distress to many, whereas they were filling everyone with hope. Accordingly he often proposed reconciliation to them personally through friends, and when he accomplished nothing, he sent to them envoys from the veterans. For he expected by this means, if possible, to obtain his request, adjust his present difficulties, and gain a strength equal to theirs for the future; but in case he should fail of these aims, he believed that, at any rate, they and not he would bear the responsibility for the quarrel. And this actually happened. For when he effected nothing even through the soldiers, he sent senators, showing them the compact which Antony had made with him and appointing them arbitrators of their "differences," as he expressed it. But even then nothing was accomplished, since his opponents in the first place made many counter-proposals, demands which Caesar was sure not to comply with, and then claimed to be doing everything that they did by the order of Mark Antony; thereupon Caesar betook himself once more to the veterans.

B.C. 41

After this the veterans assembled in Rome in great numbers, giving out that they intended to make some communication to the people and the senate. But instead of troubling themselves about this errand, they assembled on the Capitol, and after commanding that the compact which Antony and Caesar had made should be read to them, they rati-

ἐκείνας τε ἐπεκύρωσαν, καὶ περὶ ὧν διεφέροντο 2 ἑαυτοὺς δικαστὰς γενέσθαι ἐψηφίσαντο. καὶ ταῦτά τε ἐς δέλτους γράψαντες καὶ κατασημηνάμενοι ταῖς ἀειπαρθένοις φυλάττειν ἔδοσαν, καὶ τῷ μὲν Καίσαρι παρόντι, τοῖς δὲ ἑτέροις διὰ πρεσβείας, ἐς Γαβίους[1] ἐν ῥητῇ τινι ἡμέρᾳ πρὸς τὴν 3 δίκην ἀπαντῆσαι προσέταξαν. ἐπειδή τε ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἕτοιμος διαδικασθῆναι ἐγένετο, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ὑπέσχοντο μὲν ἀφίξεσθαι, οὐκ ἦλθον δέ, φοβηθέντες ἢ καὶ ἀπαξιώσαντες (διέσκωπτον γοῦν σφας, ἄλλα τε καὶ βουλὴν καλιγᾶταν[2] ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν στρατιωτικῶν ὑποδημάτων χρήσεως ἀποκαλοῦντες), τοῦ τε Λουκίου καὶ τῆς Φουλουίας ὡς καὶ ἀδικούντων τι κατεψηφίσαντο καὶ τὰ τοῦ 4 Καίσαρος ἐπρέσβευσαν. κἀκ τούτου πολλάκις αὖθις βουλευσάμενοι τόν τε πόλεμον αὖθις ἀνείλοντο καὶ τὰ πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐχ ἡσυχῇ ἡτοιμάζοντο. τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ χρήματα ἁπανταχόθεν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν ἤθροισαν· τὰ γὰρ ἀναθήματα, ὅσα γε[3] καὶ ἐξαργυρισθῆναι ἐδύνατο, τά τε ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἰταλίᾳ τῇ ἐν τῇ ἐπικρατείᾳ αὐτῶν οὔσῃ καὶ τὰ ἐν 5 αὐτῇ τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἀνακείμενα καθεῖλον. καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκ τῆς Γαλατίας τῆς τογάτης, ἣ καὶ ἐς τὸν τῆς Ἰταλίας ἤδη νομόν,[4] ὥστε μηδένα ἄλλον προφάσει τῆς ἐνταῦθα ἀρχῆς στρατιώτας ἐντὸς τῶν Ἄλπεων τρέφειν, ἐσεγέγραπτο, καὶ χρήματα καὶ στρατιῶται ἦλθον.

13 Ὅ τε οὖν Καῖσαρ παρεσκευάζετο, καὶ ἡ Φουλουία καὶ ὁ Λούκιος τά τε πρόσφορα ἐπορίζοντο

[1] Γαβίους Xyl., γαίους LM.
[2] καλιγᾶταν Balduinus, καλλίγαν LM, καλίγαν Xiph.
[3] γε Rk., τε LM. [4] νομὸν R. Steph., νόμον LM.

fied these agreements and voted that they themselves should be made arbitrators of the differences between them. After recording this action on tablets and sealing them, they delivered them to the Vestal Virgins to keep; and they gave command to Caesar, who was present, and to the other party through an embassy, to present themselves for the trial at Gabii on a stated day. Caesar showed his readiness to submit to arbitration, and the others promised to be there but did not go, either because they were afraid or because they thought it beneath them; at any rate, they were wont to make fun of the veterans, calling them among other names *senatus caligatus*, on account of the military boots they wore. So the veterans condemned Lucius and Fulvia as guilty of wrong-doing and espoused the cause of Caesar; and then, after many further deliberations, they took up the war once more and proceeded vigorously with their preparations for it. In particular they collected money from all sources, even from the temples; for they took away all the votive offerings that could be converted into money, those deposited in Rome itself as well as those in the rest of Italy that was under their control. Both money and soldiers came to them also from Gallia Togata, which had been included by this time in the district of Italy in order that no one else, under the plea of ruling that province, should keep soldiers south of the Alps.

B.C. 41

Both Caesar was making his preparations, then, and Fulvia and Lucius were gathering their supplies and

καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις συνεκρότουν. κἀν τούτῳ καὶ ἀντεπρεσβεύοντο καὶ διέπεμπον ἑκασταχόσε καὶ στρατιώτας καὶ στρατιάρχους ἑκάτεροι, καὶ τὰ μὲν προκατελάμβανον τῶν δ᾽ ἀπεκρούοντο. καὶ αὐτῶν ἐγὼ τὰ μὲν πολλά, καὶ ἐν οἷς οὔτε τι μέγα οὔτ᾽ ἀξιόλογον ἐπράχθη, παρήσω, τὰ δὲ δὴ λόγου μάλιστα ἄξια συντόμως διηγήσομαι.

2 Ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ Νουρσίαν ἐς τοὺς Σαβίνους *στρατεύσας τὴν μὲν φρουρὰν τὴν προκαθημένην σφῶν ἐτρέψατο, τῆς δὲ δὴ πόλεως ὑπὸ* Τισιήνου[1] Γάλλου *ἀπεκρούσθη. μεταστὰς οὖν ἐς τὴν* Ὀμβρικὴν Σεντινάτας *ἐπολιόρκησε μέν, οὐ μέντοι* 3 *καὶ εἷλεν αὐτούς· τοῦ γὰρ* Λουκίου *ἐν τούτῳ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον στρατιώτας λάθρᾳ κατ᾽ ἄλλην καὶ ἄλλην πρόφασιν ἐς τὴν* Ῥώμην *πρὸς τοὺς φίλους πέμψαντος, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐξαίφνης ἐπελθόντος, καὶ τό τε ἱππικὸν ἀπαντῆσάν οἱ κρατήσαντος καὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐς τὸ τεῖχος καταράξαν-* 4 *τος, κἀκ τούτου καὶ τὸ ἄστυ, συνεπιθεμένων τοῖς ἔνδοθεν ἀμυνομένοις τῶν προαφιγμένων,*[2] *λαβόντος (οὔτε γὰρ ὁ* Λέπιδος *ὁ τὴν φυλακὴν αὐτοῦ ἐπιτετραμμένος ἀντέπραξέ τι ὑπὸ τῆς ἐμφύτου νωθείας, οὔτε ὁ* Σερουίλιος *ὁ ὕπατος ἡσυχαίτερός πως ὤν), πυθόμενος ταῦθ᾽ ὁ* Καῖσαρ *τοῖς μὲν* Σεντινάταις Κύιντον Σαλουιδιῆνον Ῥοῦφον *παρακατ-* 5 *έλιπεν, αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς τὴν* Ῥώμην *ὥρμησε. μαθὼν οὖν τοῦτο ὁ* Λούκιος *προϋπεξῆλθε, διαπραξάμενος ψηφισθῆναί οἱ ὡς ἐπὶ πολέμῳ τινὶ ἐκστρατεῦσαι· καὶ ἔν γε τῇ στρατιωτικῇ σκευῇ ἐδημηγόρησεν, ὃ μηδεὶς ἄλλος ἐπεποιήκει. καὶ*

[1] *Τισιήνου* Leuncl., *τιτισιήνου* LM.
[2] *προαφιγμένων* Leuncl., *προσαφιγμένων* LM.

assembling their forces. Meanwhile both sides in turn sent embassies and despatched soldiers and officers in every direction, and each managed to seize some places first, though repulsed from others. The most of these operations, especially those involving no great or memorable achievement, I will pass over, but will relate briefly the points which are most worthy of mention. B.C. 41

Caesar made an expedition against Nursia, among the Sabines, and routed the garrison encamped before it, but was repulsed from the city by Tisienus Gallus. Accordingly he went over into Umbria and laid siege to Sentinum, but failed to capture it. For Lucius meanwhile had sent soldiers at first to his friends in Rome on one excuse and another, and then had suddenly marched against the city himself, conquered the cavalry force that met him, hurled the infantry back within the walls, and after that had taken the city, since his soldiers who had already arrived there joined in attacking the defenders inside, and since neither Lepidus, who had been entrusted with the guarding of the place, offered any resistance by reason of his inherent slothfulness, nor did Servilius, the consul, who was too easy-going. So on ascertaining this Caesar left Quintus Salvidienus Rufus to look after the people of Sentinum, and himself set out for Rome. Now when Lucius learned of this, he withdrew before Caesar's arrival, having had a vote passed authorizing him to leave the city in order to begin a war; indeed, he delivered an address before the people in military uniform, which no one

οὕτως ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀμαχεί τε ἐς τὸ ἄστυ ἐσεδέχθη, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐπιδιώξας αὐτὸν οὐ κατέλαβεν, ἀνέστρεψεν, καὶ φρουρὰν τῆς πόλεως ἀκριβεστέραν ἐποιήσατο. 6 *κἀν τούτῳ ὁ Ῥοῦφος, ὡς τάχιστα ἐκεῖνός τε ἀπὸ τῶν Σεντινατῶν ἀπεχώρησε καὶ Γάϊος Φούρνιος ὁ τὸ τεῖχος φρουρῶν ἐπεξῆλθεν ἐπὶ πολὺ διώκων αὐτόν, προσέβαλέ τε ἀπροσδοκήτοις τοῖς ἔνδον οὖσι, καὶ ἑλὼν τὴν πόλιν διήρπασε καὶ κατέκαυσεν. Νουρσῖνοι δὲ ἐς μὲν ὁμολογίαν μηδὲν κακὸν παθόντες ἦλθον, ἐπεὶ μέντοι τοὺς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τῇ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρά σφισι γενομένῃ πεσόντας θάψαντες ἐπέγραψαν τοῖς μνημείοις αὐτῶν ὅτι ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀγωνιζόμενοι ἐτελεύτησαν, παμπόλλοις χρήμασιν ἐζημιώθησαν, ὥστε καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἅμα πᾶσαν ἐκλιπεῖν.*

14 *Καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτ' ἔπραττον, ὁ δὲ Λούκιος ὡς τότε ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀπῆρεν, ὥρμησε μὲν ἐς τὴν Γαλατίαν, εἰρχθεὶς δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ πρὸς Περουσίαν Τυρσηνίδα πόλιν ἀπετράπετο· καὶ αὐτὸν ἐνταῦθα πρότεροι μὲν οἱ ὕπαρχοι τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ἀπολαβόντες ἐπολιόρκουν.* 2 *χρονίου δὲ δὴ τῆς προσεδρείας σφίσι γιγνομένης (τό τε γὰρ χωρίον τῇ τε φύσει καρτερόν ἐστι καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις ἱκανῶς παρεσκεύαστο, καὶ ἱππῆς προεκπεμφθέντες*[1] *ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, πρὶν παντελῶς περιστοιχισθῆναι, δεινῶς σφας ἐλύπουν, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἕτεροι πολλοὶ σπουδῇ ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν ἐπήμυνον αὐτῷ)* 3 *πολλὰ μὲν πρὸς τούτους ὡς ἑκάστους, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐπράχθη, μέχρις οὗ καίτοι πλεονεκτοῦντες τὰ πλείω οἱ περὶ τὸν*

[1] *προεκπεμφθέντες* H. Steph., *προσεκπεμφθέντες* LM.

else had done. Thus Caesar was received into the capital without striking a blow, and when he pursued Lucius and failed to capture him, he returned and kept a more careful watch over the city. Meanwhile, as soon as Caesar had left Sentinum and Gaius Furnius, the defender of the walls, had issued forth and pursued him a long distance, Rufus unexpectedly attacked the citizens inside, and capturing the town, plundered and burned it. The inhabitants of Nursia came to terms without having suffered any ill treatment; when, however, after burying those who had fallen in the battle they had had with Caesar, they inscribed on their tombs that they had died contending for their liberty, they were punished by an enormous fine, so that they abandoned their city and at the same time all their territory.

B.C. 41

While they were thus engaged, Lucius withdrew from Rome as I have stated and set out for Gaul; but finding his way blocked, he turned aside to Perusia, an Etruscan city. There he was intercepted first by the lieutenants of Caesar and later by Caesar himself, and was besieged. The investment proved a long operation; for the place is naturally a strong one and had been amply stocked with provisions; and horsemen sent by Lucius before he was entirely hemmed in greatly harassed the besiegers, while many others besides came speedily to his defence from various quarters. Many attacks were made upon these reinforcements separately and many engagements were fought close to the walls, until the followers of Lucius, even though they were generally successful, nevertheless were

Λούκιον ὅμως ὑπὸ λιμοῦ ἑάλωσαν. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἄλλοι τέ τινες ἄδειαν εὕροντο, οἱ δὲ δὴ πλείους τῶν τε βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων ἐφθάρησαν.
4 καὶ λόγος γε[1] ἔχει ὅτι οὐδ' ἁπλῶς τοῦτο ἔπαθον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν τὸν τῷ Καίσαρι τῷ προτέρῳ ὡσιωμένον ἀχθέντες ἱππῆς τε τριακόσιοι καὶ βουλευταὶ ἄλλοι τε καὶ ὁ Καννούτιος ὁ Τιβέριος,[2] ὅς ποτε ἐν τῇ δημαρχίᾳ τὸ πλῆθος τῷ Καίσαρι
5 τῷ Ὀκταουιανῷ ἤθροισεν, ἐτύθησαν. τῶν δὲ Περουσίνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐκεῖ ἁλόντων οἱ πλείους ἀπώλοντο, καὶ ἡ πόλις αὐτή,[3] πλὴν τοῦ Ἡφαιστείου τοῦ τε τῆς Ἥρας ἕδους, πᾶσα κατε-
6 καύθη. τοῦτο δέ (ἐσώθη γάρ πως κατὰ τύχην) ἀνήχθη τε ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐξ ὄψεως ὀνείρου ἣν ὁ Καῖσαρ εἶδε καὶ παρέσχε καὶ τῇ πόλει πρὸς τῶν βουλομένων συνοικισθῆναι, πλὴν ὅτι τῆς χώρας οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ ἑπτὰ καὶ ἥμισυ σταδίους ἐκτήσαντο.

15 Ἐκείνης δ' οὖν ἐπί τε Γναίου Καλουίνου δεύτερον καὶ ἐπ' Ἀσινίου Πωλίωνος ὑπάτων ἁλούσης καὶ τἆλλα τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ, τὰ μὲν βίᾳ τὰ δὲ ἐθελοντί,[4] τῷ Καίσαρι προσεχώρησε· καὶ διὰ τοῦθ' ἥ τε Φουλουία πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα μετὰ τῶν
2 τέκνων ἀπέδρα, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν πρώτων συχνοὶ οἱ μὲν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον οἱ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Σέξτον ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν ἀπεχώρησαν. ἥ τε Ἰουλία ἡ τῶν Ἀντωνίων μήτηρ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐνταῦθα ἦλθε, καὶ πάνυ φιλικῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Σέξτου ὑπεδέχθη, ἔπειτα δὲ πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν τὸν Μᾶρκον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπέμφθη, λόγους τέ οἱ ὑπὲρ φιλίας καὶ
3 πρέσβεις[5] ἄγουσα. μετὰ τούτων τῶν τότε πρὸς

[1] γε H. Steph., τε LM. [2] Τιβέριος Fabr., τῖτος LM.
[3] αὐτή Reim., αὕτη LM. [4] ἐθελοντί Reim., ἐθελοντῆι LM.
[5] πρέσβεις Rk., πρεσβείας LM.

forced by hunger to capitulate. The leader and some others obtained pardon, but most of the senators and knights were put to death. And the story goes that they did not merely suffer death in an ordinary form, but were led to the altar consecrated to the former Caesar and were there sacrificed—three hundred knights and many senators, among them Tiberius Cannutius, who previously during his tribuneship had assembled the populace for Caesar Octavianus.[1] Of the people of Perusia and the others who were captured there the majority lost their lives, and the city itself, except the temple of Vulcan and the statue of Juno, was entirely destroyed by fire. This statue, which was preserved by some chance, was brought to Rome, in accordance with a vision that Caesar saw in a dream, and it secured for the city the privilege of being peopled again by any who desired to settle there, though they did not acquire anything of its territory beyond the first mile. B.C. 41

After the capture of Perusia in the consulship of Gnaeus Calvinus (who was serving for the second time) and Asinius Pollio, the other places in Italy also went over to Caesar, partly as the result of force and partly of their own accord. For this reason Fulvia fled with her children to her husband, and many of the foremost men made their way partly to him and partly to Sextus in Sicily. Julia, the mother of the Antonii, went there at first and was received by Sextus with extreme kindness; later she was sent by him to her son Marcus, carrying proposals of friendship to him and taking along envoys. In this company, which at that time B.C. 40

[1] Cf. xlv. 6, 3.

τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐκχωρησάντων καὶ Κλαύδιος Τιβέριος Νέρων ἔφυγε. φρουρὰν γάρ τινα ἐν τῇ Καμπανίᾳ εἶχε, καὶ ἐπειδὴ καθυπέρτερα τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐγένετο, ἀπῆρε σύν τε τῇ γυναικὶ Λιουίᾳ Δρουσίλλῃ καὶ σὺν τῷ υἱεῖ Τι-
4 βερίῳ Κλαυδίῳ Νέρωνι, ὥστε καὶ τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς παραδοξοτάτοις συμβῆναι· ἥ τε γὰρ Λιουία αὕτη ἡ τὸν Καίσαρα τότε φυγοῦσα μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτῷ ἐγήματο, καὶ ὁ Τιβέριος οὗτος ὁ σὺν τοῖς τοκεῦσι τότε ἐκδρὰς τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ διεδέξατο.

16 Ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον ἐγένετο· τότε δὲ τήν τε εἰρηνικὴν ἐσθῆτα οἱ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ὄντες ἀνέλαβον (ἐκδεδυκότες γὰρ αὐτὴν ἄνευ ψηφίσματος ἀνάγκῃ τοῦ δήμου ἦσαν) καὶ αὐτοί τε ἑώρταζον, καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἔν τε στολῇ ἐπινικίῳ ἐς τὸ ἄστυ ἐσεκόμισαν καὶ δαφνίνῳ στεφάνῳ ἐτίμησαν, ὥσθ' ὁσάκις οἱ τὰ νικητήρια πέμψαντες εἰώθεσαν αὐτῷ
2 χρῆσθαι, καὶ ἐκεῖνόν οἱ κοσμεῖσθαι. Καῖσαρ δέ, ἐπειδὴ τά τε ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ κατείργαστο[1] καὶ ὁ κόλπος ὁ Ἰόνιος ἠλευθέρωτο (ὁ γὰρ Δομίτιος, ἀπογνοὺς μηκέτι καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἰσχύσειν, ἀπέπλευσε πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον), παρεσκευάζετο μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Σέξτον ὁρμήσων, αἰσθόμενος δὲ τήν τε δύναμιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὅτι τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ διά τε τῆς μητρὸς καὶ διὰ τῶν πρέσβεων ἐκεκοινολόγητο, ἔδεισε μὴ καὶ ἀμφοῖν
3 ἅμα πολεμήσῃ, καὶ τὸν Σέξτον ὡς καὶ πιστότερον ἢ καὶ ἰσχυρότερον τοῦ Ἀντωνίου προτιμήσας τήν τε μητέρα αὐτῷ Μουκίαν ἔπεμψε, καὶ τὴν τοῦ πενθεροῦ αὐτοῦ Λουκίου Σκριβωνίου Λίβωνος

[1] κατείργαστο Bk., κατειργάσατο LM.

departed from Italy and took refuge with Antony, was Tiberius Claudius Nero. He had been in charge of a garrison in Campania, and when Caesar's party got the upper hand, he withdrew with his wife Livia Drusilla and with his son Tiberius Claudius Nero. This, again, was one of the strangest whims of fate; for this Livia, who then fled from Caesar, later on was married to him, and this Tiberius, who then took flight with his parents, succeeded Caesar in the office of emperor.

B.C. 40

This, however, occurred later. At the time in question the citizens of Rome resumed the garb of peace, which they had laid aside without any decree, under compulsion from the people; they gave themselves up to merry-making, conveyed Caesar in his triumphal dress into the city and honoured him with a laurel crown, giving him also the right to wear it on every occasion on which it was the custom of those celebrating triumphs to use it. And after Italy had been subdued and the Ionian Gulf cleared (for Domitius, despairing of ever again being able to dominate it unsupported, had sailed away to Antony), Caesar proceeded to make preparations to set out against Sextus. When, however, he learned the power of this foe and that he had been in communication with Antony through Antony's mother and through envoys, he feared that he might become embroiled with both at once; therefore, since he preferred Sextus as more trustworthy, or perhaps as stronger, than Antony, he sent him his mother Mucia and married the sister of Sextus' father-in-law, Lucius Scribonius Libo,[1] in

[1] Scribonia was much older than Augustus and had already been married twice. For her divorce in the following year see chap. 34 *infra*.

ἀδελφὴν ἔγημεν, εἴ πως ἔκ τε τῆς εὐεργεσίας καὶ ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας φίλον αὐτὸν ποιήσαιτο.

17 Ὁ γὰρ Σέξτος, ὡς τότε ἐκ τῆς Ἰβηρίας κατὰ τὰς πρὸς τὸν Λέπιδον συνθήκας ἀπηλλάγη καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ναύαρχος οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον κατέστη, τῆς μὲν ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος παρελύθη, τοῦ δὲ δὴ ναυτικοῦ καὶ ὣς ἀντεχόμενος ἐτόλμησε μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν πλεῦσαι, ἐπικρατούντων δὲ ἤδη 2 τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Καίσαρα αὐτῆς, μαθὼν ὅτι ἐν τοῖς σφαγεῦσι τοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἑάλωκε, τῆς μὲν ἠπείρου ἀπέσχετο, κατὰ δὲ δὴ τὰς νήσους περιπλέων τά τε γιγνόμενα ἐκαραδόκει καὶ τὴν τροφὴν οὐκ ἐξ ἀδικημάτων ἐπορίζετο· ἅτε γὰρ μὴ μετεσχηκὼς τοῦ φόνου, καὶ ὑπ᾿ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Καί-3 σαρος ἤλπιζε καταχθήσεσθαι. ἐπεὶ μέντοι καὶ ἐν τῷ λευκώματι τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐξετέθη καὶ ἔγνω καὶ ἐπ᾿ αὐτῷ ἐπικεκηρυγμένον, ἀπέγνω τε τὴν δι᾿ αὐτοῦ κάθοδον καὶ πρὸς πόλεμον ἡτοιμάζετο· ναυπηγίαν τε γὰρ τριήρων ἐποιεῖτο καὶ τοὺς αὐτομολοῦντας ἐδέχετο, τούς τε καταποντιστὰς προσηταιρίζετο καὶ τοὺς ἐκπίπτοντας ὑπελάμ-4 βανε. κἀκ τούτων ἐν[1] ὀλίγῳ τε ἰσχυρὸς ἐγένετο καὶ τῆς πρὸς τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ θαλάσσης ἐκράτησεν, ἔς τε τοὺς λιμένας αὐτῆς ἀπέβαινε καὶ τὰ πλοῖα ἀπέσπα, ἁρπαγάς τε ἐποιεῖτο. προχωρούντων δὲ αὐτῷ τῶν πραγμάτων ὥστε καὶ στρατιώτας καὶ χρήματα ἀπ᾿ αὐτῶν πορίζειν, ἐς Σικελίαν ἔπλευσε, καὶ Μύλας μὲν τήν τε Τυνδαρίδα[2] ἀμαχεὶ κατέσχε, τῆς δὲ Μεσσήνης ὑπὸ Πομπηίου Βιθυνικοῦ τοῦ τότε τῆς Σικελίας ἄρχοντος ἀπε-5 κρούσθη. οὐ μέντοι καὶ παντελῶς αὐτῆς ἀπέστη,

[1] ἐν Zon., οὐκ LM. [2] Τυνδαρίδα Xyl., τυρρήνιδα LM.

the hope that by this favour and by this relationship he might make him a friend. B.C. 40

Sextus, it should be explained, after leaving Spain at the time already referred to [1] in accordance with his compact with Lepidus, had been appointed admiral a little later; and although he had been removed from his office by Caesar, he nevertheless held on to his fleet and made bold to sail to Italy. But when Caesar's adherents had now secured control of the country and he learned that he had been convicted as one of the assassins of Caesar's father, he kept away from the mainland, but sailed about among the islands, maintaining a sharp watch on what was going on and supplying himself with food without resort to crimes; for inasmuch as he had not taken part in the murder, he expected to be restored by Caesar himself. When, however, his name actually was posted on the tablet and he knew that the edict of proscription was in force against him also, he despaired of being restored by Caesar and made ready for war. He proceeded to build triremes, receive the deserters, win the support of the pirates, and take the exiles under his protection. By these means he soon grew powerful and became master of the sea off Italy, so that he made descents upon its harbours, towed away the vessels, and engaged in pillage. As matters went well with him and his activity supplied him with soldiers and money, he sailed to Sicily and seized Mylae and Tyndaris without effort, though he was repulsed from Messana by Pompeius Bithynicus, then governor of Sicily. Nevertheless he did not retire altogether from

[1] Cf. xlv. 10, 6.

ἀλλὰ τήν τε χώραν κατατρέχων καὶ τὴν ἐσκομιδὴν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων κωλύων, τῶν τε προσβοηθησάντων σφίσι τοὺς μὲν φόβῳ μὴ καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ πάθωσι, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐξ ἐνέδρας τινὸς κακώσει προσθέμενος, τόν τε ταμίαν[1] σὺν τοῖς χρήμασι προσεποιήσατο, καὶ τέλος καὶ τὴν Μεσσήνην τόν τε Βιθυνικὸν ὡς καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἴσης οἱ ἄρξοντα καθ' 6 ὁμολογίαν ἔλαβε. καὶ τοῦτον μὲν οὐδὲν τότε γε κακὸν εἰργάσατο, ἐκείνους δὲ τά τε ὅπλα καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἀφείλετο. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τάς τε Συρακούσας[2] καὶ ἄλλας τινὰς πόλεις ὑπηγάγετο, καὶ στρατιώτας τε ἀπ' αὐτῶν πλείους καὶ ναυτικὸν ἰσχυρότατον συνήγαγε· καί τινα αὐτῷ δύναμιν καὶ Κύιντος Κορνουφίκιος ἐκ τῆς Ἀφρικῆς ἔπεμψε.

18 Καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως ηὔξετο, Καῖσαρ δὲ τέως μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἐπιστροφὴν αὐτοῦ τῇ τε ἐκείνου καταφρονήσει καὶ τῇ τῶν ἐν χερσὶν ἀσχολίᾳ ἐποιήσατο· ἐπεὶ δ' ὑπό τε τοῦ λιμοῦ φθορὰ πολλὴ ἐν τῷ ἄστει ἐγένετο καὶ ὁ Σέξτος καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπείρασεν, οὕτω δὴ ναυτικόν τέ τι κατασκευάζεσθαι ἤρξατο, καὶ τὸν Ῥοῦφον τὸν Σαλουιδιῆνον 2 σὺν δυνάμει πολλῇ ἐς Ῥήγιον προέπεμψε. καὶ ὃς ἐκ μὲν[3] τῆς Ἰταλίας τὸν Σέξτον ἀπεώσατο, ἀναχωρήσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν δερμάτινα πλοῖα κατὰ τοὺς ἐν τῷ ὠκεανῷ πλέοντας ἐκποιῆσαι ἐπεχείρησεν, ἔνδοθεν μὲν ῥάβδοις αὐτὰ κούφαις διαλαμβάνων, ἔξωθεν δὲ βοὸς δέρμα ὠμὸν ἐς ἀσπίδος κυκλοτεροῦς τρόπον περιτείνων.

[1] ταμίαν R. Steph., ταμίειαν LM (and so generally).
[2] Συρακούσας R. Steph., συρακούσσας LM.
[3] ἐκ μὲν Bk., μὲν ἐκ LM.

the island, but overran the country, prevented the importation of provisions, and won over those who brought help to the Sicilians by filling some with fear of suffering a similar fate and by laying ambushes for others and injuring them; he also attached to himself the quaestor, securing the funds he had, and finally got possession of Messana and also Bithynicus under an agreement that the latter should enjoy equal authority with him. Bithynicus he did not harm at the time; but from the citizens he took away their arms and money. His next step was to win over Syracuse and some other cities, from which he gathered more soldiers and got together a very strong fleet. Quintus Cornificius also sent him a considerable force from Africa. B.C. 40

While Sextus was thus growing stronger, Caesar for a time took no notice of him, both because he despised him and because the business in hand kept him occupied. But when, owing to the famine, many deaths occurred in the city, and Sextus made an attempt on Italy also, Caesar at last began to have a fleet equipped and sent Salvidienus Rufus ahead with a large force to Rhegium. Rufus managed to repel Sextus from Italy, and when Sextus retired to Sicily, undertook to manufacture boats of leather, similar to those used on the ocean.[1] He made a framework of light rods for the interior and stretched over them an uncured ox-hide after the manner of a circular shield. When he got himself laughed

[1] Dio probably has particular reference to the small boats used by the Britons. Cf. Caesar *B.C.* i. 54, Pliny, *N.H.* iv. 16, 104 and vii. 56, 206.

3 ὡς δὲ γέλωτά τε ὠφλίσκανεν καὶ κινδυνεύσειν, εἰ πειραθείη αὐτοῖς διὰ τοῦ πορθμοῦ χρήσασθαι, ἐπίστευσεν, ἐκείνων μὲν ἀφεῖτο, τῷ δὲ δὴ ναυτικῷ τῷ κατασκευασθέντι τε καὶ ἐλθόντι ἐπετόλμησε μὲν διαπλεῦσαι, οὐκ ἠδυνήθη δέ· τό τε γὰρ πλῆθος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν νεῶν αὐτοῦ πολὺ τῆς τῶν ἐναντίων καὶ ἐμπειρίας καὶ τόλμης ἠλαττώθη.
4 αὐτόπτης οὖν τῆς ναυμαχίας ὁ Καῖσαρ γενόμενος (κατὰ γὰρ τὴν στρατείαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ταῦθ' οὕτως ἐπράχθη) χαλεπῶς ἤνεγκε, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι τότε πρῶτον συμβαλὼν ἥττητο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κατὰ μὲν τὸ ἰσχυρὸν οὐκέτι, καίτοι τοῦ πλείονος ναυτικοῦ σωθέντος οἱ, περαιωθῆναι
5 ἐτόλμησε· λάθρᾳ δὲ πολλάκις ἐπιχειρήσας ὡς πάντως, ἂν τῆς νήσου ἐπιβῇ, πολὺ τῷ πεζῷ κρατήσων, ἔπειθ' ὡς οὐδέν, ἅτε καὶ ἰσχυρᾶς πανταχόθεν φυλακῆς αὐτοῦ οὔσης, ἐπέραινε, τῇ μὲν Σικελίᾳ ἄλλους τινὰς ἐφεδρεύειν προσέταξεν, αὐτὸς δὲ πρός τε τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἀφίκετο, κἀντεῦθεν τῇ τῶν νεῶν βοηθείᾳ τὸν Ἰόνιον διέβαλε.

19 Γενομένου δὲ τούτου τήν τε νῆσον πᾶσαν ὁ Σέξτος κατέσχε, καὶ τὸν Βιθυνικὸν ὡς καὶ ἐπιβουλεύσαντα αὐτῷ ἀπέκτεινε, θέας τε ἐπινικίους ἤγαγε, καὶ ναυμαχίαν τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἐν τῷ πορθμῷ παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ Ῥήγιον, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους ὁρᾶν, ἐποίησε, πλοιάριά τινα ξύλινα πρὸς ἕτερα βύρσινα ἐς τὸν τοῦ Ῥούφου κατάγε-
2 λων συμβαλών. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ναῦς τε πλείους ἐναυπηγήσατο καὶ τῆς πέριξ θαλάσσης ἐκράτησε, δόξαν τέ τινα καὶ φρόνημα ὡς καὶ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος παῖς ὤν, ὅτι πάσης ποτὲ ὁ πατὴρ

at and decided that it would be dangerous for him to try to use them in crossing the strait, he abandoned them and ventured to undertake the passage with the fleet that had been got ready and had since arrived; but it proved impossible for him to do so, since the superior number and size of his ships were far from being a match for the skill and daring of the enemy. Now Caesar was an eye-witness of the battles, inasmuch as these events took place when he was setting out on his expedition into Macedonia, and he was filled with chagrin, particularly because this was the first time he had been defeated in any encounter. For this reason, although the major part of his fleet had been preserved, he did not again venture to cross over by main force, but he made many attempts to do so secretly, feeling that if he could once set foot on the island he would certainly be decidedly superior with his infantry. After a time, however, finding that he was accomplishing nothing because of the vigilant guard maintained on every side, he ordered others to keep a watch on Sicily and himself went to meet Antony at Brundisium, whence, reinforced by his main fleet, he crossed the Ionian Gulf. B.C. 40

After this Sextus occupied the whole of the island and put Bithynicus to death on the charge that he had plotted against him. He also produced triumphal spectacles and held a naval battle of the captives in the strait close to Rhegium itself,—so that his opponents could look on,—causing small wooden boats to contend with others of leather in mockery of Rufus. After this he built more ships and dominated the sea round about; and he assumed a certain additional glory and pride by representing himself to be the son of Neptune, since his father had once ruled the

αὐτοῦ τῆς θαλάσσης ἦρξε, προσέθετο. ταῦτα μέν, ἕως ἔτι τά τε τοῦ Κασσίου καὶ τὰ τοῦ Βρού-
3 του συνειστήκει, ἔπραξε· φθαρέντων δὲ ἐκείνων ἄλλοι τε πρὸς αὐτὸν συγκατέφυγον καὶ ὁ Στάιος ὁ Λούκιος. καὶ αὐτὸν τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἀσμένως ἐδέξατο (καὶ γὰρ τὴν δύναμιν ἧς ἦρχεν ἐπηγάγετο), ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ δραστήριον καὶ φρονηματώδη ἰδὼν ὄντα ἀπέκτεινεν, ἔγκλημα αὐτῷ προδοσίας
4 ἐπενεγκών. κἀκ τούτου τό τε ἐκείνου ναυτικὸν καὶ τὸ τῶν δούλων τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀφικνουμένων πλῆθος προσλαβὼν πάμπολυ ηὐξήθη· τοσοῦτοι γὰρ δὴ ηὐτομόλουν ὥστε καὶ τὰς ἀειπαρθένους καθ' ἱερῶν εὔξασθαι ἐπισχεθῆναί σφων τὰς αὐτομολίας.

20 Διά τε οὖν ταῦτα καὶ διὰ τὸ τοὺς φεύγοντας αὐτὸν ὑποδέχεσθαι τήν τε τοῦ Ἀντωνίου φιλίαν πράττειν καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας πολλὰ πορθεῖν, καταλλαγῆναί οἱ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπεθύμησε· διαμαρτὼν δὲ τούτου ἐκείνῳ μὲν Μᾶρκον Οὐιψάνιον Ἀγρίππαν πολεμῆσαι ἐκέλευσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς Γαλατίαν
2 ἀπῆρε. μαθὼν οὖν τοῦτο ὁ Σέξτος ἐτήρησε τὸν Ἀγρίππαν περὶ τὰ Ἀπολλώνια ἔχοντα· ἐστρατήγει γάρ, καὶ ἄλλα τε πολλά, ἅτε καὶ πάνυ φίλος ὢν τῷ Καίσαρι, ἐλαμπρύνατο, καὶ τὴν ἱπποδρομίαν ἐπὶ δύο ἡμέρας ἐποίησε, τῇ τε Τροίᾳ καλουμένῃ διὰ τῶν εὐγενῶν παίδων ἐγαυρώθη. ταῦτ' οὖν αὐτοῦ πράττοντος ἐπεραιώθη τε ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ ἐνέμεινεν ἐν αὐτῇ λεηλατῶν, μέχρις οὗ ἐκεῖνος ἀφίκετο· τότε γὰρ φρουρὰν ἐν χωρίοις
3 τισὶ καταλιπὼν ἀνέπλευσεν. ὁ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ τὴν Γαλατίαν πρότερον μὲν δι' ἑτέρων, ὥσπερ

whole sea. Thus he fared as long as the forces of Cassius and Brutus held together; but when those men had perished, Lucius Staius and others took refuge with him. He was at first glad to receive him, for he brought with him the force he commanded; but later, observing that he was an active and high-spirited man, he put him to death on a charge of treachery. Thus reinforced by the fleet of Staius and also by the multitude of slaves who kept arriving from Italy, he gained tremendous strength; in fact, so many persons deserted that the Vestal Virgins prayed over the sacrifices that their desertions might be checked.

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For these reasons, and because Sextus was harbouring the exiles, cultivating the friendship of Antony, and plundering a great portion of Italy, Caesar desired to become reconciled with him; but when he failed of that, he ordered Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa to wage war against him, and himself set out for Gaul. However, when Sextus learned of this, he waited until Agrippa was busy with the Ludi Apollinares; for he was praetor at the time, and was not only giving himself airs in various other ways on the strength of his being an intimate friend of Caesar, but also in particular gave a two-days' celebration of the Circensian games and prided himself upon his production of the game called "Troy," which was performed by the boys of the nobility. Now while he was thus occupied, Sextus crossed over into Italy and remained there, carrying on marauding expeditions, until Agrippa arrived; then he left a garrison at certain points and sailed back again. As for Caesar, he had formerly tried, as I have related,[1] to get possession of Gaul

[1] Cf. chap. 10.

εἴρηται, καταλαβεῖν ἐπεχείρησε, μὴ δυνηθεὶς δὲ διά τε τὸν Καλῆνον καὶ διὰ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς τὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου πράττοντας αὐτὸς τότε κατέσχε, τόν τε Καλῆνον τεθνηκότα νόσῳ εὑρὼν καὶ τὸ 4 στράτευμα αὐτοῦ ἀκοντὶ προσθέμενος. κἂν[1] τούτῳ τὸν Λέπιδον ἀγανακτοῦντα τῇ[2] τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐπιβαλλούσης αὐτῷ στερήσει ἰδὼν ἐς τὴν Ἀφρικὴν ἔπεμψεν, ἵν' ὡς παρ' ἑαυτοῦ μόνου αὐτήν, ἀλλ' οὐ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου λαβὼν οἰκειότερόν οἱ προσφέρηται.

21 Δύο μὲν δὴ ἔθνη τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ ἐκείνῃ, ὥσπερ εἶπον, ἦν· ἦρχον δὲ πρὸ τῆς τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν συνωμοσίας τοῦ μὲν Νομαδικοῦ Τίτος Σέξτιος,[3] τοῦ δὲ ἑτέρου ὅ τε Κορνουφίκιος καὶ Δέκιμος Λαίλιος, ὁ μὲν τὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου, οἱ 2 δὲ[4] τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος φρονοῦντες. καὶ τέως μὲν ὁ Σέξτιος ἀνέμενεν[5] ὡς καὶ ἐκείνων[6] (πολὺ γὰρ πλείω δύναμιν εἶχον) ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ ἐσβαλούντων, καὶ παρεσκευάζετο ὡς καὶ ἐνταῦθα αὐτοὺς ἀμυνούμενος· ἐπεὶ δὲ διέμελλον, κατεφρόνησέ τε αὐτῶν, καὶ προσεπαρθεὶς ὑπό τε βοὸς φθεγξαμένης, ὥς φασιν, ἀνθρωπίνῃ φωνῇ καὶ κε- 3 λευσάσης αὐτῷ τῶν προκειμένων ἔχεσθαι, καὶ ἐξ ἐνυπνίου δι' οὗ ταῦρός τις κατορωρυγμένος ἐν τῇ πόλει Τούκκῃ παρῃνεκέναι οἱ ἔδοξε τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ἀνελέσθαι[7] καὶ ἐπὶ κάμακος, ὡς καὶ ἐκ τούτου νικήσοντι, περιφέρειν, οὐκ ἐμέλλησεν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι τὸν ταῦρον ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ ἐν ᾧ τὸ

[1] κἂν Leuncl., καὶ LM. [2] τῇ supplied by R. Steph.
[3] Σέξτιος Bk., σέξστιος LM (so regularly).
[4] οἱ δὲ Xyl., ὁ δὲ LM. [5] ἀνέμενεν M, ἀνέμεινεν L.
[6] ἐκείνων Xyl., ἔκ τινων LM.
[7] ἀνελέσθαι Xyl., ἀμελεῖσθαι LM.

through various agents, but had been unable on account of Calenus and the others who supported Antony's cause; but he now occupied it in person, when he discovered that Calenus had fallen ill and died, and when he had acquired his army without difficulty. Meanwhile, seeing that Lepidus was vexed at being deprived of the province that belonged to him, he sent him to Africa, desiring that he should receive the province as a gift from himself alone, and not from Antony also, and should thus become more closely attached to him. B.C. 40

The Romans had two provinces in that part of Africa, as I have remarked[1]; the governors, before the league of the triumvirs, were Titus Sextius over the Numidian country and Cornificius with Decimus Laelius over the other, the first-named being friendly to Antony and the other two to Caesar. For a time Sextius waited, expecting that the others, who had a far larger force, would invade his domain, and he was preparing to withstand them there. But when they delayed he began to despise them; and he was further elated when a cow spoke with a human voice, as they say, and bade him lay hold of the task before him, and when he had a dream in which a bull that had been buried in the city of Tucca seemed to urge him to dig up its head and carry it about on a pole, intimating that by this means he should conquer. Without hesitation, then, especially when he found the bull at the place where the dream said it was, he

[1] Cf. xliii. 9, 4.

ἐνύπνιον εἶναι ἔφη εὗρεν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν
4 Ἀφρικὴν προενέβαλε. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τό τε Ἀδρυμητον καὶ ἄλλα ἄττα χωρία, ἀνελπίστοις σφίσι προσπεσών, κατέσχεν· ἔπειτα δὲ ἀφυλάκτως δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτ' ἔχων ἐλοχίσθη τε ὑπὸ τοῦ ταμίου, καὶ πολὺ μέρος τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀποβαλὼν ἐς τὴν Νουμιδίαν ἀνεχώρησε. καὶ ἔτυχε γὰρ ἄνευ τῆς τοῦ ταύρου κεφαλῆς δυστυχήσας, τήν τε ἧτταν ἐς τοῦτο ἀνέφερε, καὶ παρεσκευά-
5 ζετο ὡς καὶ αὖθις στρατεύσων. κἂν τούτῳ φθάσαντες οἱ ἐναντίοι ἀντεσέβαλον ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι Κίρταν ἐπολιόρκουν, ὁ δὲ δὴ ταμίας ἐπ' ἐκεῖνον σὺν τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ὥρμησε, καί τισιν ἱππομαχίαις κρατήσας τὸν συνταμίαν προσεποιήσατο. πραχθέντων δὲ τούτων ὁ Σέξτιος νεαλῆ τινα ἐπικουρίαν προσλαβὼν ἀνεκινδύνευσε, καὶ τόν τε ταμίαν ἀντενίκησε καὶ τὸν Λαίλιον κατατρέχοντα τὴν χώραν ἐς τὸ ἔρυμα
6 κατέκλεισε. τόν τε Κορνουφίκιον ἐπαμυνοῦντα ἀπατήσας[1] ὡς καὶ ἑαλωκότος ἐκείνου καὶ ἐς ἀθυμίαν ἐμβαλὼν ἥττησε, καὶ αὐτόν τε ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τὸν Λαίλιον ἐπεξελθόντα ὡς καὶ κατὰ νώτου σφίσι προσπεσούμενον.

22 Πράξας δὲ ταῦτα τήν τε Ἀφρικὴν κατέσχε καὶ ἑκατέρου τοῦ ἔθνους ἀδεῶς ἦρχε, μέχρις οὗ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκ τῶν συνθηκῶν τῶν πρός τε τὸν Ἀντώνιον καὶ τὸν Λέπιδόν οἱ γενομένων τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῶν λαβὼν Γάιόν σφισι Φουφίκιον Φάγγωνα προσέταξε· τότε γὰρ ἑκὼν δὴ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐξέστη.
2 ὡς μέντοι ἥ τε μάχη ἡ κατὰ τὸν Βροῦτον τόν τε Κάσσιον ἐγένετο, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ὅ τε Ἀντώνιος τά

[1] ἀπατήσας Xyl., ἀπαντήσας LM.

took the initiative by invading Africa. At the outset he occupied Hadrumetum and some few other places, which were taken by surprise at his sudden assault; but later, while off his guard because of this very success, he was ambushed by the quaestor of Cornificius, lost a large portion of his army, and withdrew into Numidia. And since he chanced to meet with this reverse when he was without the bull's head, he ascribed his defeat to that fact and made preparations to take the field again. Meanwhile his opponents anticipated him by invading his province, and while the others were besieging Cirta, the quaestor of Cornificius, with the cavalry, proceeded against him, overcame him in a few cavalry battles, and won over Sextius' quaestor. After these experiences Sextius secured some fresh reinforcements, risked battle again, conquered the quaestor in his turn, and shut up Laelius, who was overrunning the country, within his fortifications. He deceived Cornificius, who was intending to come to the defence of his colleague, making him believe that Laelius had been captured, and after thus throwing him into a state of dejection defeated him; and he not only slew Cornificius in the battle, but also Laelius, who made a sally with the intention of taking his enemy in the rear. B.C. 40

After this achievement Sextius occupied Africa and governed both provinces in security, until Caesar, according to the compact made by him with Antony and Lepidus, took over the command of these provinces and put Gaius Fuficius Fango in charge of them; then, indeed, Sextius voluntarily gave up the provinces. When, however, the battle with Brutus and Cassius had been fought, and Caesar and Antony

τε ἄλλα ἀνεδάσαντο, καὶ τῆς Λιβύης Καῖσαρ μὲν τὴν Νουμιδίαν Ἀντώνιος δὲ τὴν Ἀφρικὴν ἔλαβεν (ὁ γὰρ Λέπιδος ἐν αὐτοῖς ὀνόματι[1] μόνον, ὥσπερ εἶπον, ἦρχε, καὶ πολλάκις γε οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς
3 γράμμασι προσενεγράφετο), ὡς οὖν ταῦτά τε οὕτως ἐγένετο καὶ ἡ Φουλουία τὴν Ἀφρικὴν αὐτῷ παραλαβεῖν ἐκέλευσεν (ἐν γὰρ τῇ Λιβύῃ καὶ τότε ἔτι, πρόφασιν μὲν διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα, ἔργῳ δὲ εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι νεωτερισθήσοιτό τι, ἐνδιέτριψε), τὸν μὲν Φάγγωνα οὐκ ἔπεισε τῆς χώρας ἐκστῆναι, τοὺς δὲ ἐπιχωρίους ἀχθομένους οἱ (ἔν τε γὰρ τῷ μισθοφορικῷ ἐστράτευτο· πολλοὶ γὰρ καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον, ὥσπερ εἴρηταί μοι, κατελελέχατο·[2] καὶ κακῶς αὐτῶν ἦρχε) προσηταιρίσατο.
4 γενομένου δὲ τούτου ὁ Φάγγων ἐς τὴν Νουμιδίαν ἀνεχώρησε, καὶ τούς τε Κιρτησίους καταφρονήσαντας αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὰ παρόντα κακῶς μετεχειρισατο, καὶ Ἀραβίωνά τινα δυναστεύοντα ἐν τοῖς προσοικοῦσί σφισι βαρβάροις, καὶ πρότερον μὲν τῷ Λαιλίῳ συναράμενον, ὕστερον δὲ τῷ Σεξτίῳ προσθέμενον, ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς,
5 ἐπειδή οἱ μὴ ἠθέλησε συμμαχῆσαι. καταφυγόντα τε αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν Σέξτιον ἐξαιτήσας καὶ μὴ λαβὼν ὀργήν τε ἐποιήσατο, καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀφρικὴν ἐμβαλὼν τῆς μὲν χώρας ἐκάκωσεν, ἀντιστρατοπεδευσαμένου δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ Σεξτίου μάχαις βραχείαις μὲν πολλαῖς δ' οὖν ἡττήθη, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ'
6 ἐς τὴν Νουμιδίαν αὖθις ἀνεκομίσθη. καὶ αὐτῷ ὁ Σέξτιος ἀντεπελθὼν ἐλπίδα μὲν ὡς καὶ διὰ βραχέος τῇ τοῦ Ἀραβίωνος μάλιστα ἱππείᾳ νι-

[1] αὐτοῖς ὀνόματι Polak, τοῖς ὀνόμασι LM.
[2] κατελελέχατο Xyl., κατελελόχατο LM.

had redistributed the world, Caesar taking Numidia for his share of Libya,[1] and Antony Africa,—for Lepidus, as I have stated,[2] ruled with them only in name, and often was not recorded in the documents even to this extent,—when, I say, this had occurred, Fulvia bade Sextius resume his rule of Africa. He was at this time still lingering in Libya, making the winter season his plea, but in reality knowing full well that there would be some kind of revolution. As he could not persuade Fango to retire from the country, he associated himself with the natives, who detested Fango; for he had served in the mercenary force—many of whose members, as has been stated in my narrative,[3] had actually been elected to the senate—and was ruling the natives badly. At this turn of affairs Fango retired into Numidia, where he ill-treated the people of Cirta because they despised him in view of the present circumstances. He also expelled from his kingdom a certain Arabio, a prince among the neighbouring barbarians, who had first helped Laelius and had later attached himself to Sextius; this he did because Arabio refused to make an alliance with him. When the prince fled to Sextius, Fango demanded his surrender, and upon being refused he grew angry, invaded Africa, and ravaged a part of the country; but when Sextius took the field against him, he was defeated in slight but numerous engagements and consequently retired again into Numidia. Sextius went after him and had hopes of soon vanquishing him, especially with the aid of Arabio's horse, but he became suspicious

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[1] Libya is Dio's general term for the African coast. Cf. xliii. 9, 4.

[2] In chap. 1.

[3] In xliii. 47, 3; cf. also xlviii. 34, 4, lii. 42, 1.

κήσων ἔσχεν, ὑποτοπήσας δέ τι καὶ δολοφονήσας ἐκεῖνον οὐδὲν ἔτι τότε γε[1] *ἔπραξεν· οἱ γὰρ ἱππῆς χαλεπῶς ἐπὶ τῷ ὀλέθρῳ αὐτοῦ σχόντες ἐγκατέλιπον αὐτόν, καὶ οἵ γε πλείους*[2] *σφῶν τὰ τοῦ* 23 *Φάγγωνος ἀνθείλοντο. ἀλλ' ἐν μὲν τῷ παρόντι φιλίαν, ὡς καὶ τῆς προφάσεώς σφισι τοῦ πολέμου ὑπεξῃρημένης, συνέθεντο· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τηρήσας ὁ Φάγγων τὸν Σέξτιον ἀδεῶς ὑπὸ τῶν σπονδῶν* 2 *ἔχοντα ἐς τὴν Ἀφρικὴν ἐσέβαλε. κἀνταῦθα συμμίξαντες ἀλλήλοις τὸ μὲν πρῶτον καὶ ἐνίκησαν ἀμφότεροι καὶ ἡττήθησαν (ὁ μὲν γὰρ τῷ ἱππικῷ τῷ Νομαδικῷ, ὁ δὲ τῇ ἀσπίδι τῇ πολιτικῇ ἐκράτησεν), ὥστε καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα αὐτοὺς τὰ ἀλλήλων διαρπάσαι, μηδὲν μηδετέρους περὶ τῶν συ-* 3 *στρατιωτῶν εἰδότας· ὡς δ' ἐπαναχωροῦντες ᾔσθοντο τὸ γεγονός, ἐς χεῖρας αὖθις ἦλθον, καὶ τροπῆς τῶν Νομάδων γενομένης ὁ Φάγγων τότε μὲν ἐς τὰ ὄρη ἀνέφυγε, τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς βουβαλίδων διαδραμουσῶν ᾠήθη τε τὴν πολεμίαν ἵππον παρ-* 4 *εῖναι καὶ ἑαυτὸν κατεχρήσατο. καὶ οὕτως ὁ Σέξτιος*[3] *τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἀπόνως ἔλαβε, Ζάμην δὲ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀντισχοῦσαν λιμῷ κατεστρέψατο. κἀκ τουτου ἀμφοτερων αὖθις τῶν ἐθνῶν ἡγεῖτο,* 5 *μέχρις οὗ ὁ Λέπιδος ἐπέμφθη· ἐκείνῳ γάρ, ὡς καὶ τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ συνδοκοῦν, ἢ καὶ ὅτι ταῖς δυνάμεσι πολὺ αὐτοῦ ἠλαττοῦτο, οὐδὲν ἀντέπραξεν, ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ ἑαυτοῦ χάριν τὴν ἀνάγκην τιθέμενος ἡσύχαζε.*[4] *καὶ οὕτως ὁ Λέπιδος ἀμφότερα τὰ ἔθνη κατέσχε.*

24 *Ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἐγένετο, κατὰ δὲ δὴ τοὺς*

[1] *γε* L, *γ'* M. [2] *πλείους* R. Steph., *πλείου* LM.
[3] *Σέξτιος* Xyl., *σέξστος* LM.
[4] *ἡσύχαζε* H. Steph., *ἡσύχασε* LM.

of Arabio and treacherously murdered him, after which he accomplished nothing further at that time, for the cavalry, enraged at Arabio's death, left Sextius in the lurch and most of them took the side of Fango. For the time being Sextius and Fango concluded an alliance, agreeing that the cause for war between them had been removed; later, however, Fango waited until Sextius was feeling secure on account of the truce and then invaded Africa. Thereupon they joined battle with each other, and at first both sides were victorious and also beaten; for Fango was superior in his Numidian cavalry and Sextius in his citizen infantry, so that they plundered each other's camps without the men on either side knowing what fate had befallen their comrades. Then when they retired and perceived what had happened, they came to blows again, the Numidians were routed, and Fango escaped for the moment into the mountains; but during the night some hartbeestes ran past, and, thinking that the enemy's cavalry were at hand, he committed suicide. Thus Sextius gained possession of all the other districts without trouble, and subdued by famine Zama, which held out for a long time. Thereafter he governed both the provinces again until Lepidus was sent. Against him he took no measures, either because he thought this policy had the approval of Antony, or because he was by no means so strong as Lepidus in troops; instead, he remained quiet, acting as if the inevitable were a favour on his own part to Lepidus. In this way Lepidus gained possession of both provinces.

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So much for these events. During this same

αὐτοὺς τούτους χρόνους, μετὰ τὴν μάχην τὴν πρὸς τοῖς Φιλίπποις συμβᾶσαν, ὁ Ἀντώνιος ὁ Μᾶρκος ἔς τε τὴν Ἀσίαν τὴν ἤπειρον ἦλθε, κἀνταῦθα τὰ μὲν αὐτὸς περιιών,[1] ἐς δὲ τὰ ἄλλους πέμπων, τάς τε πόλεις ἠργυρολόγει καὶ τὰς δυνα-
2 στείας ἐπίπρασκε. κἂν τούτῳ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἐν Κιλικίᾳ οἱ ὀφθείσης ἐρασθεὶς[2] οὐκέτ' οὐδεμίαν τοῦ καλοῦ φροντίδα ἐποιήσατο, ἀλλὰ τῇ τε Αἰγυπτίᾳ ἐδούλευε καὶ τῷ ἐκείνης ἔρωτι ἐσχόλαζε. καὶ ἄλλα τε διὰ τοῦτο πολλὰ καὶ ἄτοπα ἔπραξε, καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν
3 Ἐφέσῳ Ἀρτεμισίου ἀποσπάσας ἀπέκτεινε. καὶ τέλος Πλάγκον μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ τῷ ἔθνει, Σάξαν δὲ ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ καταλιπὼν ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἀπῆρεν. ὅθενπερ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἄλλα τε ταραχώδη πολλὰ ἐπεγένετο, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς Ἀραδίους τοὺς νησιώτας μήθ' ὑπακοῦσαί τι τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς σφᾶς ἐπὶ χρήματα πεμφθεῖσι, καὶ προσέτι καὶ φθεῖραί τινας αὐτῶν, καὶ οἱ Πάρθοι καὶ πρὶν
4 κινούμενοι, τότε δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπέθεντο. ἦγον δὲ αὐτοὺς Λαβιῆνος καὶ Πάκορος, οὗτος μὲν Ὀρώδου τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐκεῖνος δὲ τοῦ Λαβιήνου τοῦ Τίτου[3] παῖς ὤν. ἦλθε δὲ ὧδε ἐς τοὺς Πάρθους, καὶ τάδε σὺν τῷ Πακόρῳ ἔπραξεν.
5 ἐτύγχανε μὲν τῷ τε Κασσίῳ καὶ τῷ Βρούτῳ συμμαχῶν, πεμφθεὶς δὲ πρὸς τὸν Ὀρώδην πρὸ τῆς μάχης ὅπως τινὰ βοήθειαν λάβῃ, συχνὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ χρόνον διετρίβη περιορωμένου καὶ ὀκνοῦντος[4] μὲν συνθέσθαι οἱ, δεδιότος δὲ ἀπαρνή-

[1] περιιών Zon., περιὼν LM.
[2] ἐρασθεὶς cod. Peir., ἐρασθείσης LM.
[3] Τίτου R. Steph., τιτίου LM.
[4] καὶ ὀκνοῦντος cod. Peir., κατοκνοῦντος LM.

period, following the battle at Philippi, Mark Antony came to the mainland of Asia, where he levied contributions upon the cities and sold the positions of authority; some of the districts he visited in person and to others he sent agents. Meanwhile he fell in love with Cleopatra, whom he had seen in Cilicia, and thereafter gave not a thought to honour but became the Egyptian woman's slave and devoted his time to his passion for her. This caused him to do many outrageous things, and in particular to drag her brothers from the temple of Artemis at Ephesus and put them to death.[1] And finally he left Plancus in the province of Asia and Saxa in Syria and departed for Egypt. This action was chiefly responsible for many disturbances: the inhabitants of the island of Arados paid no heed to the agents sent them by him to secure money, and even went so far as to kill some of them, and the Parthians, who had previously been active, now assailed the Romans more than ever. Their leaders were Labienus and Pacorus, the latter being a son of King Orodes and the former a son of Titus Labienus. The manner of Labienus' coming among the Parthians, and what he did in conjunction with Pacorus, was as follows. He was an ally of Brutus and Cassius, and having before the battle been sent to Orodes to secure some reinforcements, was detained by him a long time while the king was waiting the turn of events and hesitating to join forces with him, yet fearing to

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[1] According to our other sources it was her sister Arsinoe who was dragged from a sanctuary to her death, after her young brother had been poisoned by Cleopatra. And Dio himself has already implied (xlii. 43, 4) that there was but one brother living after Caesar's victory.

6 σασθαι. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ὡς ἥ τε ἀγγελία τῆς ἥττης ἀφίκετο καὶ οἱ κρατήσαντες ἐδόκουν μηδενὸς τῶν ἀντιπολεμησάντων σφίσι φείσεσθαι,[1] κατέμεινε παρὰ τοῖς βαρβάροις, τὸν μετ' αὐτῶν βίον πρὸ τοῦ οἴκοι ὀλέθρου προτιμήσας. οὗτος οὖν ὁ Λαβιῆνος ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τήν τε ἔκλυσιν τοῦ Ἀντωνίου καὶ τὸν ἔρωτα τήν τε ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ὁδὸν ᾔσθετο, ἔπεισε τὸν Πάρθον τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις
7 ἐπιχειρῆσαι. τά τε γὰρ στρατεύματα αὐτῶν τὰ μὲν παντελῶς ἐφθάρθαι τὰ δὲ κεκακῶσθαι, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐν στάσει τε εἶναι καὶ πολεμήσειν αὖθις ἔφη· κἀκ τούτου παρῄνεσεν αὐτῷ τήν τε Συρίαν καὶ τὰ ὅμορα αὐτῇ καταστρέψασθαι, ἐν ᾧ Καῖσαρ μὲν ἔν τε τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ περὶ τὸν Σέξτον
8 ἀσχολίαν[2] ἦγεν, Ἀντώνιος δὲ ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ἤρα. ἡγεμών θ' ὑπέσχετο τοῦ πολέμου γενήσεσθαι, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο τῶν ἐθνῶν, ἅτε καὶ ἀλλοτρίως τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις διὰ τὴν συνεχῆ κάκωσιν ἔχοντα, μεταστήσειν ἐπηγγείλατο.

25 Τοιαῦτ' οὖν εἰπών, καὶ πείσας αὐτὸν πολεμῆσαι, καὶ δύναμιν πολλὴν καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν Πάκορον ἐπετράπη, καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν ἔς τε τὴν Φοινίκην ἐνέβαλε, καὶ πρὸς τὴν Ἀπάμειαν προσελάσας τοῦ μὲν τείχους ἀπεκρούσθη, τοὺς δὲ ἐν τῇ
2 χώρᾳ φρουροὺς ἐθελοντὰς προσέθετο. ἐκ γὰρ τῶν τῷ τε Κασσίῳ καὶ τῷ Βρούτῳ συνεστρατευμένων ἦσαν· ἔς τε γὰρ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ στρατόπεδα Ἀντώνιος αὐτοὺς κατέταξε, καὶ τότε τὴν Συρίαν ὡς καὶ ἐμπείρως αὐτῆς ἔχοντας φρουρεῖν ἐκέλευσε. τούτους τε οὖν ὁ Λαβιῆνος ῥᾳδίως ὡς καὶ συνήθεις

[1] φείσεσθαι H. Steph., φείσασθαι LM.
[2] ἀσχολίαν cod. Peir., ἀσχολίαι LM.

refuse. Later, when the news of the defeat reached him, and it appeared to be the intention of the victors to spare none who had resisted them, Labienus remained among the barbarians, choosing to live with them rather than to perish at home. Now as soon as Labienus was aware of Antony's demoralization, of his passion, and of his departure for Egypt, he persuaded the Parthian king to make an attack upon the Romans. For he declared their armies were either destroyed utterly or impaired, while the remainder of the troops were in a state of mutiny and would again be at war; and he accordingly advised the king to subjugate Syria and the adjoining districts, while Caesar was busy in Italy with Sextus and Antony was indulging his passion in Egypt. He promised to assume command in the war, and assured Orodes that if allowed to follow this course he would detach many of the provinces, inasmuch as they were already estranged from the Romans through the constant ill-treatment they had experienced. B.C. 40

By these arguments Labienus persuaded Orodes to wage war and was entrusted by him with a large force and with the king's son Pacorus. With them he invaded Phoenicia, and advancing against Apamea, he was repulsed from its walls but won the garrisons in the country to his side without resistance. For these garrisons consisted of troops that had served with Brutus and Cassius; Antony had incorporated them in his own forces and at this time had assigned them to garrison Syria because they knew the country. So Labienus easily won over all these men, since they were well acquainted with

οἱ ὄντας, πλὴν τοῦ Σάξου τοῦ τότε αὐτῶν ἡγουμένου, ἐσφετερίσατο (ἐκεῖνος γὰρ καὶ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ στρατιάρχου ὢν καὶ ταμιεύων μόνος αὐτῷ οὐ προσ-
3 εχώρησε), καὶ τὸν Σάξαν τὸν ἄρχοντα μάχῃ τε ἐκ παρατάξεως καὶ τῷ πλήθει καὶ τῇ ἀρετῇ τῶν ἱππέων ἐνίκησε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐκδράντα νυκτὸς ἐκ τῆς ταφρείας ἐπεδίωξεν· ὁ γὰρ Σάξας φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ οἱ συνόντες οἱ τὰ τοῦ Λαβιήνου, ὑπαγομένου σφᾶς διὰ βιβλίων τινῶν ἃ ἐς τὸ στρα-
4 τόπεδον ἐσετόξευε, φρονήσωσιν, ἔφυγεν. καταλαβὼν οὖν αὐτοὺς ὁ Λαβιῆνος τοὺς μὲν πλείους ἔφθειρε, τοῦ δὲ δὴ Σάξου ἐς Ἀντιόχειαν διαφυγόντος τήν τε Ἀπάμειαν, οὐδὲν ἔτι ὡς καὶ τεθνεῶτος αὐτοῦ ἀντάρασαν, ἔλαβε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἐκλειφθεῖσαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παρεστήσατο, καὶ τέλος καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον ἐς Κιλικίαν φυγόντα ἐπιδιώξας καὶ συλλαβὼν ἀπέκτεινε.
26 τελευτήσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ὁ μὲν Πάκορος τὴν Συρίαν ἐχειροῦτο, καὶ πᾶσάν γε αὐτὴν πλὴν Τύρου κατεστρέψατο· ταύτην γὰρ οἵ τε Ῥωμαῖοι οἱ περιλιπεῖς καὶ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι οἱ ὁμοφρονοῦντές σφισι προκατέλαβον, καὶ οὔτ' ἀναπεισθῆναι οὔτε βιασθῆναι (ναυτικὸν γὰρ οὐδὲν εἶχεν[1]) ἠδυνή-
2 θησαν. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ἀνάλωτοι ἔμειναν· τὰ δ' ἄλλα ὁ Πάκορος λαβὼν ἐς Παλαιστίνην ἐσέβαλε,[2] καὶ τόν τε Ὑρκανόν, ὃς τότε τὰ πράγματα αὐτῶν παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιτραπεὶς εἶχεν, ἔπαυσε, καὶ τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ ἄρ-

[1] εἶχεν Reim., εἶχον LM. [2] ἐσέβαλε M, ἐσέβαλλε L.

[1] This is an error either of Dio or of some scribe. The person who was made king of the Jews at this time was Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus and nephew of Hyrcanus.

him, with the exception of Saxa, their leader at the time, who was brother of the general Saxa as well as quaestor and therefore refused to go over to the other side, being the only one who did; and Saxa the general he conquered in a pitched battle through the superior numbers and ability of his own cavalry, and when the other later on made a dash by night from his intrenchments, he pursued him. The reason why Saxa fled was that he feared his associates would take up with the cause of Labienus, who was trying to lure them away by means of pamphlets which he kept shooting into Saxa's camp. Now when Labienus overtook the fugitives, he slew most of them, and then, when Saxa made his escape to Antioch, he captured Apamea, which no longer resisted, since the inhabitants believed that Saxa was dead; and subsequently he brought Antioch also to terms, now that Saxa had abandoned it, and finally, after pursuing the fugitive into Cilicia, he seized Saxa himself and put him to death. After the death of Saxa, Pacorus made himself master of Syria and subjugated all of it except Tyre; but that city had already been occupied by the Romans who survived and by the natives who were in sympathy with them, and neither persuasion could prevail against them nor force, since Pacorus had no fleet. They accordingly continued to be proof against capture, but Pacorus secured all the rest of Syria. He then invaded Palestine and deposed Hyrcanus, who was at the moment in charge of affairs there, having been appointed by the Romans, and in his stead set up his brother Aristobulus[1] as a ruler because of the

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[1] See Josephus, *Ant.* xiv. 13, 9–10; *Bell. Jud.* i. 13, 9–11; compare Dio's own statements in chap. 41, below, and also in xlix. 22.

3 χοντα κατὰ τὸ ἐκείνων ἔχθος ἀντικατέστησεν. ὁ δὲ δὴ Λαβιῆνος ἐν τούτῳ τήν τε Κιλικίαν κατέσχε, καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας τὰς ἠπειρώτιδας πόλεις (ὁ γὰρ Πλάγκος φοβηθεὶς αὐτὸν ἐς τὰς νήσους ἐπεραιώθη) παρεστήσατο πλὴν Στρατονικείας, τὰ μὲν πλεῖστα ἄνευ πολέμου, Μύλασα δὲ καὶ Ἀλά-
4 βανδα διὰ κινδύνων ἑλών. οὗτοι γὰρ ἐδέξαντο μὲν παρ' αὐτοῦ φρουρούς, φονεύσαντες δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐν ἑορτῇ τινι ἀπέστησαν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοὺς μὲν Ἀλαβανδέας αὐτοὺς[1] λαβὼν ἐκόλασε, τὰ δὲ δὴ Μύλασα[2] ἐκλειφθέντα κατέσκαψε. τῇ γὰρ Στρατονικείᾳ προσήδρευσε μὲν πολὺν χρόνον, οὐδένα δὲ αὐτὴν τρόπον ἑλεῖν ἠδυνήθη.

5 Καὶ ὁ μὲν χρήματά τε ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐπράσσετο καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐσύλα, αὐτοκράτορά τε αὐτὸν καὶ Παρθικόν γε ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντιωτάτου τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἔθους ὠνόμαζεν· οὓς γὰρ κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπῆγεν, ἀπὸ τούτων ἑαυτόν, ὡς καὶ ἐκείνους ἀλλ' οὐ τοὺς πολί-
27 τας νικῶν, ἐπεκάλει· Ἀντώνιος δὲ ἐπυνθάνετο μὲν καὶ ταῦτα ὥσπερ που καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ δρώμενα (οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν τὸ παράπαν ἠγνόει), οὐ μέντοι καὶ κατὰ καιρὸν οὐδετέροις ἤμυνεν, ἀλλ' ὑπό τε τοῦ ἔρωτος καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς μέθης οὔτε τῶν συμμάχων τι οὔτε τῶν πολεμίων
2 ἐφρόντισε. τέως μὲν γὰρ κάτω τε ἐτέτακτο καὶ τῶν πρωτείων ἐφίετο, ἐντόνως τοῖς πράγμασι προσεῖχεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν τῷ κράτει ἐγένετο, οὐκέτ' οὐδε-

[1] αὐτοὺς Kuiper, αὐτὸς LM. [2] Μύλασα Bk., μύλασσα LM.

enmity existing between them. In the meantime B.C. 40 Labienus had occupied Cilicia and had obtained the allegiance of the cities of the mainland except Stratonicea, since Plancus, in fear of him, had crossed over to the islands; most of the places he took without conflict, but for Mylasa and Alabanda he had to fight. For although these cities had accepted garrisons from him, they murdered them on the occasion of a festival and revolted; and because of this he punished the people of Alabanda when he had captured it, and razed to the ground the town of Mylasa after it had been abandoned. As for Stratonicea, he besieged it for a long time, but was unable to capture it in any way.

Now in consequence of these successes Labienus proceeded to levy money and to rob the temples; and he styled himself *imperator* and Parthicus, in the latter respect acting directly contrary to the Roman custom, in that he took his title from those whom he was leading against the Romans, as if it were the Parthians and not his fellow-citizens that he was defeating. As for Antony, although he kept himself informed of all these operations, as no doubt he did in the case of what was going on in Italy also (for he was ignorant of none of them whatsoever), yet he failed in both instances to take defensive measures in time; instead, he was so under the sway of his passion and of his drunkenness that he gave not a thought either to his allies or to his enemies. It is indeed true that he had earnestly devoted himself to his duties so long as he had been in a subordinate station and had been aiming at the highest prizes, but now that he had got into power, he no longer paid strict attention to any of these

νὸς αὐτῶν ἀκριβῶς ἐπεμελήθη, ἀλλὰ τῇ τε Κλεοπάτρᾳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Αἰγυπτίοις συνετρύφα, 3 μέχρις οὗ παντελῶς κατελύθη. ὀψὲ δ' οὖν ποτε ἀναγκασθεὶς ἐξαναστῆναι ἔπλευσε μὲν πρὸς τὴν Τύρον ὡς καὶ βοηθήσων σφίσιν, ἰδὼν δὲ δὴ τὰ ἄλλα προκατειλημμένα ἐγκατέλιπεν αὐτούς, πρόφασιν τὸν τοῦ Σέξτου πόλεμον ποιησάμενος· καίτοι καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἐκεῖνον[1] βραδυτῆτος τὰ τῶν 4 Πάρθων σκηπτόμενος προεβάλλετο. καὶ οὕτως οὔτε τοῖς συμμάχοις διὰ τὸν Σέξτον δῆθεν οὔτε τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ δι' ἐκείνους ἐπεκούρησεν, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὴν ἤπειρον μέχρι τῆς Ἀσίας παρακομισθεὶς ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα διέβαλε, κἀνταῦθα τῇ τε μητρὶ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ συμμίξας τόν τε Καίσαρα πολέμιον ἐποιή-5 σατο καὶ τῷ Σέξτῳ φιλίαν ἐσπείσατο. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν περαιωθεὶς Σειφοῦντα[2] μὲν ἔσχε, Βρεντέσιον δὲ μὴ ἐθελῆσάν οἱ προσχωρῆσαι ἐπολιόρκει.

28 Πράσσοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα ὁ Καῖσαρ τάς τε δυνάμεις (ἐκ γὰρ τῆς Γαλατίας ἤδη παρῆν) ἤθροισε, καὶ Πούπλιον[3] μὲν Σερουίλιον Ῥοῦλλον πρὸς Βρεντέσιον, Ἀγρίππαν δὲ ἐπὶ Σειφοῦντα[2] ἔπεμψε· καὶ οὗτος μὲν βίᾳ τὴν πόλιν εἷλε, τῷ δὲ δὴ Σερουιλίῳ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐξαίφνης προσπεσὼν πολλοὺς μὲν ἔφθει-2 ρε πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ παρεστήσατο. συνερρωγότων τε οὖν αὐτῶν[4] ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ διαπεμπόντων πρός τε τὰς πόλεις καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐστρατευμένους, ὁπόθεν τινὰ ὠφελίαν[5] προσλήψεσθαι ἐνόμιζον, ἥ τε ἄλλη Ἰταλία αὖθις ἐταράσσετο καὶ ἡ Ῥώμη

[1] ἐκεῖνον Leuncl., ἐκείνους LM cod. Peir.
[2] σειφοῦντα LM; but Dio probably wrote Σιποῦντα, the regular Greek form.
[3] Πούπλιον R. Steph., πουπλέιον LM.
[4] οὖν αὐτῶν M, ἑαυτῶν L.
[5] ὠφελίαν Bs., ὠφέλειαν LM.

things, but joined Cleopatra and the Egyptians in general in their life of luxurious ease until he was entirely demoralized. So when at last he was forced to bestir himself, he sailed to Tyre with the intention of aiding it, but on seeing that the rest of Syria had already been occupied before his coming, he left the inhabitants to their fate, on the pretext that he had to wage war against Sextus; and yet he excused his dilatoriness with regard to the latter by alleging his business with the Parthians. And thus on account of Sextus, as he pretended, he gave no assistance to his allies, and none to Italy on account of his allies, but coasted along the mainland as far as Asia and crossed to Greece. There, after meeting his mother and wife, he made Caesar his enemy and made an alliance with Sextus. After this he went over to Italy, got possession of Sipontum, and proceeded to besiege Brundisium, which had refused to come to terms with him. B.C. 40

While he was thus engaged, Caesar, who had already arrived from Gaul, had collected his forces and had sent Publius Servilius Rullus to Brundisium and Agrippa against Sipontum. Agrippa took the city by storm, but Servilius was suddenly attacked by Antony, who destroyed many of his men and won many over. The two leaders thus broke out into open war and were sending messages to the various cities and to the veterans, wherever they thought they could get any aid; and all Italy was again thrown into turmoil, especially Rome, and some were

ὅτι μάλιστα, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἤδη πρὸς ἑκάτερον μεθίσταντο, οἱ δὲ[1] ἔμελλον. μετεώρων δὲ αὐτῶν τε[2] ἐκείνων καὶ τῶν συμπολεμησόντων σφίσιν ὄντων, 3 ἡ Φουλουία ἐν Σικυῶνι, ἐν ᾗ ἦν, ἐτελεύτησε. καὶ αἰτίαν μὲν ὁ Ἀντώνιος τοῦ θανάτου αὐτῆς πρός τε τὸν τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἔρωτα καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνης ἀσέλγειαν ἔσχεν· ὡς δ' οὖν τοῦτ' ἠγγέλθη, τά τε ὅπλα ἀμφότεροι κατέθεντο καὶ συνηλλάγησαν, εἴτ' οὖν ὄντως ἐκπολεμούμενοι πρότερον ὑπὸ τῆς Φουλουίας, εἴτε καὶ πρόφασιν τὸν θάνατον αὐτῆς πρὸς τὸ παρ' ἀλλήλων δέος, ὥστε καὶ ἀντιπάλους καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις καὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχοντες, ποιη-4 σάμενοι. κἀν τούτῳ Καῖσαρ μὲν Σαρδώ τε καὶ Δελματίαν[3] τήν τε Ἰβηρίαν καὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν, Ἀντώνιος δὲ πάντα τἆλλα τὰ ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰόνιον, τά τε ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὄντα, ἀπέλαχε· τά τε γὰρ ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ ἔθνη ὁ Λέπιδος καὶ τὴν Σικελίαν ὁ Σέξτος εἶχε.

29 Τὴν μὲν οὖν ἀρχὴν οὕτως αὖθις διεδάσαντο, τὸν δὲ δὴ πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς τὸν Σέξτον ἐκοινώσαντο, καίτοι τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ὅρκους πρὸς αὐτὸν 2 δι' ἀγγέλων ἐπὶ τῷ Καίσαρι πεποιημένου. καὶ διὰ τοῦτό γε οὐχ ἥκιστα ὁ Καῖσαρ ὑπέμεινε πάντας μὲν τοὺς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ κατὰ τὸν Λούκιον τὸν τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ἀδελφὸν μεταστάντας πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν γε[4] τῶν σφαγέων ἔστιν οὓς ὄντας, ἄλλους τε καὶ τὸν Δομίτιον, πάντας δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐκτεθέντας ἐν τοῖς λευκώμασιν, ἢ καὶ ἄλλως πως τῷ τε Βρούτῳ καὶ τῷ Κασσίῳ συμ-

[1] δὲ Bk., τε LM. [2] τε Bk., τε καὶ LM.
[3] Δελματίαν St., δαλματίαν LM Xiph. Zon.
[4] γε R. Steph., τε LM.

already choosing one side or the other, and others were hesitating. While the leaders themselves and those who were to assist them in the war were in a state of suspense, Fulvia died in Sicyon, where she had been staying. And although Antony was held responsible for her death because of his passion for Cleopatra and her wantonness, nevertheless, when this news was announced, both sides laid down their arms and effected a reconciliation, either because Fulvia had really been the cause of their variance hitherto or because they chose to make her death an excuse, in view of the fear which each inspired in the other, inasmuch as the forces which they had, as well as their ambitions, were equally matched. By the arrangement then made Caesar received Sardinia, Dalmatia, Spain, and Gaul, and Antony all the districts that belonged to the Romans across the Ionian Sea, both in Europe and in Asia; as for the provinces in Africa, they were of course still held by Lepidus, and Sicily by Sextus. B.C. 40

They accordingly divided the empire anew in this way and undertook in common the war against Sextus, although Antony through messengers had taken oaths by which he had bound himself to Sextus against Caesar. And it was chiefly for this reason that Caesar brought himself to receive, under a general amnesty, all those who had gone over to Antony in the war with Lucius, Antony's brother,—among them being Domitius and some of the other assassins of Caesar,—as well as all those whose names had been posted on the tablets or had in any way coöperated

πολεμήσαντας καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου
3 πράξαντας, καταδέξασθαι ἐπ' ἀδείᾳ. τοσοῦτος μὲν δὴ καὶ τῶν στάσεων καὶ τῶν πολέμων παράλογός ἐστι, δίκῃ μὲν οὐδὲν τῶν τὰ πράγματα ἐχόντων νομιζόντων, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τάς τε ἀεὶ χρείας καὶ τὰ συμφέροντά σφων τό τε φίλιον καὶ τὸ πολέμιον ἐξεταζόντων, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοὺς αὐτοὺς τοτὲ μὲν ἐχθροὺς τοτὲ δὲ ἐπιτηδείους σφίσι πρὸς τὸν καιρὸν ἡγουμένων.

30 Συνθέμενοι δ' οὖν ταῦτ' ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις τοῖς περὶ τὸ Βρεντέσιον εἱστίασαν ἀλλήλους, Καῖσαρ μὲν στρατιωτικῶς τε καὶ ῥωμαϊκῶς,
2 Ἀντώνιος δὲ ἀσιανῶς τε καὶ αἰγυπτίως. κατηλλαγμένων δὲ αὐτῶν, ὥς γε ἐδόκουν, περιστάντες τὸν Ἀντώνιον οἱ στρατιῶται οἱ τότε τῷ Καίσαρι συνόντες ἀπῄτουν παρ' αὐτοῦ τὰ χρήματα ἃ πρὸ[1] τῆς μάχης τῆς πρὸς τοῖς Φιλίπποις γενομένης ὑπέσχοντό σφισι· δι' ἃ[2] καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν, ὅπως
3 ὅτι πλεῖστα ἀθροίσειεν, ἔσταλτο. κἂν ἐξειργάσαντό τι αὐτὸν μηδὲν διδόντα, εἰ μή σφας ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπελπίσας πῃ κατέσχε. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τούς τε ἀφηλικεστέρους τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐς τὰς ἀποικίας, μὴ καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον στασιάσωσιν, ἐξέ-
4 πεμψαν, καὶ τοῦ πολέμου ἥπτοντο. ὁ γὰρ Σέξτος ἦλθε μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν κατὰ τὰς συνθήκας τὰς πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιόν οἱ γενομένας ὡς καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι μετ' αὐτοῦ πολεμήσων, μαθὼν δὲ τὴν σύμβασίν σφων αὐτὸς μὲν ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν ἀνεκομίσθη, Μηνᾷ δὲ ἐξελευθέρῳ οἱ, ᾧ πάνυ προσέκειτο, ἐκέλευσε μέρει τοῦ ναυτικοῦ περιπλέοντι

[1] πρὸ Rk., ἀπὸ LM cod. Peir. Zon.
[2] δι' ἃ cod. Peir., διὰ LM.

with Brutus and Cassius and had later embraced the cause of Antony. So great, indeed, is the perversity that reigns in factional strife and war; for men in power take no account of justice, but determine on friend and foe according as their own interests and advantage at the time dictate, and accordingly they regard the same men, now as their enemies, now as their friends, according to the occasion. B.C. 40

When they had reached this agreement in their camps at Brundisium, they entertained each other at banquets, Caesar in military and Roman fashion and Antony in Asiatic and Egyptian style. And now that they had become reconciled, as it appeared, the soldiers who were at that time with Caesar surrounded Antony and demanded of him the money which the two had promised them before the battle of Philippi; and, indeed, it was for this that he had been sent into Asia, in order to collect as much as possible.[1] And when he failed to give them anything, they would certainly have done him some harm, if Caesar had not restrained them by inspiring them somehow with new hopes. After this experience, in order to guard against further unruliness, they sent the superannuated soldiers to the colonies, and then took up the war. For Sextus had come to Italy in accordance with the agreement he had made with Antony, intending, with Antony's help, to wage war against Caesar; but when he learned of their agreement he himself went back to Sicily, and ordered Menas, a freedman of his to whom he was altogether devoted, to coast about with a portion of the fleet and injure

[1] Cf. chap. 2, 2.

5 κακουργεῖν τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων. καὶ ὃς τῆς τε Τυρσηνίας πολλὰ ἐκάκωσε, καὶ Μᾶρκον Τίτιον Τιτίου, τῶν τε ἐπικηρυχθέντων καὶ τότε τῷ Σέξτῳ συνόντων, υἱὸν ὄντα καὶ ναῦς ἐπὶ ἰδίᾳ δυναστείᾳ συγκροτοῦντα, κἀν τῷ Ναρβωνησίῳ ἔθνει ναυλο-
6 χοῦντα, ἐζώγρησε. καὶ ὃς ἔπαθε μὲν κακὸν οὐδέν (διά τε γὰρ τὸν πατέρα, καὶ διότι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Σέξτου ἐν ταῖς ἀσπίσιν οἱ στρατιῶται αὐτοῦ ἔφερον, ἐσώθη), οὐ μέντοι καὶ καλῶς τὸν εὐεργέτην ἠμείψατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατεπολέμησεν αὐτὸν καὶ κατεφόνευσεν, ὥστε καὶ τοῦτ' ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα
7 τῶν ὁμοίων μνημονευθῆναι. ὁ δ' οὖν Μηνᾶς ταῦτά τε οὕτως ἔπραξε, καὶ ἐπὶ Σαρδὼ πλεύσας συνέβαλε Μάρκῳ Λουρίῳ τῷ ἄρχοντι αὐτῆς, καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐτράπετο, ἔπειτα δὲ παρὰ δόξαν αὐτὸν ἀπερισκέπτως ἐπιδιώκοντα ὑποστὰς ἀντε-
8 πεκράτησε. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐκλιπόντος αὐτοῦ τὴν νῆσον κατέσχε τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὁμολογίᾳ, τὴν δὲ Κάραλιν[1] πολιορκίᾳ· συχνοὶ γὰρ ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἐς αὐτὴν κατεπεφεύγεσαν. τῶν γε μὴν ἁλόντων ἄλλους τε καὶ Ἕλενον, ἐξελεύθερόν τε τοῦ Καίσαρος ὄντα καὶ ἀρέσκοντα αὐτῷ τὰ μάλιστα, ἀφῆκεν ἄνευ λύτρων, εὐεργεσίαν τε ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα πόρρωθεν προκατατιθέμενος καὶ καταφυγὴν ἑαυτῷ προπαρασκευάζων, εἴ τι παρ' αὐτοῦ δεηθείη.

31 Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' ἐποίει· οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, ὡς ἥ τε Σαρδὼ εἴχετο καὶ ἡ παραλία ἐπορθεῖτο,

[1] Κάραλιν Palmerius, ἄραδιν LM.

the property of his opponents. Menas, accordingly, ravaged many parts of Etruria and captured Marcus Titius, the son of Titius who was one of the proscribed and was then on the side of Sextus; this son had got together some ships in the interest of his own supremacy and had taken up his station off the province of Narbonensis. This Titius suffered no harm, for on his father's account, and because his soldiers carried the name of Sextus on their shields, his life was spared; yet he did not recompense his benefactor fairly, but, on the contrary, defeated him in battle and finally slew him, so that his conduct in this matter is remembered among the most notable examples of its kind. Now after Menas had accomplished all this as described, he sailed to Sardinia and engaged in a conflict with Marcus Lurius, the governor there; and at first he was routed, but later, when the other was pursuing him heedlessly, he awaited his attack and turned the tables upon Lurius by winning an unexpected victory over him. Thereupon Lurius abandoned the island and Menas occupied it, taking all the places by capitulation, except Caralis, which he took by siege; for many fugitives from the battle had taken refuge there. He released without ransom several of the captives, including Helenus, a freedman of Caesar, who stood in high favour with his master, thus laying up for himself with Caesar a store of kindness against some future time and preparing a refuge for himself, if he should ever need anything at Caesar's hands.

B.C. 40

Menas, then, was so employed; but as for the people in Rome, they would no longer hold their peace, inasmuch as Sardinia was in hostile hands, the

τῆς τε σιτοπομπίας ἐστέρηντο, καὶ ὁ λιμὸς τά τε τέλη πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα καθιστάμενα καὶ προσέτι καὶ συντέλειαι τοῖς τοὺς δούλους ἔχουσι
2 προστασσόμεναι δεινῶς αὐτοὺς ἐλύπουν, οὐκέθ' ἡσύχαζον, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἐπὶ ταῖς τοῦ Ἀντωνίου καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος καταλλαγαῖς, ὡς καὶ σφετέρας εἰρήνης τῆς ἐκείνων ὁμονοίας οὔσης, ἥσθησαν, τοσοῦτον ἢ καὶ πλεῖον ἐπὶ τῷ πρὸς τὸν Σέξτον
3 σφῶν πολέμῳ ἤσχαλλον. ἐν δ' οὖν τῷ τότε ἐπί τε ἵππων αὐτοὺς ὥσπερ ἐν ἐπινικίοις τισὶν ἐσαγαγόντες, καὶ τῇ νικητηρίᾳ στολῇ ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς πέμψασιν αὐτὰ κοσμήσαντες, τάς τε[1] πανηγύρεις ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρχικῶν δίφρων θεωρεῖν ποιήσαντες, καὶ τὴν Ὀκταουίαν τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀδελφὴν γυναῖκα τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ, ἐπειδὴ ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς
4 ἐτετελευτήκει, καὶ κυοῦσαν προμνησάμενοι, τοσαύτῃ μεταβολῇ ἐχρήσαντο[2] ὥστε τὸ μὲν πρῶτον κατὰ συστάσεις γιγνόμενοι ἢ καὶ ἐπὶ θέαν τινὰ ἀθροιζόμενοι παρεκάλουν σφᾶς εἰρηνῆσαι καὶ πολλὰ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐπεβόων, ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἐπείθοντο, ἠλλοτριώθησάν τε αὐτοῖς καὶ πρὸς τὸν
5 Σέξτον ἀπέκλιναν. καὶ ἄλλα τε ἐπὶ θεραπείᾳ αὐτοῦ διεθρόουν, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἱπποδρομίαις κρότῳ τε πολλῷ τὸ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἄγαλμα πομπεῦον ἐτίμων καὶ ἡδονὴν ἐπ' αὐτῷ πολλὴν ἐποιοῦντο. ἐπεί[3] τε ἡμέραις τισὶν οὐκ ἐσήχθη, τούς τε ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ὄντας λίθοις ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐξήλασαν καὶ ἐκείνων τὰς εἰκόνας κατέβαλον, καὶ τέλος,

[1] τάς τε Leuncl., ἔς τε τὰς LM.
[2] ἐχρήσαντο L, ἐχρήσατο M. [3] ἐπεὶ Xyl., ἐπὶ LM.

coast was being pillaged, and they had had their corn supply cut off, while the famine, the great number of taxes of all sorts which were being imposed, and in addition contributions assessed upon such as possessed slaves, all irritated them greatly. Much as they were pleased with the reconciliation of Antony and Caesar,—for they thought that harmony between these men meant peace for themselves,—they were equally or even more displeased at the war which the two men were carrying on against Sextus. But a short time before they had brought the two rulers into the city mounted on horses as if at a triumph, had bestowed upon them the triumphal dress just as upon those who celebrated triumphs, had allowed them to view the festivals seated upon their chairs of state, and had espoused to Antony Caesar's sister, Octavia, now that her husband was dead, though she was pregnant; at the present time, however, they changed their behaviour to a remarkable degree. At first, when they met at various gatherings or came together to witness a spectacle, they would urge Antony and Caesar to secure peace, and at this they raised loud shouts of approval; and when these leaders would not heed them, they were alienated from them and favoured Sextus. They not only kept up a general talk to foster his interests, but also at the games in the Circus honoured by loud applause the statue of Neptune carried in the procession, thus expressing their great delight in him.[1] And when on certain days it was not brought out, they took stones and drove the magistrates from the Forum, threw down the statues of Caesar and Antony, and finally,

B.C. 40

[1] Cf. chap. 19.

ἐπειδὴ μηδ' ὣς τι ἐπεραίνετο, σπουδῇ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς
6 ὡς καὶ ἀποκτενοῦντές σφας ὥρμησαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ, καίτοι τρωθέντων τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ὄντων, τήν τε ἐσθῆτα περιερρήξατο καὶ πρὸς ἱκετείαν αὐτῶν ἐτράπετο, ὁ δ' Ἀντώνιος βιαιότερόν σφισι προσηνέχθη. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὅτι μάλιστα[1] ὀργισθέντων τέ σφων καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ δεινόν τι πράξειν προσδοκηθέντων, ἠναγκάσθησαν τῷ Σέξτῳ καὶ ἄκοντες ἐπικηρυκεύσασθαι.

32 Κἀν τούτῳ τούς τε στρατηγοὺς καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους, καίπερ ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ ἤδη τοῦ ἔτους ὄντος, παύσαντες ἄλλους[2] ἀντικατέστησαν, βραχὺ φροντί-
2 σαντες εἰ καὶ ἐπ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἄρξουσι. καὶ εἷς γε τῶν τότε ὑπατευσάντων Λούκιος Κορνήλιος Βάλβος ἐγένετο, Γαδειρεύς τε ὢν καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ μεγαλονοίᾳ τοσοῦτον[3] τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀνθρώπους ὑπερενεγκὼν ὥστε καὶ δωρεὰν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀνὰ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι δραχμὰς τελευτῶν
3 καταλιπεῖν. τοῦτό τε οὖν ἐποίησαν, καὶ ἐν τῇ τελευταίᾳ τοῦ ἔτους ἡμέρᾳ ἀγορανόμου τινὸς ἀποθανόντος ἕτερον ἐς τὰς λοιπὰς ὥρας ἀνθείλοντο. κἀν τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ χρόνῳ τό τε ὕδωρ τὸ Ἰούλιον
4 ὠνομασμένον ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐπωχετεύθη, καὶ ἡ πανήγυρις ἡ ἐπὶ τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ πρὸς τοὺς σφαγέας εὐχθεῖσα ὑπὸ[4] τῶν ὑπάτων ἐποιήθη. τά τε τοῖς ἑπτὰ ἀνδράσιν ὠνομασμένοις προσήκοντα οἱ ποντίφικες, ἐπειδὴ μηδεὶς ἐκείνων παρῆν, ἐπετέλεσαν· καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἄλλοτε πολλάκις ἐγένετο.

33 Ταῦτά τε οὖν οὕτως ἐν τῷ ἔτει ἐκείνῳ ἐπράχθη,

[1] ὅτι μάλιστα Reim., ἔτι μάλιστα LM.
[2] ἄλλους M, ἀλλήλους L.
[3] τοσοῦτον Xiph., τοσαύτῃ LM. [4] ὑπὸ Reim., ἀπὸ LM.

when they could not accomplish anything even in this way, they rushed violently upon those men as if to kill them. Caesar, although his followers were wounded, rent his garments and betook himself to supplicating them, whereas Antony bore himself with more violence toward them; and when, chiefly because of this, the people became angered and it was feared that they would even commit some act of violence in consequence, the two were forced against their will to make overtures to Sextus. B.C. 40

Meanwhile Caesar and Antony removed the praetors and the consuls, although it was now near the close of the year, and appointed others instead, caring little that these would remain in office but a few days. One of those who at this time became consuls was Lucius Cornelius Balbus, of Gades, who so far surpassed the men of his generation in wealth and munificence that at his death he left a bequest of one hundred sesterces to each Roman citizen. They not only did this, but when an aedile died on the last day of the year, they chose another to fill out the remaining hours. It was at this same time that the Aqua Iulia, as it was called, was brought into Rome and the festival that had been vowed for the completion of the war against the assassins of Caesar was celebrated by the consuls. The duties belonging to the college called the Septemviri were performed by the pontifices, since no member of the college was present; this was also done on many other occasions afterwards.

Besides these events which took place that year

καὶ Σφαῖρον ὁ Καῖσαρ παιδαγωγόν τε καὶ ἐξελεύθερον αὐτοῦ γενόμενον δημοσίᾳ ἔθαψε. τόν τε Ῥοῦφον τὸν Σαλουιδιῆνον ὡς καὶ ἐπιβουλεύσαντά 2 οἱ ἀπέκτεινεν. οὗτος δὲ ἦν μὲν ἐξ ἀφανεστάτων, καὶ αὐτῷ ἡ κεφαλὴ ποιμαίνοντι φλόγα ἀνέδωκεν· ἐς τοσοῦτον δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος προήχθη ὥστε αὐτόν τε ὕπατον μηδὲ βουλεύοντα ἀποδειχθῆναι, καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ προαποθανόντα διὰ τοῦ Τιβέριδος, γεφύρας ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιηθείσης, 3 ἐξενεχθῆναι. ἀλλ' οὐδὲν γὰρ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων βέβαιόν ἐστι, κατηγορήθη τε ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Καίσαρος, καὶ ὡς πολέμιος ἐκείνου καὶ τοῦ δήμου παντὸς ἐσφάγη, ἱερομηνίαι τε ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐγένοντο, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἡ φυλακὴ τῆς πόλεως τοῖς τρισὶν ἀνδράσι μετὰ τῆς εἰθισμένης προσθήκης, τοῦ μηδὲν ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἀποτριβῆναι, ἐπετράπη. 4 ἔν τε τῷ πρὸ τούτου ἔτει θηρία τε ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἀπολλωνίων[1] ἱπποδρομίᾳ ἄνδρες ἐς τὴν ἱππάδα τελοῦντες κατέβαλον, καὶ ἡμέρα ἐμβόλιμος παρὰ τὰ καθεστηκότα ἐνεβλήθη, ἵνα μὴ ἡ νουμηνία τοῦ ἐχομένου ἔτους τὴν ἀγορὰν τὴν διὰ τῶν ἐννέα ἡμερῶν ἀγομένην λάβῃ, ὅπερ ἀπὸ τοῦ πάνυ ἀρχαίου σφόδρα ἐφυλάσσετο· καὶ δῆλον ὅτι ἀνθυφῃρέθη αὖθις, ὅπως ὁ χρόνος κατὰ τὰ τῷ 5 Καίσαρι τῷ προτέρῳ δόξαντα συμβῇ. Κάστορί τέ τινι ἥ τε τοῦ Ἀττάλου καὶ ἡ τοῦ Δηιοτάρου ἀρχὴ ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ τελευτησάντων ἐδόθη· καὶ ὁ νόμος ὁ Φαλκίδιος ὠνομασμένος, πλείστην καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἰσχὺν ἐς τὰς τῶν κλήρων διαδοχάς, ὥστε τινὰ τὸ τέταρτον τῆς καταλειφθείσης οἱ οὐσίας, ἄν γέ

[1] Ἀπολλωνίων Bs., ἀπολλωνιείων LM.

BOOK XLVIII

Caesar gave a public funeral to Sphaerus, who had been his attendant in childhood and had been given his freedom. Also he put to death Salvidienus Rufus, whom he suspected of having plotted against him. This man was of most obscure origin, and once while he was tending his flocks a flame had issued from his head; but he had been so greatly advanced by Caesar as to be made consul without even being a member of the senate, and his brother who died before him had been laid to rest across the Tiber, after a bridge had been constructed for this very purpose. But nothing in the life of man is lasting, and he was finally accused in the senate by Caesar himself and slain as an enemy both of him and of the entire people; thanksgivings were offered for his downfall and furthermore the care of the city was committed to the triumvirs with the customary admonition "that it should suffer no harm." In the year preceding this, men belonging to the order of knights had slaughtered wild beasts at the games in the Circus on the occasion of the Ludi Apollinares, and an intercalary day had been inserted, contrary to the rule, in order that the first day of the succeeding year should not coincide with the market held every nine days—a clash which had always been strictly guarded against from very early times. Naturally the day had to be subtracted again later, in order that the calendar should run according to the system devised by the former Caesar. The domains of Attalus and of Deïotarus, who had both died in Galatia, were given to a certain Castor. Also the law which went by the name of the Lex Falcidia, a law which is in full force even to-day in the matter of the succession to inheritances, was enacted by Publius Falcidius while tribune; its terms are, that if an heir

B.C. 40

πῃ βαρύνηται, λαβόντα τὸ λοιπὸν ἀφεῖναι, ἔχων, ὑπὸ Πουπλίου Φαλκιδίου δημαρχοῦντος ἐτέθη.

34 Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τοῖς δύο ἔτεσιν ἐγένετο, τῷ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένῳ, ἐν ᾧ Λούκιός τε Μάρκιος καὶ Γάϊος Σαβῖνος ὑπάτευσαν, τά τε ὑπὸ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν πραχθέντα ἀφ' οὗ ἐς τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν ἐσῆλθον 2 κῦρος παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἔλαβε, καὶ τέλη τινὰ ὑπ' αὐτῶν προσκατέστη[1] διὰ τὸ τὰ ἀναλώματα πολλῷ πλείω ἤπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ προτέρου Καίσαρος ἐτέτακτο γίγνεσθαι· πάμπολλα γὰρ αὐτοὶ καὶ μάλιστα ἐς τοὺς στρατιώτας δαπανῶντες ᾐσχύνοντο[2] 3 μόνον[3] παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκὸς ἀναλίσκοντες. ἀμέλει τὸν πώγωνα ὁ Καῖσαρ τότε πρῶτον ξυράμενος αὐτός τε μεγάλως ἑώρτασε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι δημοτελῆ ἑορτὴν παρέσχε. καὶ ὁ μὲν καὶ ἔπειτα ἐπελειοῦτο[4] τὸ γένειον, ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι· ἤδη γὰρ καὶ τῆς Λιουίας ἐρᾶν ἤρχετο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν Σκριβωνίαν τεκοῦσάν οἱ θυγάτριον 4 ἀπεπέμψατο αὐθημερόν. τῶν δ' οὖν ἀναλωμάτων πολὺ μειζόνων ἢ πρότερον γιγνομένων, καὶ τῶν προσόδων οὔτ' ἄλλως ἀρκουσῶν καὶ τότε ἐλαττόνων διὰ τὰς στάσεις προσιουσῶν, καινά τινα τέλη ἐσήγαγον, ἔς τε τὸ βουλευτήριον πλείστους ὅσους οὐχ ὅτι τῶν συμμάχων ἢ καὶ στρατιώτας παῖδάς τε ἀπελευθέρων, ἀλλὰ καὶ δούλους 5 ἐνέγραψαν. Μάξιμον γοῦν τινα ταμιεύσειν μέλ-

[1] προσκατέστη Leuncl., προκατέστη LM.
[2] ᾐσχύνοντο M, ἠισχύοντο L. [3] μόνον Bs., μόνοι LM.
[4] ἐπελειοῦτο R. Steph., ἐτελειοῦτο LM, ἐλειοῦτο cod. Peir.

feels burdened in any way, he may secure a fourth of the property bequeathed him by surrendering the rest.[1] B.C. 40

These were the events of the two years; the next year, when Lucius Marcius and Gaius Sabinus held the consulship, the acts of the triumvirs from the time they had formed their oligarchy received ratification at the hands of the senate, and certain further taxes were imposed by them, because the expenditures proved far greater than the budget made in the time of the former Caesar. For though they were expending vast sums for themselves and especially upon the soldiers, the only thing they were ashamed of was that the expenditures they were making were contrary to precedent. For example, when Caesar now for the first time shaved off his beard, he held a magnificent entertainment himself besides granting all the other citizens a festival at public expense. He also kept his chin smooth afterwards, like the rest; for he was already beginning to be enamoured of Livia also, and for this reason divorced Scribonia the very day she bore him a daughter. Since the expenditures, then, were growing far greater than before, and the revenues, which were in any case insufficient, came in at this time in even smaller amounts by reason of the factional discord, they introduced certain new taxes; and they enrolled ever so many men in the senate, not only from among the allies, or else soldiers, or sons of freedmen, but even slaves. At any rate, one Maximus, when about to B.C. 39

[1] The essential feature of this law was its requirement that the heir or heirs should receive at least one-fourth of the property left by the testator; in other words, that the legacies should not exceed three-fourths of the total estate.

λοντα ἐγνώρισέ τε ὁ δεσπότης καὶ ἀπήγαγε. καὶ τούτῳ[1] μὲν ἀδεὲς ἐγένετο τολμήσαντι τὴν ἀρχὴν αἰτῆσαι· ἕτερος δὲ ἐν τοῖς στρατηγοῦσι[2] φωραθεὶς κατὰ τῶν τοῦ Καπιτωλίου πετρῶν ἐώσθη, προελευθερωθεὶς ἵνα ἀξίωμα ἡ τιμωρία αὐτοῦ λάβῃ.

35 Πρόφασιν δέ σφισι τοῦ τῶν βουλευσόντων πλήθους ἡ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου στρατεία, ἣν ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους ἡτοιμάζετο, παρέσχεν· ἀφ' οὗπερ καὶ ἀρχὰς ἄλλας τε ἐπὶ πλείω ἔτη καὶ τὴν τῶν ὑπάτων ἐς ὀκτὼ ὅλα προκατεστήσαντο, τοὺς μὲν ἀμειβόμενοι τῶν συναραμένων[3] σφίσι, τοὺς δὲ 2 ὑπαγόμενοι. ὑπάτους δὲ οὐ[4] δύο ἐτησίους, ὥσπερ εἴθιστο, ἀλλὰ πλείους τότε πρῶτον εὐθὺς ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαιρεσίαις εἵλοντο. καὶ πρότερον μὲν γὰρ μεθ' ἑτέρους τινὲς μήτ' ἀποθανόντας μήτ' ἐπ' ἀτιμίᾳ ἢ καὶ ἄλλως πως παυθέντας ἦρξαν·[5] ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι μέν, ὥς που τοῖς ἐς ὅλον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν χειροτονηθεῖσιν ἔδοξε, κατέστησαν, τότε δὲ ἐνιαύσιος μὲν οὐδεὶς ᾑρέθη, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὰ τοῦ χρόνου 3 μέρη ἄλλοι καὶ ἄλλοι ἀπεδείχθησαν. καὶ οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς ὑπατείας κατὰ παντὸς τοῦ ἔτους, ὥσπερ καὶ νῦν γίγνεται, ἔσχον· τοὺς δ' ἑτέρους αὐτοὶ μὲν οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει τῇ τε

[1] τούτῳ Rk., τοῦτο LM.
[2] στρατηγοῦσι Willems, στρατευομένοις LM Xiph.
[3] συναραμένων R. Steph., συναιραμένων LM.
[4] οὐ Bk., οὐδὲ LM.
[5] ἦρξαν Xyl., εἶρξαν LM.

become quaestor, was recognized by his master and haled away; and while in his case immunity was granted him for having dared to stand for the office, yet another slave who was detected while serving as a praetor was hurled down the rocks of the Capitol, having first been freed, that his punishment might take on the proper dignity.[1]

B.C. 39

The expedition which Antony was preparing against the Parthians afforded them some excuse for the large number of new senators. On this same plea they also appointed various magistrates for a number of years ahead, including the consuls for eight full years, thus rewarding some of those who had coöperated with them and winning the favour of others. And they did not choose two annual consuls only, as had been the custom, but now for the first time chose several, and these on the very day of the elections. Even before this time, to be sure, some had held office after others who had neither died nor been removed because of disfranchisement or any other reason, but all such persons had become officials presumably in accordance with the decision of the magistrates who had been chosen to office for the entire year,[2] whereas now nobody was chosen to serve for a year, but various sets of officials were appointed for the different portions of the entire period. And the men first to enter upon the office of consul secured the name of consuls for the whole year, as is even now the case; the others were accorded the same title, it is true, by those who lived in the city or

[1] Hurling from the Tarpeian rock was a punishment that might be inflicted only upon freemen. Slaves were commonly crucified or put out of the way by some method involving similar disgrace.

[2] Cf. xliii. 46, 1–2, and chap. 53 *inf.*

ἄλλῃ Ἰταλίᾳ ἐν ἑκάστῳ τῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῶν χρόνῳ ὠνόμαζον, ὃ καὶ νῦν ποιεῖται, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἤ τινας αὐτῶν ἢ οὐδένας ᾔδεσαν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο σμικροτέρους σφᾶς ὑπάτους ἐπεκάλουν.

36 Οἴκοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἔπραττον, τῷ δὲ δὴ Σέξτῳ πρῶτον μὲν διὰ τῶν ἑταίρων, καὶ ὅπως καὶ ἐφ' οἷς καταλλαγήσοιντο, συνέβησαν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς Μισηνῷ ἐς λόγους ἦλθον. εἱστήκεσαν δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ, ὁ δὲ ἐν χώματί τινι ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο περιρρύτῳ οὐ πόρρω σφῶν πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν αὐτῷ πεποιημένῳ· 2 καὶ παρῆν πᾶς μὲν ὁ τούτου ναυτικὸς πᾶς δὲ ὁ ἐκείνων πεζικὸς ὄχλος, οὐχ ἁπλῶς, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν ἐξωπλισμένοι παρετετάχατο, ὥστε καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τούτου δῆλον πᾶσι γενέσθαι ὅτι ἔκ τε τοῦ φόβου τῆς παρασκευῆς σφων καὶ ἐξ ἀνάγκης, οἱ μὲν διὰ τὸν δῆμον ὁ δὲ διὰ 3 τοὺς συνόντας οἱ, ἐσπείσαντο.[1] αἱ δὲ δὴ συνθῆκαι ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ἐγένοντο, τούς τε αὐτομολήσαντας τῶν δούλων ἐλευθέρους εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς ἐκπεσόντας πλὴν τῶν σφαγέων κατελθεῖν· τούτους γὰρ δῆθεν ὑπεξείλοντο, ἐπεὶ τῷ γε ἔργῳ καὶ ἐκείνων τινὲς κατιέναι ἔμελλον· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ Σέξτος εἷς ἐξ 4 αὐτῶν γεγονέναι ἐδόκει. ἀλλ' ἐγράφη γε τοὺς ἄλλους πλὴν τούτων πάντας ἐπί τε ἀδείᾳ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ τετάρτῳ τῆς δημευθείσης σφῶν οὐσίας ἐπανελθεῖν, καὶ ἐκείνων μέν τισι καὶ δημαρχίας καὶ στρατηγίας ἱερωσύνας τε εὐθὺς[2] δοθῆναι, αὐτὸν

[1] ἐσπείσαντο R. Steph., ἐσπείσατο LM.
[2] εὐθὺς Zon., αὐτοῖς LM.

in the rest of Italy during the period of each one's office, as, indeed, is the case to-day, but the other citizens of the empire knew few or none of them and therefore called them "lesser consuls." B.C. 39

These were the acts of Caesar and Antony at home; with Sextus they first reached an understanding through their associates as to how and on what terms they could effect a reconciliation, and later they themselves conferred with him near Misenum. The two took their station on the land and Sextus not far from where they were on a mound that had been constructed in the sea, with water all around it, for the purpose of securing his safety. There was present also the whole fleet of Sextus and the whole infantry of the other two; and not merely that, but the forces on the one side had been drawn up on the shore and those of the other side on the ships, both fully armed, so that it was perfectly evident to all from this very circumstance that it was from fear of each other's military strength and from necessity that they were making peace, the two because of the people and Sextus because of his adherents. The compact was made upon these conditions, that the slaves who had deserted should be free and that all those who had been banished should be restored, except Caesar's assassins. They merely pretended, of course, to exclude the last-named, since in reality some of them also were about to be restored; indeed, Sextus himself was reputed to have been one of them. But at any rate it was recorded that all the rest except those should be permitted to return in safety and with a right to a quarter of their confiscated property; that tribuneships, praetorships and priesthoods should be given to some of them immediately; that

δὲ τὸν Σέξτον ὕπατόν τε αἱρεθῆναι καὶ οἰωνιστὴν
5 ἀποδειχθῆναι, ἔκ τε τῆς οὐσίας τῆς πατρῴας
χιλίας καὶ ἑπτακοσίας καὶ πεντήκοντα μυριάδας
δραχμῶν κομίσασθαι, καὶ Σικελίας καὶ Σαρδοῦς
τῆς τε Ἀχαΐας ἐπὶ πέντε ἔτη ἄρξαι μήτ' αὐτομό-
λους δεχόμενον μήτε ναῦς ἐπικτώμενον μήτε τινὰ
6 φρούρια ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ἔχοντα, ἀλλὰ τήν τε εἰρή-
νην αὐτῇ τὴν ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης πρυτανεύοντα καὶ
σῖτον τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει τακτὸν πέμποντα. τὸν δὲ
δὴ χρόνον αὐτῷ τοῦτον προσέγραψαν, ὅτι καὶ
αὐτοὶ πρὸς καιρὸν[1] δή τινα τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἀλλ' οὐκ
ἀίδιον ἔχειν δοκεῖν ἤθελον.

37 Ταῦτα μὲν[2] οὖν συνθέμενοι καὶ συγγραψάμενοι
τά τε γραμματεῖα ταῖς ἱερείαις ταῖς ἀειπαρθένοις
παρακατέθεντο, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο δεξιάς τέ σφισιν
ἔδοσαν καὶ ἐφίλησαν ἀλλήλους. γενομένου δὲ
τούτου πολλὴ καὶ ἄπλετος βοὴ καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἠπείρου
2 ἅμα καὶ ἐκ τῶν νεῶν ἠγέρθη. πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ
στρατιῶται πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἰδιῶται παρόντες
ἀθρόον καὶ ἐξαπιναίως, ἅτε καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ δεινῶς
ἀχθόμενοι καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ἰσχυρῶς ἐπιθυμοῦντες,
ἐξέκραγον, ὥστε καὶ τὰ ὄρη συνηχῆσαι, κἀκ
τούτου καὶ φρίκην σφίσι καὶ ἔκπληξιν μεγάλην
ἐγγενέσθαι, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ὑπ' αὐτῶν τούτων
ἐκθανεῖν, πολλοὺς δὲ συμπατηθέντας ἢ καὶ ἀπο-
3 πνιγέντας ἀπολέσθαι. οἵ τε γὰρ ἐν τοῖς σκά-
φεσιν ὄντες οὐκ ἀνέμειναν τῇ γῇ αὐτῇ προσελθεῖν,
ἀλλ' ἐξεπήδων ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ οἱ ἕτεροι ἐς
αὐτὸν τὸν βυθὸν ἐπεσέβαινον. κἀν τούτῳ ἠσπά-
ζοντό τε ἀλλήλους ἅμα νηχόμενοι καὶ περιέ-

[1] πρὸς καιρὸν St., πρόσκαιρον LM.
[2] μὲν Bk., τε LM.

Sextus himself should be chosen consul and appointed augur, should obtain seventy million sesterces from his father's estate, and should govern Sicily, Sardinia and Achaia for five years; that he should not receive deserters or acquire more ships or keep any garrisons in Italy, but should devote his efforts to securing peace for the peninsula from the side of the sea, and should send a stated amount of grain to the people in the city. They limited him to this period of time because they wished it to appear that they also were holding a temporary and not a permanent authority. B.C. 39

After drafting these compacts and reducing them to writing they deposited the documents with the Vestal Virgins, and then exchanged pledges and embraced one another. Upon this a great and mighty shout arose from the mainland and from the ships at the same moment. For many soldiers and many civilians who were present suddenly cried out all together, being terribly tired of the war and strongly desirous of peace, so that even the mountains resounded; and thereupon great panic and alarm came upon them, and many died of no other cause, while many others perished by being trampled under foot or suffocated. Those who were in the small boats did not wait to reach the land itself, but jumped out into the sea, and those on land rushed out into the water. Meanwhile they embraced one another while swimming and threw their arms around one another's necks

βαλλον κολυμβῶντες, ὥστε ποικίλην μὲν αὐτῶν
4 θέαν ποικίλην δὲ καὶ ἀκοὴν συμβῆναι. οἱ μὲν
γὰρ τούς τε συγγενεῖς καὶ τοὺς ἑταίρους ζῶντας
εἰδότες καὶ τότε παρόντας ὁρῶντες ἀπλήστῳ τῇ
ἡδονῇ ἐχρῶντο· οἱ δὲ ἀπολωλέναι τέ σφας πρό-
τερον νομίζοντες καὶ τότε παρὰ δόξαν θεωροῦντες
ἄποροί τε ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐγίγνοντο καὶ ἀφασίᾳ συνεί-
χοντο, ἀπιστοῦντές τε ἅμα τῇ ὄψει καὶ εὐχόμενοι
ἀληθῆ ταύτην εἶναι· καὶ οὐ πρότερόν γε ἐγνώριζόν
σφας πρὶν τά τε ὀνόματα αὐτῶν ἀνακαλέσαι καὶ
5 φθεγγομένων τι ἀκοῦσαι· οὕτω δὲ ἔχαιρον μὲν ὡς
καὶ ἀναβιωσκομένων σφῶν, ἀναγκαζόμενοι δὲ ἀθ-
ρόως ἥδεσθαι οὐκ ἀδακρυτὶ διῆγον. καὶ ἕτεροι
ἀγνοοῦντές τε τοὺς φιλτάτους ἀπολωλότας, καὶ
ζῆν παρεῖναί τε αὐτοὺς ἡγούμενοι, ἐζήτουν τέ
σφας ἅμα περιφοιτῶντες, καὶ πάντα τὸν προσ-
6 τυγχάνοντα περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπηρώτων· καὶ τέως μὲν
οὐδὲν ἀκριβὲς[1] ἐμάνθανον, μαινομένοις τε ἐῴκεσαν
καὶ ἐν ἀπόρῳ καθειστήκεσαν, ἐλπίζοντές τε ἅμα
αὐτοὺς εὑρήσειν καὶ φοβούμενοι μὴ τεθνήκασι,
καὶ μήτ' ἀπογνῶναι πρὸς τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν μήτ'
7 ἀπαλγῆσαι πρὸς τὴν ἐλπίδα δυνάμενοι· μαθόντες
δὲ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τάς τε τρίχας ἐσπαράττοντο καὶ
τὰς ἐσθῆτας περιερρήγνυντο, ὀνομαστί τε αὐτοὺς
ἀνεκάλουν ὡς καὶ ἐπακοῦσαί τι δυναμένους, καὶ
πένθος ὡς καὶ τότε τελευτώντων αὐτοῦ τέ που
8 κειμένων σφῶν ἐποιοῦντο. καὶ εἴγε τισὶ μηδὲν
αὐτοῖς τοιοῦτο παρῆν, ἀλλ' ἐπί γε τοῖς τῶν ἄλλων
παθήμασιν ἐταράττοντο· ἢ γὰρ χαίροντί τινι
συνήδοντο ἢ πενθοῦντι συνελυποῦντο, καὶ οὕτως
εἰ καὶ ἔξω οἰκείου πάθους ἦσαν, ὅμως οὐκ ἐδύ-

[1] ἀκριβὲς R. Steph., ἀκριβῶς LM.

as they dived, making a spectacle of varied sights and sounds. Some knew that their relatives and associates were living, and seeing them now present, gave way to unrestrained joy. Others, supposing that those dear to them had already died, saw them now unexpectedly and for a long time were at a loss what to do, and were rendered speechless, at once distrusting the sight they saw and praying that it might be true, and they would not accept the recognition as true until they had called their names and had heard their voices in answer; then, indeed, they rejoiced as if their friends had been brought back to life again, but as they must yield perforce to a flood of joy, they could not refrain from tears. Again, some who were unaware that their dearest ones had perished and thought they were alive and present, went about seeking for them and asking every one they met regarding them. As long as they could learn nothing definite they were like madmen and were reduced to despair, both hoping to find them and fearing that they were dead, unable either to give up hope in view of their longing or to give up to grief in view of their hope. But when at last they learned the truth, they would tear their hair and rend their garments, calling upon the lost by name as if their voices could reach them and giving way to grief as if their friends had just then died and were lying there before their eyes. And even if any had no such cause themselves for joy or grief, they were at least affected by the experiences of the rest; for they either rejoiced with him that was glad or grieved with him that mourned, and so, even if they were free from an experience of their own,

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ναντο διὰ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ὁμιλίαν ἡσυχά-
9 ζειν. καὶ ἐκ τούτου οὔτε κόρον οὔτ' αἰσχύνην, ἅτε καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς συμφερόμενοι, ἐλάμβανον, ἀλλὰ τήν τε ἡμέραν ὅλην καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς τὰ πλείω ἐς ταῦτα κατανάλωσαν.

38 Μετὰ δὲ δὴ ταῦθ' οἵ τε ἄλλοι ὑπεδέχοντο ἀλλήλους καὶ ἀνθειστίων[1] καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκεῖνοι, πρότερος μὲν ὁ Σέξτος ἐν τῇ νηί, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ὅ τε Ἀντώνιος ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ· τοσοῦτον γὰρ ὁ Σέξτος τῇ δυνάμει σφῶν περιῆν ὥστε μὴ πρότερον αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν ἤπειρον ἐκβῆναι πρὶν ἐκεί-
2 νους ἐς τὴν ναῦν ἐσελθεῖν. καὶ τοῦτο μέντοι ποιήσας, δυνηθείς τ' ἂν ἀμφοτέρους ἐν τῷ σκάφει σὺν ὀλίγοις παρόντας, ὥσπερ που καὶ ὁ Μηνᾶς αὐτῷ συνεβούλευε, φονεῦσαι, οὐκ ἠθέλησεν, ἀλλὰ καίπερ πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον, ἐπειδὴ τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ τὴν πατρῴαν τὴν ἐν ταῖς Καρίναις κατεῖχε (τόπος γάρ τις τῆς[2] τῶν Ῥωμαίων πόλεως οὕτω καλούμενός ἐστιν), ἀποσκώψας τρόπον τινὰ ἥδι-
3 στον (ταῖς γὰρ τροπίσι ταῖς τῶν νεῶν τῆς αὐτῆς ὀνομασίας οὔσης, ἐν ταῖς Καρίναις αὐτοὺς ἑστιᾶν ἔφη), ὅμως οὐδὲν ὡς καὶ μνησικακῶν σφισιν ἔπραξεν, ἀλλὰ τῇ τε[3] ὑστεραίᾳ ἀνθειστιάθη, καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα Μάρκῳ Μαρκέλλῳ τῷ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀδελφιδῷ ἠγγύησεν.[4]

39 Οὗτος μὲν οὖν ὁ πόλεμος ἀνεβέβλητο, τὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦ Λαβιήνου τῶν τε Πάρθων ὧδε διεπολεμήθη. ὁ Ἀντώνιος αὐτὸς μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπανελθὼν ἐνταῦθα ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐνεχρό-

[1] ἀνθειστίων Xiph. Zon., ἀντανθειστίων LM.
[2] τῆς supplied by St. [3] τε M, om. L.
[4] ἠγγύησεν Bk., ἐνεγγύησεν LM.

yet they could not remain indifferent on account of their comradeship with the rest. Accordingly they became neither sated with joy nor ashamed of grief, because they were all affected in the same way, and they spent the entire day as well as the greater part of the night in these demonstrations. B.C. 39

After this the leaders as well as the rest received and entertained one another, first Sextus on his ship and then Caesar and Antony on the shore; for Sextus so far surpassed them in military strength that he would not disembark to meet them on the mainland until they had gone aboard his ship. And although, by this arrangement, he might have murdered them both while they were in the small boat with only a few followers, as Menas, in fact, advised, he was unwilling to do so. Indeed to Antony, who had possession of his father's house in the Carinae (the name of a region in the city of Rome), he uttered a jest in the happiest manner, saying that he was entertaining them in the Carinae; for this is also the name for the keels of ships. Nevertheless, he did not act toward them in any way as if he recalled the past with bitterness, and on the following day he was not only feasted in turn but also betrothed his daughter to Marcus Marcellus, Caesar's nephew.

This war, then, had been deferred; and that of Labienus and the Parthians came to an end in the following way. Antony himself returned from Italy to Greece and delayed there a long time, satisfying

νισεν, τάς τε ἐπιθυμίας ἅμα ἀποπιμπλὰς καὶ τὰς πόλεις κακῶν, ἵν' ὅτι ἀσθενέσταται τῷ Σέξτῳ
2 παραδοθῶσι. καὶ ἄλλα τε ἐν τούτῳ πολλὰ ἔξω τῶν πατρίων ἐξεδιῃτήθη, καὶ Διόνυσον ἑαυτὸν νέον αὐτός τε ἐκάλει καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ὀνομάζεσθαι ἠξίου· ἐπειδή τε οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πρός τε τοῦτο καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν αὐτῷ κατηγγύησαν, δέχεσθαί τε τὸν γάμον ἔφη καὶ προῖκα μυριάδας ἑκατὸν παρ' αὐτῶν ἐξέπραξεν. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν περὶ ταῦτα εἶχε, τὸν δὲ δὴ Οὐεντίδιον τὸν
3 Πούπλιον ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν προύπεμψεν. καὶ ὃς ἦλθέ τε ἐπὶ τὸν Λαβιῆνον πρὶν ἔκπυστος γενέσθαι, καὶ καταπλήξας αὐτὸν τῷ τε αἰφνιδίῳ τῆς ἐφόδου καὶ τοῖς στρατεύμασιν (ἄνευ γὰρ τῶν Πάρθων μετὰ τῶν αὐτόθεν στρατιωτῶν μόνων ἦν), ἐκεῖθέν τε μηδὲ ἐς χεῖράς οἱ ὑπομείναντα εὐθὺς ἐξέωσε, καὶ φεύγοντα ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἐπε-
4 δίωξε, τὸ κουφότατον τοῦ στρατοῦ λαβών. καὶ αὐτὸν πρὸς τῷ Ταύρῳ καταλαβὼν οὐκέτι περαιτέρω προχωρῆσαι εἴασεν, ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα ἐπὶ πλείους ἡμέρας καταστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἡσύχαζον· Λαβιῆνος μὲν γὰρ τοὺς Πάρθους, Οὐεντίδιος δὲ
40 τοὺς ὁπλίτας ἀνέμεινεν. ὡς οὖν καὶ οὗτοι ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς ἅμα ἀμφότεροι ἡμέραις ἦλθον, Οὐεντίδιος μὲν δέει τῆς ἵππου τῶν βαρβάρων ἐν τῷ μετεώρῳ,
2 οὗπερ ηὐλίζετο, κατέμεινεν, οἱ δὲ δὴ Πάρθοι ἔκ τε τοῦ πλήθους σφῶν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ προνενικηκέναι ποτὲ καταφρονήσαντες πρός τε τὸν γήλοφον ἅμα τῇ ἕῳ, πρὶν καὶ τῷ Λαβιήνῳ συμμῖξαι, προσή-

his desires and injuring the cities, so that they should be in the weakest possible condition when delivered up to Sextus. He lived during this time in many respects contrary to the customs of his country, calling himself, for example, the young Dionysus and insisting on being called so by others; and when the Athenians, in view of this and his general behaviour, betrothed Athena to him, he declared that he accepted the marriage and exacted from them a dowry of four million sesterces.[1] While he was occupied with these matters he sent Publius Ventidius before him into Asia. This officer came upon Labienus before his coming had been announced and terrified him by the suddenness of his approach and by his legions; for Labienus was without his Parthians and had with him only the soldiers from the neighbourhood. Ventidius found he would not even risk a conflict with him and so thrust him forthwith out of that country and pursued him into Syria, taking the lightest part of his army with him. He overtook him near the Taurus range and allowed him to proceed no farther, but they encamped there for several days and made no move, for Labienus was awaiting the Parthians and Ventidius his heavy-armed troops. These reinforcements, however, arrived during the same days on both sides, and though Ventidius through fear of the barbarian cavalry remained on the high ground, where he was encamped, the Parthians, because of their numbers and because they had been victorious once before,[2] despised their opponents and rode up to the hill at dawn, without even waiting to join forces with

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[1] Seneca the Rhetorician (*Suas.* i. 6) gives the amount as one thousand talents, or six times the sum here given.

[2] A reference to their defeat of Crassus in B.C. 53.

λασαν, καὶ ὡς οὐδείς σφισιν ἀντεπεξῄει, καὶ πρὸς
3 τὸ ὄρθιον αὐτὸ προσέβαλον. καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐνταῦθα
ἤδη ὄντας οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπιδραμόντες ῥᾳδίως πρὸς
τὸ κάταντες ἐτρέψαντο. καί σφων πολλοὶ μὲν ἐν
χερσὶν ἀπέθανον, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖον ἐν τῇ ἀνα-
στροφῇ περὶ ἀλλήλοις, οἱ μὲν ἤδη τετραμμένοι οἱ
δὲ ἔτι[1] προσιόντες, ἐσφάλησαν· οἵ τε περιλει-
φθέντες οὐ πρὸς τὸν Λαβιῆνον ἀλλ' ἐς Κιλικίαν
4 ἔφυγον. ὁ οὖν Οὐεντίδιος ἐπεδίωξε μὲν αὐτοὺς
μέχρι τοῦ στρατοπέδου, ἰδὼν δὲ ἐνταῦθα τὸν
Λαβιῆνον ἐπέσχε. καὶ ὃς παρετάξατο μὲν ὡς
καὶ ἐς χεῖρας αὐτῷ ἥξων, αἰσθόμενος δὲ τοὺς
στρατιώτας ἀθύμως διὰ τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων φυγὴν
ἔχοντας οὔτε τότε ἐθάρσησέν οἱ ἀνταραι, καὶ τῆς
5 νυκτὸς ἀποδρᾶναί ποι ἐπεχείρησε. προγνοὺς οὖν
τοῦτο ἐξ αὐτομόλων ὁ Οὐεντίδιος πολλοὺς μὲν ἐν
τῇ ἀποχωρήσει ἐνεδρεύσας ἔκτεινε, πάντας δὲ τοὺς
λοιποὺς ἐγκαταλειφθέντας ὑπὸ τοῦ Λαβιήνου
παρεστήσατο. καὶ ἐκεῖνος δὲ τότε μὲν τὴν ἐσθῆτα
μετεκδὺς διέφυγε, καὶ χρόνον τινὰ ἐν τῇ Κιλικίᾳ
6 διέλαθεν, ὕστερον δὲ ὑπὸ Δημητρίου ἑάλω· οὗτος
γὰρ ἐξελεύθερός τε τοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ προτέρου
ὤν, καὶ τότε τῇ Κύπρῳ πρὸς τοῦ Ἀντωνίου προσ-
τεταγμένος, ἀνεζήτησέ τε αὐτὸν μαθὼν ὅτι κρύ-
πτοιτο, καὶ συνέλαβε.

41 Μετὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦτο ὁ Οὐεντίδιος τήν τε Κιλικίαν
ἐκομίσατο, καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ταύτην καθίστατο, Που-
πήδιον[2] δὲ δὴ Σίλωνα μεθ' ἱππέων πρὸς τὸν
2 Ἀμανὸν προύπεμψε. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ὄρος ἔν τε τῇ

[1] ἔτι M, ὅτι L.
[2] Πουπήδιον Val., οὐπήδιον LM; Bs. suggests Ποππήδιον or Πομπήδιον.

Labienus; and when nobody came out to meet them, B.C. 39 they actually charged straight up the incline. When they were at length on the slope, the Romans rushed down upon them and easily hurled them down-hill. Many of the Parthians were killed in hand-to-hand conflict, but still more caused disaster to one another in the retreat, as some had already turned to flight and others were still coming up; and the survivors fled, not to Labienus, but into Cilicia. Ventidius pursued them as far as the camp, but stopped when he saw Labienus there. The latter marshalled his forces as if to offer him battle, but perceiving that his soldiers were dejected by reason of the flight of the barbarians, he ventured no opposition at the time, although when night came he attempted to escape somewhere. Nevertheless, Ventidius learned his plan beforehand from deserters, and by setting ambushes killed many in the retreat and gained over all the rest, after they had been abandoned by Labienus. The latter by changing his dress gained safety at the time and escaped detection for awhile in Cilicia, but was afterwards captured by Demetrius, a freedman of the former Caesar, who had at this time been assigned to Cyprus by Antony; for Demetrius, learning that Labienus was in hiding, made a search for him and arrested him.

After this Ventidius recovered Cilicia and attended to the administration of this district himself, but sent ahead Pompaedius[1] Silo with cavalry to the Amanus. This mountain is on the border between Cilicia and

[1] Or Poppaedius (cf. Livy, *Perioch.* 76).

μεθορίᾳ τῆς τε Κιλικίας καὶ τῆς Συρίας ἐστί, καὶ στενοπορίαν τοσαύτην δή τινα ἔχει ὥστε καὶ πύλας ποτὲ ἐν αὐτῇ μετὰ τείχους ἐνοικοδομηθῆναι
3 καὶ τὸ χωρίον ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐπονομασθῆναι. οὐ μέντοι καὶ κατασχεῖν αὐτὸ ὁ Σίλων ἠδυνήθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκινδύνευσεν ὑπὸ Φραναπάτου ὑπάρχου τε τοῦ Πακόρου ὄντος καὶ τὴν δίοδον φυλάττοντος ἀπολέσθαι. κἂν ἔπαθε τοῦτο, εἰ μὴ ὁ Οὐεντίδιος μαχομένῳ αὐτῷ κατὰ τύχην ἐπιστὰς ἐπήμυνεν·
4 ἀνελπίστοις τε γὰρ ἅμα καὶ ἐλάττοσι τοῖς βαρβάροις σφῶν οὖσι προσπεσὼν τόν τε Φραναπάτην καὶ ἄλλους πολλοὺς ἐφόνευσε, καὶ οὕτω τήν τε Συρίαν ἐκλειφθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τῶν Πάρθων ἀμαχεὶ πλὴν τῶν Ἀραδίων παρέλαβε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὴν Παλαιστίνην, Ἀντίγονον τὸν βασιλεύοντα
5 αὐτῆς ἐκφοβήσας, ἀπόνως κατέσχε. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτά τε διῆγε, καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ μὲν παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὡς ἑκάστων, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ τε Ἀντιόχου καὶ Μάλχου τοῦ Ναβαταίου, ὅτι τῷ Πακόρῳ συνήραντο, ἐσέπραξε. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς, ἅτε οὐκ αὐτοκράτωρ ὢν ἀλλ' ἑτέρῳ ὑποστρατηγῶν, εὕρετο, ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος καὶ ἐπαίνους καὶ
6 ἱερομηνίας ἔλαβεν. οἵ γε μὴν Ἀράδιοι δείσαντες μὴ καὶ δίκην ὧν ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐτετολμήκεσαν ὑπόσχωσιν, ἐκείνῳ μέν, καίτοι χρόνον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πολιορκηθέντες, οὐ προσεχώρησαν, ὕστερον δὲ ὑπ' ἄλλων μόλις ποτὲ ἑάλωσαν.

7 Κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον[1] ἐγένετο μὲν καὶ ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς[2] τοῖς Παρθινοῖς[3] κίνησις,

[1] L has lost one folio at this point, resuming with χωρὶς (chap. 44, 3). [2] ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς Heringa, ἐνιαυρίοις M.
[3] Παρθινοῖς Bs., παρθηνοῖς M.

Syria, and has a pass so narrow that a wall and gates were once built across it and the place received its name from that fact.[1] Silo, however, was unable to occupy it and actually came near perishing at the hands of Phranapates, a lieutenant of Pacorus in charge of the garrison at the pass. This would certainly have been his fate, had not Ventidius by chance come upon him when he was fighting and succoured him. For Ventidius fell upon the barbarians when they were not expecting him and were at the same time in smaller force, and slew Phranapates and many others. In this way he took over Syria without a battle, now that it was deserted by the Parthians, with the exception of the Aradii, and later occupied Palestine without trouble, after he had frightened the king, Antigonus, out of the country. Besides accomplishing all this he exacted large sums of money from the rest individually, and large sums also from Antigonus and Antiochus and Malchus the Nabataean, because they had given help to Pacorus. Ventidius himself received no reward for these achievements from the senate, since he was not acting with independent authority but as lieutenant to another; but Antony was honoured with eulogies and thanksgivings. As for the Aradii, they were afraid they would have to pay the penalty for their boldness against Antony, and so would not come to terms with him, though they were besieged by him for a time; but later they were captured by others after much difficulty.

B.C. 39

About this same time an uprising took place among the Parthine Illyrians, but it was put down by Pollio

[1] *i.e.* the Cilician Gates.

καὶ αὐτὴν ὁ Πωλίων μάχαις ἔπαυσεν, ἐγένετο
42 δὲ καὶ ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ Κερητανῶν,[1] καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Καλουῖνος[2] κατεστρέψατο, προκατορθώσας τέ τι καὶ προδυστυχήσας διὰ τοῦ ὑποστρατήγου λοχισθέντος τε ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ ἐγκατα-
2 λειφθέντος[3] ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν. καὶ οὐ πρότερόν γε ἐπεχείρησε τοῖς πολεμίοις πρὶν ἐκείνους τιμωρήσασθαι· συγκαλέσας γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὡς καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλο τι τῷ λοιπῷ στρατῷ περιέσχε, καὶ δύο τε ἑκατονταρχίας ἐδεκάτευσε, καὶ ἑκατοντάρχους συχνούς, ἄλλους τε καὶ τὸν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ πίλῳ
3 καλουμένῳ στρατευόμενον, ἐκόλασε. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας ὥστε καὶ ὄνομα κατὰ τὸν Κράσσον τὸν Μᾶρκον ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ στρατοῦ δικαιώσει λαβεῖν, πρός τε τοὺς ἐναντίους ὥρμησε καὶ οὐ χαλεπῶς
4 αὐτοὺς κατειργάσατο. τυχών τε τῶν ἐπινικίων καίτοι τῆς Ἰβηρίας τῷ Καίσαρι προστεταγμένης (πρὸς γὰρ τὰς τῶν κρατούντων βουλήσεις καὶ αἱ τιμαὶ τοῖς ὑποστρατηγοῦσί σφισιν ἐγίγνοντο), τό τε χρυσίον τὸ παρὰ τῶν πόλεων ἐς αὐτὰ εἰωθὸς δίδοσθαι ἐκ μόνων τῶν Ἰβηρικῶν ἔλαβε, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ μέν τι ἐς τὴν ἑορτὴν ἀνάλωσε,
5 τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖον ἐς τὸ βασίλειον. κατακαυθὲν γὰρ αὐτὸ ἀνῳκοδόμησε καὶ καθιέρωσεν, ἄλλοις τέ τισι λαμπρῶς κοσμήσας καὶ εἰκόσιν, ἃς παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὡς καὶ ἀποδώσων ᾐτήσατο. καὶ αὐτὰς ἀπαιτηθεὶς ὕστερον οὐκ ἀπέδωκεν, εὐτρα-
6 πελίᾳ χρησάμενος· ὡς γὰρ οὐκ ἔχων ἱκανοὺς

[1] Κερητανῶν R. Steph., καιρητανῶν M.
[2] Καλουῖνος H. Steph., καλουῆνος M.
[3] ἐγκαταλειφθέντος R. Steph., ἐγκαταληφθέντος M.

after a few battles. There was another on the part of the Cerretani in Spain, and they were subjugated by Calvinus after he had met with a preliminary success and also a reverse,—the latter through his lieutenant, who was ambushed by the barbarians and deserted by his soldiers. Calvinus undertook no operation against the enemy until he had punished these deserters; calling them together as if for some other purpose, he made the rest of the army surround them, and then put to death every tenth man in two centuries and punished many of the centurions, including the one who was serving in the *primus pilus*, as it is called.[1] After doing this and gaining, like Marcus Crassus, a reputation for his disciplining of his army, he set out against his opponents and with no great difficulty vanquished them. And he obtained a triumph in spite of the fact that Spain had been assigned to Caesar; for those in power could grant the honours at will to those who served as their lieutenants. The gold[2] customarily given by the cities for the triumph Calvinus took from the Spanish towns alone, and of it he spent only a part on the festival, but the greater portion on the Regia. This had been burned down, and he now rebuilt and dedicated it, adorning it splendidly with various objects and with statues in particular, which he asked Caesar to send him, intimating that he would give them back. And when asked for them later, he did not return them, excusing himself by a witticism. Pretending that he had not enough assistants, he said: "Send some

[1] The ranking centurion of the sixty centurions in each legion was called *primus pilus* (for *centurio primi pili*), or in one word *primipilus*.

[2] The *aurum coronarium*, given sometimes in lieu of gold crowns.

ὑπηρέτας "πέμψον τινάς" ἔφη "καὶ ἆρον αὐτάς," καὶ οὕτως ἐκεῖνος ὀκνήσας τὴν ἱεροσυλίαν ἀνακεῖσθαί σφας εἴασε.

43 Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ ἐγένετο· ἐπὶ δ' Ἀππίου τε Κλαυδίου καὶ Γαΐου Νωρβανοῦ ὑπάτων, οἷς πρώτοις δύο ἑκατέροις ταμίαι συνεγένοντο, τό τε πλῆθος πρὸς τοὺς τελώνας βαρύτατά σφισιν ἐγκειμένους ἐστασίασε, καὶ αὐτοῖς τε ἐκείνοις καὶ τοῖς ὑπηρέταις τοῖς τε στρατιώταις τοῖς συνεσπράσσουσί σφισι τὰ χρήματα ἐς 2 χεῖρας ἦσαν,[1] καὶ στρατηγοὶ ἑπτὰ καὶ ἑξήκοντα ἄλλοι ἐπ' ἄλλοις ἀποδειχθέντες ἦρξαν. ταμιεῦσαί τέ τις ἐν παισὶν αἱρεθεὶς ἔπειτα τῆς ὑστεραίας ἐς ἐφήβους ἐσῆλθε, καὶ ἕτερος ἐς τὸ βου-3 λευτικὸν ἐσγραφεὶς μονομαχῆσαι ἠθέλησε· καὶ ἐκεῖνός τε[2] ἐκωλύθη τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, καὶ προσαπηγορεύθη μήτε βουλευτὴν μονομαχεῖν μήτε δοῦλον ῥαβδουχεῖν, μήτε τὰς καύσεις τῶν νεκρῶν ἐντὸς πεντεκαίδεκα ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως σταδίων γίγνεσθαι.

4 Πολλὰ μὲν δὴ καὶ πρὸ[3] ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου τερατώδη συνηνέχθη (ἄλλα τε γὰρ καὶ ἔλαιόν τι παρὰ τῷ Τιβέριδι ἀνέβλυσε), πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τότε. ἥ τε γὰρ σκηνὴ ἡ τοῦ Ῥωμύλου ἐξ ἱερουργίας τινός, ἣν οἱ ποντίφικες ἐν αὐτῇ ἐπεποιήκεσαν, ἐκαύθη· καὶ Ἀρετῆς ἄγαλμα πρὸ[3] πυλῶν τινων ἑστὸς ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ στόμα, κάτοχοί τέ τινες ἐκ τῆς Μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν γενόμενοι ὀργίζεσθαί 5 σφισι τὴν θεὸν[4] ἔφασαν. καὶ ἀνεγνώσθη μὲν ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὰ Σιβύλλεια ἔπη· ὡς δὲ καὶ ἐκείνων

[1] ἦσαν Bs., ἤιεσαν M. [2] τε Bk., γε M.
[3] πρὸ R. Steph., πρὸς M. [4] θεὸν Bs., θεὰν M.

men and take them." And thus Caesar, since he shrank from the sacrilege, allowed them to remain as votive offerings. B.C. 39

This is what happened at that time. But in the consulship of Appius Claudius and Gaius Norbanus, who were the first to have two quaestors apiece as associates, the populace revolted against the tax-gatherers, who oppressed them severely, and came to blows with the men themselves, their assistants, and the soldiers who helped them to collect the money; and sixty-seven praetors one after another were appointed and held office. One person was chosen to be quaestor while still accounted a boy, and did not obtain the standing of a *juvenis* until the next day; and another, who had been enrolled in the senate, desired to fight as a gladiator. Not only was he prevented, however, from doing this, but an act was also passed prohibiting any senator from fighting as a gladiator, any slave from serving as lictor, and any burning of dead bodies from being carried on within two miles of the city. B.C. 38

Now many events of a portentous nature had occurred even before this, such as the spouting of olive oil on the bank of the Tiber, and many also at this time. Thus the hut of Romulus [1] was burned as a result of some ritual which the pontifices were performing in it; a statue of Virtus, which stood before one of the gates, fell upon its face, and certain persons, becoming inspired by the Mother of the Gods, declared that the goddess was angry with them. For this reason the Sibylline books were consulted, and they made the same declarations and

[1] Dio also records the burning of the hut of Romulus among the events of B.C. 12 (liv. 29, 8). There was a *casa Romuli* on the Capitoline as well as on the Palatine.

ταὐτά[1] τε εἰπόντων, καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐπί τε τὴν θάλασσαν καταχθῆναι καὶ τῷ ὕδατι αὐτῆς καθαρθῆναι προσταξάντων, ἡ θεὸς πλεῖστόν τε ὅσον ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἐς τὸν βυθὸν ἐχώρησε καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐνεχρόνισε καὶ μόλις ὀψέ ποτε ἀνεκομί-
6 σθη, φόβος αὖ καὶ ἐκ τούτου οὐ σμικρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἔλαβεν, οὐδ' ἀνεθάρσησαν πρὶν φοίνικας τέσσαρας περί τε τὸν νεὼν αὐτῆς καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἀναφῦναι.

Ταῦτά τε οὖν τότε ἐγένετο, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ τὴν
44 Λιουίαν ἔγημεν. ἦν δὲ θυγάτηρ μὲν Λιουίου Δρούσου, ὃς ἔν τε τοῖς ἐκτεθεῖσιν ἐν τῷ λευκώματι ἐγεγόνει καὶ ἑαυτὸν μετὰ τὴν ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ ἧτταν κατεκέχρητο,[2] γυνὴ δὲ τοῦ Νέρωνος, μεθ' οὗ συνδιέφυγεν, ὥσπερ εἴρηται· καὶ ἐκύει γε
2 ἐξ αὐτοῦ μῆνα ἕκτον. διστάζοντος γοῦν τοῦ Καίσαρος, καὶ πυθομένου τῶν ποντιφίκων εἴ οἱ ὅσιον ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσαν αὐτὴν ἀγαγέσθαι εἴη, ἀπεκρίναντο ὅτι εἰ μὲν ἐν ἀμφιβόλῳ τὸ κύημα ἦν, ἀναβληθῆναι τὸν γάμον ἐχρῆν, ὁμολογουμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ οὐδὲν κωλύει ἤδη αὐτὸν γενέσθαι, τάχα μέν που καὶ ὄντως ἐν τοῖς πατρίοις τοῦτο εὑρόντες, πάντως δ' ἄν, εἰ καὶ μὴ εὗρον αὐτό, εἰπόντες.
3 ἐξέδωκε δὲ αὐτὴν αὐτὸς ὁ ἀνὴρ ὥσπερ τις πατήρ. καί τι καὶ τοιοῦτον ἐν τῇ ἑστιάσει σφῶν συνηνέχθη· παιδίον τι τῶν ψιθύρων, οἷα αἱ γυναῖκες γυμνὰ ὡς πλήθει ἀθύρουσαι τρέφουσιν, ἰδὸν χωρὶς μὲν τὴν Λιουίαν μετὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος χωρὶς δὲ τὸν Νέρωνα μεθ' ἑτέρου τινὸς κατακεί-

[1] ταὐτὰ Leuncl., ταῦτα M.
[2] κατεκέχρητο Bs., κατεκεχρήσατο M.

prescribed that the statue should be taken down to the sea and purified in its waters. Now when the goddess was taken out a long distance from the land into the deep water and remained there a good while, being brought back only after a long time, this circumstance also caused the Romans no little fear, and they did not recover their spirits until palm trees, four in number, sprang up round about her temple and in the Forum.[1] B.C. 38

Besides these occurrences at that time, Caesar married Livia. She was the daughter of Livius Drusus, who had been among those proscribed on the tablet and had committed suicide after the defeat in Macedonia, and the wife of Nero, whom she had accompanied in his flight, as has been related.[2] And it seems that she was in the sixth month with child by him. At any rate, when Caesar was in doubt and enquired of the pontifices whether it was permissible to wed her while pregnant, they answered that if there was any doubt whether conception had taken place the marriage should be put off, but if this was admitted, there was nothing to prevent its taking place immediately. Perhaps they really found this among the ordinances of the forefathers, but certainly they would have said so, even had they not found it. Her husband himself gave the woman in marriage just as a father would; and the following incident occurred at the marriage feast. One of the prattling boys, such as the women keep about them for their amusement, naked as a rule,[3] on seeing Livia reclining in one place with Caesar, and Nero

[1] The temple of the Magna Mater was on the Palatine.
[2] In chap. 15.
[3] Cf. Suetonius, *Aug.* 83.

μενον, προσῆλθέ τε αὐτῇ καὶ ἔφη, "τί ποιεῖς ἐνταῦθα, κυρία; ὁ γὰρ ἀνήρ σου," δείξας αὐτόν, 4 "ἐκεῖ κατάκειται." ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἐπράχθη, συνοικοῦσα δὲ ἤδη ἡ γυνὴ τῷ Καίσαρι τίκτει Κλαύδιον Δροῦσον Νέρωνα. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ ἀνείλετο καὶ τῷ πατρὶ ἔπεμψεν, αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐς τὰ ὑπομνήματα ἐγγράψας, ὅτι Καῖσαρ τὸ γεννηθὲν Λιουίᾳ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ γυναικὶ 5 παιδίον Νέρωνι[1] τῷ πατρὶ ἀπέδωκε. καὶ ἐκεῖνος[2] τελευτῶν οὐ[3] πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐπίτροπον καὶ τούτῳ καὶ τῷ Τιβερίῳ αὐτὸν τὸν Καίσαρα κατέλιπεν. ὁ δ' οὖν ὅμιλος ἄλλα τε ἐπὶ τούτῳ πολλὰ διεθρύλει, καὶ τοῖς εὐτυχοῦσι τρίμηνα παιδία γεννᾶσθαι ἔλεγεν, ὥστε καὶ ἐς παροιμίαν τὸ ἔπος προχωρῆσαι.

45 Ἐν μὲν δὴ τῇ πόλει ταῦτα[4] ἐγίγνετο, ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον ὁ Βογούας ὁ Μαῦρος ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, εἴτ' οὖν κατ' ἐντολὴν τοῦ Ἀντωνίου εἴτε καὶ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ γνώμης, πλεύσας, πολλὰ μὲν ἐλυμήνατο πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀντέπαθε, 2 κἀν τούτῳ τῶν οἴκοι τῶν περὶ τὴν Τίγγιν[5] ἐπαναστάντων αὐτῷ τῆς τε Ἰβηρίας ἐξέστη καὶ τὴν οἰκείαν οὐκ ἐκομίσατο· οἵ τε γὰρ τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ πράσσοντες καὶ ὁ Βόκχος προσγενόμενός σφισι κρείττους αὐτοῦ ἐγένοντο. 3 καὶ ἐκεῖνος μὲν πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀπῆλθεν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Βόκχος τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ αὐτίκα τε κατέσχε καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐβεβαιώσατο· τοῖς τε Τιγγιτανοῖς πολιτεία ἐδόθη.

[1] Νέρωνι M, Νέρωνα L. [2] ἐκεῖνος Xiph., ἐκεῖνος τε LM.
[3] οὐ Xiph., om. LM. [4] ταῦτα L, ταῦτ' M.
[5] Τίγγιν Xyl., γίττιν LM (Τέγγις M in lx. 9, 5).

in another with a man, went up to her and said: "What are you doing here, mistress? For your husband," pointing him out, "is reclining over there." So much then, for this. Later, when the woman was now living with Caesar, she gave birth to Claudius Drusus Nero. Caesar both acknowledged him and sent him to his real father, making this entry in his memoranda: "Caesar returned to its father Nero the child borne by Livia, his wife." Nero died not long afterward and left Caesar himself as guardian to this boy and to Tiberius. Now the populace gossiped a great deal about this and said, among other things, "The lucky have children in three months"; and this saying passed into a proverb. B.C. 38

During this same time, while these events were occurring in the city, Bogud the Moor sailed to Spain, acting either on instructions from Antony or on his own initiative, and did much damage, receiving also considerable injury in turn; meantime the people of his own land in the neighbourhood of Tingis[1] rose against him, and so he evacuated Spain, but failed to win back his own domain. For the adherents of Caesar in Spain and Bocchus came to the aid of the rebels and proved too much for him. Bogud departed to join Antony, while Bocchus forthwith took possession of his kingdom, which was afterwards confirmed to him by Caesar; and the people of Tingis were given citizenship.

[1] The modern Tangier.

4 Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ, καὶ ἔτι πρότερον, καὶ ὁ Σέξτος ὅ τε Καῖσαρ ἐπολέμησαν· οἷα γὰρ οὐκ ἐθελονταὶ οὐδ' ἐκ προαιρέσεως ἀλλὰ ἀναγκαστοὶ τὴν ὁμολογίαν πεποιημένοι, χρόνον οὐδένα αὐτῇ ὡς εἰπεῖν ἐνέμειναν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς τὰς σπονδὰς λύσαντες διηνέ-5 χθησαν. ἔμελλον μὲν γάρ που καὶ ἄλλως, εἰ καὶ μηδεμίαν σκῆψιν εὗρον, πολεμήσειν· αἰτίαι δ' οὖν αἵδε αὐτοῖς ἐγένοντο. ὁ Μηνᾶς ἐν τῇ Σαρδοῖ καὶ τότε ἔτι καθάπερ τις στρατηγὸς ὢν ὑπωπτεύθη τε ὑπὸ τοῦ Σέξτου διὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἑλένου ἄφεσιν καὶ ὅτι καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι ἐκεκοινολόγητο, καί πῃ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ὁμοίων φθόνῳ τῆς 6 δυναστείας διεβλήθη. κἀκ τούτου μεταπεμφθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, πρόφασιν ὅπως περί τε τοῦ σίτου καὶ περὶ τῶν χρημάτων ὧν διῳκήκει ἀπολογίσηται,[1] οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς κατὰ[2] τοῦτο πεμφθέντας συλλαβὼν ἀπέκτεινε, πρός τε τὸν Καίσαρα προκηρυκευσάμενος τήν τε νῆσον αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν τό τε ἄλλο στράτευμα καὶ ἑαυτὸν παρέ-7 δωκε. καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνος ἀσμένως ἰδών, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὸν Σέξτον τούς τε αὐτομολοῦντας παρὰ τὰ συγκείμενα ὑποδέχεσθαι καὶ ναυπηγίαν τριήρων ποιεῖσθαι ἔν τε τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ φρουρὰς ἔχειν ἔλεγεν. οὔτε ἐξέδωκεν ἐξαιτηθέντα καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐν τιμῇ μεγάλῃ ἤγαγε δακτυλίοις τε χρυσοῖς ἐκό-8 σμησε καὶ ἐς τὸ τῶν ἱππέων τέλος ἐσέγραψε. τὸ δὲ δὴ τῶν δακτυλίων τοιόνδε ἐστίν. οὐδενὶ τῶν πάλαι Ῥωμαίων, οὐχ ὅτι τῶν δουλευσάντων ποτέ, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν ἐν ἐλευθέρῳ γένει τραφέντων, δακτυλίοις χρυσοῖς πλὴν τῶν τε βουλευτῶν καὶ

[1] ἀπολογίσηται Bk., ἀπολογήσηται LM.
[2] κατὰ Bs., μετὰ LM.

BOOK XLVIII

At this time, or even earlier, war was begun between Sextus and Caesar also; for since they had made their agreement, not of their own free will or by choice, but under compulsion, they did not abide by it for any time to speak of, but broke the truce at once and quarrelled. They were bound, of course, to go to war in any case, even if they had found no excuse; their grievances, however, were the following. Menas, who was at this time still in Sardinia, as if he were a kind of praetor, had incurred the suspicion of Sextus by his release of Helenus and because he had been in communication with Caesar; and he was also slandered to some extent by the people of his own rank, who envied him his power. He was therefore summoned by Sextus on the pretext that he should give an account of the grain and money of which he had been in charge; but instead of obeying, he seized and killed the men sent to him on this errand, and after first negotiating with Caesar, surrendered to him the island, the fleet together with the army, and himself. Caesar, on his part, was glad to see him, for he declared that Sextus was harbouring deserters contrary to the treaty, was having triremes built, and was keeping garrisons in Italy; and not only did he fail to give up Menas on Sextus' demand, but even went farther and treated him with great honour, decorated him with gold rings, and enrolled him in the order of the knights. Now the matter of the gold rings is as follows. Of the ancient Romans no one, not merely of those who had once been slaves but even of those who had been brought up as free, was allowed to wear gold rings, except the

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τῶν ἱππέων χρῆσθαι, ὥσπερ εἴρηταί μοι, ἐξῆν·
9 *καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοῖς ἐξελευθέροις, οἷς ἂν ὁ τὸ κράτος ἔχων ἐθελήσῃ, καίτοι καὶ ἄλλως χρυσοφοροῦσιν, ὅμως ἐν τιμῆς μέρει, ὡς καὶ βελτίοσιν ἢ κατὰ ἀπελευθερίαν ἱππεύειν τε δυναμένοις, δίδονται.*

46 *Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Σέξτος ταῦτά τε τῷ Καίσαρι ἐγκαλῶν, καὶ ὅτι ἡ Ἀχαΐα ἐκεκάκωτο καὶ οὔτε αὐτῷ οὔτε τοῖς κατελθοῦσι τὰ ὁμολογηθέντα ἐγίγνετο, ἔπεμψε Μενεκράτην ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἐξελεύθερον καὶ αὐτὸν ἑαυτοῦ ὄντα, καὶ δι' ἐκείνου ἄλλα τε τῆς Καμπανίας καὶ*
2 *Οὐόλτουρνον ἐπόρθησεν. ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ μαθὼν τοῦτο τά τε γραμματεῖα τὰ τῆς συμβάσεως ἀνείλετο παρὰ τῶν ἀειπαρθένων, καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον τόν τε Λέπιδον μετεπέμψατο. καὶ αὐτῷ Λέπιδος μὲν οὐκ εὐθὺς ὑπήκουσεν, Ἀντώνιος δὲ ἦλθε μὲν ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον (ἐν γὰρ τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἔτι ὢν ἐτύγ-*
3 *χανε), πρὶν δὲ ἢ συμμῖξαι τῷ Καίσαρι ἐν Τυρσηνίᾳ ὄντι, δείσας ὅτι λύκος ἔς τε τὸ στρατήγιον*[1] *αὐτοῦ ἐσῆλθε καὶ στρατιώτας ἔφθειρεν, ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα αὖθις, πρόφασιν τὰ τῶν Πάρθων ὡς*
4 *κατεπείγοντα ποιησάμενος,*[2] *ἀνέπλευσεν. πρὸς οὖν τοῦτο ὁ μὲν*[3] *Καῖσαρ, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐγκαταλελεῖφθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ὅπως μόνος τῷ πολέμῳ συσχεθῇ, ἐνόμιζεν, ἀλλ' οὔτι γε καὶ φανερῶς ὠργίζετο· ὁ δὲ δὴ Σέξτος ἐθρύλει τε ὡς μὴ δικαιοῦντος τοῦ Ἀντωνίου αὐτόν, καὶ προθυμότερον τῶν προκειμένων εἴχετο, καὶ τέλος τῇ τε*

[1] *στράτήγιον* Zon., *στρατηγικὸν* LM.
[2] *ποιησάμενος* R. Steph., *ποιησόμενος* LM.
[3] *μὲν* supplied by Bk.

senators and the knights, as has been stated[1]; and for this reason they are given to such freedmen as the ruler may choose, even though these men are already wearing gold in other ways, as a mark of honour indicating that they are superior to the status of freedmen and are eligible to become knights. B.C. 38

So much for this matter. Sextus, now, blamed Caesar, not only for harbouring Menas, but for the further reasons that Achaia had been injured and the terms agreed upon were not being carried out either in his case or in that of the restored exiles, and he accordingly sent to Italy Menecrates, another freedman of his, and had him ravage Volturnum and other parts of Campania. Now when Caesar learned of this, he took the documents containing the treaty from the Vestal Virgins and sent for Antony and Lepidus. Lepidus did not at once answer the summons, and as for Antony, although he came to Brundisium (for he chanced to be still in Greece), yet before he could meet Caesar, who was in Etruria, he became alarmed because a wolf had entered his headquarters and killed some soldiers, and so he sailed back to Greece again, making the urgency of the Parthian situation his excuse. At this, Caesar, in spite of his strong conviction that he had been left in the lurch by Antony with the purpose of making him face the difficulties of the war alone, nevertheless showed no anger openly. But Sextus, on his part, noised it abroad that Antony did not think Caesar's conduct right and set himself more zealously to the task in hand.

[1] In a lost portion of his work. Cf. vol. ii. p. 143 (= Zon. 9, 1).

Ἰταλίᾳ ἐπέπλει καὶ ἀποβάσεις ποιούμενος πολλὰ 5 μὲν ἐκάκου πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀντέπασχε. κἀν τούτῳ ναυμαχία πρὸς Κύμῃ τοῦ τε Μενεκράτους καὶ Καλουισίου Σαβίνου γίγνεται· καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ νῆες μὲν πλείους τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἅτε πρὸς θαλασσουργοὺς ἀντικαθισταμένου, ἀπώλοντο, ὁ δὲ δὴ Μενεκράτης τῷ Μηνᾷ συμπεσὼν ἐκ φιλονεικίας καὶ φθαρεὶς ἀντίρροπον τὴν συμφορὰν τῷ Σέξτῳ 6 παρέσχε. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὔτε ἐκεῖνος προσεποιήσατό τι τῆς νίκης καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ παρεμυθεῖτο 47 ἑαυτὸν τῆς ἥττης. καὶ ἔτυχε γὰρ ἐν τῷ Ῥηγίῳ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ὤν, δείσαντες οἱ Σέξτειοι[1] μὴ καὶ ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν περαιωθῇ, καί τι καὶ πρὸς τὸν τοῦ Μενεκράτους θάνατον ἀθυμήσαντες, ἀπῆ- 2 ραν ἐκ τῆς Κύμης. ὁ οὖν Σαβῖνος ἐπιδιώκων αὐτοὺς μέχρι μὲν Σκυλλαίου τοῦ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀκρωτηρίου ἀπόνως ἦλθε· περιβάλλοντι δ' αὐτῷ ἐκεῖνο ἄνεμος μέγας προσπεσὼν πολλὰς τῶν νεῶν τὰς μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἄκραν προσήραξε, τὰς δὲ καὶ μετεώρους κατέδυσε, πάσας δὲ τὰς λοιπὰς διε- 3 σκέδασε. πυθόμενος οὖν τοῦτο ὁ Σέξτος ἔπεμψεν ἐπ' αὐτὰς τὸ ναυτικόν, Ἀπολλοφάνει προστάξας. καὶ ὃς εὑρὼν τὸν Καίσαρα ταύτῃ που παραπλέοντα, ἵνα μετὰ τοῦ Σαβίνου ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν διαβάλῃ, ἐπ' αὐτὸν ᾖξε.[2] κἀκ τούτου ἐκεῖνος τάς τε ναῦς συνορμίσας καὶ τοὺς ὁπλίτας ἐπ' αὐτῶν παρατάξας τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πάνυ γεν- 4 ναίως αὐτὸν ἀπεκρούσατο· αἵ τε γὰρ νῆες ἀντίπρῳροι τεταγμέναι οὐδεμίαν οἱ ἀσφαλῆ ἐμβολὴν ποιήσασθαι ἐπέτρεπον, ἀλλ' οἷα καὶ παχύτεραι

[1] Σέξτειοι H. Steph., σέξστιοι LM (and so below in chap. 54).
[2] ᾖξε Wesseling, ἢϊξε LM.

Finally he sailed against Italy, landed at various points, inflicted much injury, and suffered much in turn. Meanwhile a naval battle occurred off Cumae between Menecrates and Calvisius Sabinus, in which Caesar lost a larger number of ships, since he was arrayed against expert seamen; but Menecrates attacked Menas out of jealousy and perished, thus making the loss of Sextus equally great. For this reason Sextus laid no claim to his victory and Caesar consoled himself over his defeat. Now Caesar happened at this time to be at Rhegium, and the followers of Sextus, fearing that he would cross over into Sicily, and furthermore being somewhat disheartened at the death of Menecrates, set sail from Cumae. Sabinus pursued them as far as Scyllaeum, the Italian promontory, without trouble; but as he was rounding that point a great wind fell upon him, dashing some of the ships against the promontory, sinking others out at sea, and scattering all the rest. So when Sextus learned of this disaster he sent his fleet against them, putting Apollophanes in command. This commander discovered Caesar, as he was coasting along somewhere in those parts with the intention of crossing into Sicily along with Sabinus, and rushed upon him. Thereupon Caesar brought his ships to anchor together, marshalled the heavy-armed soldiers on deck, and at first beat off his assailants nobly; for the ships were drawn up with their prows facing the foe and so offered him no safe point for attack, but, being heavier and higher, did

καὶ ὑψηλότεραι οὖσαι πλεῖον τοὺς πλησιάσαντας ἔβλαπτον, καὶ οἱ ὁπλῖται ἐς χεῖράς σφισιν ἰόντες
5 πολὺ κρείττους ἐγίγνοντο. ἔπειτα δὲ τοῦ Ἀπολλοφάνους τοὺς μὲν τραυματίας τούς τε ἀεὶ πονουμένους ἐς ἑτέρας ναῦς ἐπιτεταγμένας οἱ μετεκβιβάζοντος ἐξ ἀνακρούσεως, ἄλλους δὲ ἀκραιφνεῖς μεταλαμβάνοντος, καὶ τούς τε πρόσπλους συνεχεῖς ποιουμένου καὶ πυρφόροις βέλεσι χρωμένου, ἐτράπετο καὶ πρὸς τὴν γῆν καταφυγὼν καθωρ-
6 μίσατο. καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὣς οἱ ἐναντίοι σφίσιν ἐνέκειντο, τάς τε ἀγκύρας τινὲς ἐξαίφνης ἀπέκοψαν καὶ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀπροσδόκητοι ἀντεξώρμησαν. καὶ τοῦτό τε ἐπέσχε μὴ πάσας τὰς ναῦς τὸν Ἀπολλοφάνη τὰς μὲν καταπρῆσαι τὰς δ' ἀναδήσασθαι, καὶ ὅτι νὺξ τῷ ἔργῳ ἐπεγένετο.

48 Τούτου δὲ τοιούτου συμβάντος, ἄνεμός τις τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐξαίσιος τῷ τε Καίσαρι καὶ τῷ Σαβίνῳ καθ' ἓν ὁρμοῦσιν ἐπιπεσὼν σμικρὸν τὸ πρότερον πάθος αὐτῶν ἀπέφηνε. καὶ τὸ μὲν τοῦ Σαβίνου
2 ναυτικὸν ἧττον ἐπόνησεν· ὁ γὰρ Μηνᾶς, ἅτε ἐκ πολλοῦ θαλαττουργὸς ὤν, τόν τε χειμῶνα προείδετο καὶ ἐς τὸ πέλαγος εὐθὺς τὰς ναῦς ἀνώρμισε,[1] καὶ αὐτὰς ἀγκύραις χαλαραῖς, ἵνα μὴ τὰ σχοινία τεινόμενα διαρραγῇ, διαλαβὼν πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν ἄνεμον ἀντήρεττε, καὶ οὕτως οὔτε τι σχοινίον ἔτεινε καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἀεὶ ἔμενε, πᾶν ὅσον ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος ἀπεωθεῖτο, ἐκ τῆς εἰρεσίας ἀνο-
3 κωχεύων.[2] οἱ δ' ἕτεροι, ἅτε τῇ προτεραίᾳ δεινῶς τεταλαιπωρηκότες καὶ τὰ θαλάττια μηδέπω ἀκριβῶς εἰδότες, πρός τε τὴν γῆν ἐγγὺς οὖσαν ἐξε-

[1] ἀνώρμισε R. Steph., ἀνώρμησε LM.
[2] ἀνοκωχεύων Dind., ἀνακωχεύων LM.

greater damage to those that approached them, and his heavy-armed fighters, when they came to close quarters with the enemy, proved far superior. Then Apollophanes by backing water kept transferring the wounded, and those who were at the time wearied by toil, to other ships assigned for the purpose and took on board fresh men; he also made constant attacks and used fire-bearing missiles, so that Caesar was at last routed, fled to the land, and came to anchor. When even then the enemy pressed him hard, some of Caesar's men suddenly cut loose their anchors and unexpectedly sailed out to oppose the others. It was only this and the interruption of operations by the coming of night that kept Apollophanes from burning some of the ships and taking in tow all the rest.

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After this event an extraordinary windstorm on the following day fell upon Caesar and Sabinus as they were anchored together and made their previous reverse seem a trifling matter. The fleet of Sabinus suffered the less, for Menas, being an old hand on the sea, foresaw the storm and immediately shifted his ships to the open sea and moored them there, placing them at intervals with their anchor-lines slack, so that the lines should not be stretched and break, and kept rowing directly against the wind; in this way no rope was strained and he remained constantly in the same position, recovering by the use of the oars all the ground he lost by the force of the wind. But the other commanders, since they had gone through a severe experience the day before, and had as yet no accurate knowledge of nautical matters,

βράσθησαν καὶ πολλὰς ναῦς ἀπέβαλον. ἥ τε νὺξ ὥσπερ πρότερον οὐκ ἐλάχιστα αὐτοῖς ἐβεβοηθήκει, οὕτω τότε ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐλυμήνατο· ὁ γὰρ ἄνεμος καὶ δι' αὐτῆς πολὺς γενόμενος ἀπερρήγνυ τε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγκυρῶν τὰ σκάφη καὶ 4 πρὸς τὰς πέτρας ἐξεώθει. καὶ ἐκεῖνά τε οὕτω διώλλυτο, καὶ οἱ ναῦται οἵ τε ἐπιβάται μήτε προϊδεῖν τι ὑπὸ τοῦ σκότους μήτ' ἐπακοῦσαι διὰ τὸν θόρυβον καὶ διὰ τὴν ἠχὼ τὴν ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν, ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος ἀντιπαταγοῦντός 5 σφισι, δυνάμενοι μάτην προσαπώλλυντο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὅ τε Καῖσαρ τῆς μὲν Σικελίας ἀπέγνω, τῆς δ' ἠπείρου τῆς παραθαλασσίας φυλακὴν ἀγαπητῶς ἐποιήσατο, καὶ ὁ Σέξτος ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον ἤρθη, καὶ τοῦ τε Ποσειδῶνος υἱὸς ὄντως[1] ἐπίστευεν εἶναι, καὶ στολὴν κυανοειδῆ ἐνεδύσατο, ἵππους τε, καὶ ὥς γέ τινές φασι, καὶ ἄνδρας ἐς τὸν 6 πορθμὸν ζῶντας ἐνέβαλε. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἦγε καὶ ἔφερεν, ἐς δὲ Λιβύην τὸν Ἀπολλοφάνην ἔπεμψε. καὶ τοῦτον μὲν ὁ Μηνᾶς ἐπιδιώξας καὶ καταλαβὼν ἐκάκωσε· μεθισταμένων δὲ τῶν περὶ τὴν Σικελίαν νησιωτῶν πρὸς τὸν Σέξτον ὁ Καῖσαρ τοὺς Λιπαραίους προκατέλαβε, καὶ ἔκ τε τῆς νήσου ἐξανέστησε καὶ ἐς Καμπανίαν ἐκόμισε, καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐν Νέᾳ πόλει κατοικεῖν μέχρις οὗ 49 ἂν πόλεμος ᾖ ἠνάγκασε. κἂν τούτῳ πλοῖά τε κατὰ πᾶσαν ὡς εἰπεῖν τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐναυπηγεῖτο, καὶ ἐρέτας τὰ μὲν πρῶτα παρὰ τῶν φίλων ὡς καὶ ἑκόντων διδόντων, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τε βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων τῶν τε δημοτῶν τῶν εὐπόρων δούλους συνέλεγεν,

[1] ὄντως R. Steph., ὄντος LM.

were cast upon the shore close by and lost many ships. Night, which had been of the greatest aid to them before, was now the chief cause of disaster; for the wind blew violently all night long, tearing the vessels from their anchors and dashing them against the rocks. That was the end of them; and the sailors and marines likewise perished ingloriously, since the darkness prevented them from seeing ahead and they could not hear a word because of the uproar and of the reverberation from the mountains, the more so as the wind drowned out other sounds. Because of this disaster Caesar despaired of Sicily and was satisfied to guard the coast of the mainland; but Sextus was still more elated, believing himself in very truth to be the son of Neptune, and he put on a dark blue robe and cast alive into the strait not only horses but also, as some relate, men as well. He himself pillaged Italy and sent Apollophanes to Africa. Apollophanes was pursued by Menas, who overtook him and did him some damage; and when the inhabitants of the islands off the coast of Sicily proceeded to go over to the side of Sextus, Caesar thwarted the Liparaeans by removing them from their island and taking them to Campania, where he forced them to live in Neapolis as long as the war should continue. Meanwhile he kept constructing vessels throughout practically all Italy and collecting slaves for rowers, first from his friends, who were supposed to give willingly, and then from the rest—senators and knights and well-to-do plebeians. He

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ὁπλίτας τε κατελέγετο, καὶ χρήματα παρά τε τῶν πολιτῶν[1] *καὶ παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων τῶν τε ὑπηκόων, τῶν τε ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ τῶν ἔξω πάντων, ἤθροιζε.*

2 *Καὶ τόν γε ἐνιαυτὸν τοῦτόν τε καὶ τὸν*[2] *ὕστερον ἔς τε τὴν ναυπηγίαν τῶν νεῶν καὶ ἐς τὴν ἄθροισιν τήν τε ἄσκησιν τῶν ἐρετῶν κατανάλωσε, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐφορῶν καὶ διατάττων ταῦτά τε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τά τε ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ (κίνησις γάρ τις παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο), τῷ δ' Ἀγρίππᾳ* 3 *τὴν τοῦ ναυτικοῦ παρασκευὴν ἐγχειρίσας. τοὺς γὰρ Γαλάτας αὐτὸν τοὺς νεωτερίσαντας προσπολεμούμενον, ὅτεπερ καὶ τὸν Ῥῆνον δεύτερος δὴ Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ πολέμῳ διέβη, μετεπέμψατο, καὶ τῇ τε δόσει τῶν νικητηρίων ἐτίμησε καὶ ἐκπονῆσαι* 4 *ἐξασκῆσαί τε τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐκέλευσε. καὶ ὅς (ὑπάτευε δὲ μετὰ Λουκίου Γάλλου) τὰ μὲν ἐπινίκια οὐκ ἔπεμψεν, αἰσχρὸν εἶναι νομίσας τοῦ Καίσαρος κακῶς πεπραγότος γαυρωθῆναι, τὸ δὲ δὴ ναυτικὸν πάνυ προθύμως ἐξειργάσατο. ἐγίγνετο μὲν γὰρ ἐν πάσῃ τῇ παραθαλασσίῳ Ἰταλίᾳ τὰ σκάφη·* 5 *ὡς δ' οὐδεὶς αἰγιαλὸς ἐγκαθορμίσασθαι αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλὴς εὑρίσκετο (ἀλίμενα γὰρ ἔτι καὶ τότε τὰ πλείω τῆς ἠπείρου ταύτης ἦν), ἔργον μεγαλοπρεπὲς καὶ ἐνενόησε*[3] *καὶ ἐξεποίησεν, ὃ ἐγὼ διὰ πλειόνων ἐξηγησάμενος ἐκεῖνό τε ἐπιδείξω τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τἆλλα τὰ κατ' αὐτὸ νῦν ὄντα.*

50 *Ἐν τῇ Κύμῃ τῇ Καμπανίδι χωρίον τι μεταξὺ Μισηνοῦ καὶ Ποντεόλων μηνοειδές ἐστιν· ὄρεσί τε*

[1] *πολιτῶν* Leuncl., *πολιτικῶν* LM.
[2] *τὸν* added by Reim.
[3] *ἐνενόησε* R. Steph., *ἐνόησε* LM.

also levied heavy-armed troops and gathered money from all the citizens, allies, and subjects, both in Italy and abroad. B.C. 38

This year and the following he spent in constructing ships and gathering and training rowers. He himself supervised and managed all this business and all other matters both in Italy and in Gaul, where there was a slight uprising, but he entrusted to Agrippa the equipping of the fleet. He had sent for this man, who had been fighting against the insurgent Gauls, at the time when he had been the second of the Romans to cross the Rhine for war, and after honouring him by the bestowal of a triumph he bade him finish the work on the fleet and train the men. Agrippa, who was consul with Lucius Gallus, did not celebrate the triumph, considering it disgraceful for him to make a display when Caesar had fared so poorly, but set to work with great enthusiasm to fit out the fleet. All along the coasts of Italy vessels were being built; but since no shore was found where it was safe for them to come to anchor, inasmuch as most of the coast of Italy was even at that time without harbours, he conceived and executed a magnificent enterprise, which I shall describe at some length, giving an account of the enterprise itself and of the general matters connected with it as they are to-day. B.C. 37

At Cumae in Campania, between Misenum and Puteoli, there is a crescent-shaped region, surrounded,

γὰρ σμικροῖς καὶ ψιλοῖς, πλὴν βραχέων, περιεί-
2 ληπται, καὶ θάλασσαν τριπλῆν κολπώδη ἔχει. ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἔξω τε καὶ πρὸς ταῖς πόλεσίν ἐστιν, ἡ δ' ὀλίγῃ διαφυῇ ἀπ' αὐτῆς διείργεται, ἄλλη ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ μυχῷ λιμνώδης ὁρᾶται. καὶ καλεῖται αὕτη μὲν Ἀουερνίς, ἡ δὲ μέση Λουκρινίς·[1] ἡ γὰρ ἔξω, τοῦ Τυρσηνικοῦ οὖσα, ἐς ἐκεῖνο καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν
3 τελεῖ. ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ θαλάσσῃ τῇ ἐντὸς ἑκατέρας στενοῖς τότε ἔσπλοις τὸ διεῖργον τὴν Λουκρινίδα ἀπὸ τοῦ πελάγους ἐπ' ἀμφότερα παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἤπειρον ὁ Ἀγρίππας συντρήσας λιμέ-
4 νας ναυλοχωτάτους ἀπέδειξεν. ἐργαζομένων δ' αὐτῶν εἰκών τις ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἀουερνίδος, εἴτ' οὖν τῆς Καλυψοῦς, ᾗ τὸ χωρίον ἀνατιθέασιν, ἐς ὃ καὶ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα ἐσπλεῦσαι λέγουσιν, εἴτε καὶ ἑτέρας τινὸς ἡρωίνης οὖσα, ἱδρῶτος ὥσπερ τι σῶμα ἀνθρώπινον ἀνεπλήσθη. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ὅπῃ ποτ' ἐσήμαινεν,[2] οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν· τὰ δ' ἄλλα ὅσα ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἐκείνῳ ἀξιαφήγητα ἐθεασάμην, φράσω.

51 Τὰ ὄρη ταῦτα πρὸς ταῖς ἔνδον θαλάσσαις ὄντα πηγὰς πυρός τε ἅμα πολλοῦ καὶ ὕδατος συμμιγοῦς ἔχει· καὶ αὐτὸ μὲν καθ' ἑαυτὸ ἑκάτερον οὐδαμοῦ εὑρίσκεται (οὔτε γὰρ πῦρ αὐτὸ οὔθ' ὕδωρ ψυχρὸν αὐτὸ φαίνεται), ἐκ δὲ δὴ τῆς ὁμιλίας σφῶν τό τε ὕδωρ θερμαίνεται καὶ τὸ πῦρ ὑγραί-
2 νεται· καὶ ἐκεῖνο μὲν πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν διὰ τῶν προπόδων ἐς τὰς δεξαμενὰς χωρεῖ, τὴν δ' ἀτμίδα αὐτοῦ ἔς τε οἰκήματα μετέωρα διὰ σωλήνων ἀνάγουσι, κἀνταῦθα αὐτῇ πυριῶνται· ὅσῳ[3] γὰρ ἂν

[1] Λουκρινίς Dind., λουκρηνίς LM.
[2] ποτ' ἐσήμαινεν v. Herw. (who also reads ὅτι for ὅπῃ), ποτε συμβαίνει LM. [3] ὅσῳ Rk., ὅσα LM Xiph.

except for brief gaps, by small, bare mountains; and it contains a branch of the sea which is like a bay and is divided into three parts. The first is outside, near the cities,[1] the second is separated from it by a narrow strip of land, and the third, which is marshy in character, is seen at the very head of the inlet. The last is called Avernus, and the middle one the Lucrine Lake; the outer one is a part of the Tyrrhenian Sea and is classed with it also by its designation. Now since the Lucrine lay between a sea on either side, Agrippa cut narrow channels at this time, close to the shore on both sides, through the strip of land that separated it from the open sea, and thus produced excellent harbours for ships. While the men were working, a statue overlooking Avernus, either of Calypso, to whom this place, whither they say Ulysses also sailed, is dedicated, or of some other heroine, was covered with sweat like a human body. Now what this imported I cannot say; but I will go on to tell of everything else worth reporting which I saw in that place.

B.C. 37

The mountains here, which lie close to the inner bodies of water, have springs which send forth a great deal of fire mingled with water; and neither of the two elements is found anywhere by itself (that is, neither pure fire nor cold water alone is to be seen), but from their association the water is heated and the fire moistened. The water on its way down the foot-hills to the sea runs into reservoirs and the inhabitants conduct the steam from it through pipes into upper rooms, where they use the steam for vapour baths; for the higher it ascends from the

[1] Puteoli and Baiae.

ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἀπό τε[1] τῆς γῆς καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος ἀναδράμῃ, ξηροτέρα γίγνεται. κατασκευαί τε οὖν περὶ ἀμφότερα πολυτελεῖς ἤσκηνται, καὶ ἔστιν ἔς τε βίου διαγωγὴν καὶ ἐς ἄκεσιν ἐπιτηδειότατα.
3 ταῦτά τε οὖν τὸ ὄρος ἐκεῖνο καὶ προσέτι καὶ γῆς φύσιν τοιάνδε παρέχεται. τοῦ πυρὸς τὸ μὲν καίειν οὐκ ἔχοντος (ὑπὸ γὰρ τῆς τοῦ ὕδατος συνουσίας πᾶν τὸ φλογῶδες αὐτοῦ σβέννυται), διακρίνειν δὲ δὴ καὶ διατήκειν τὰ προστυχόντα οἱ καὶ ὣς δυναμένου, συμβαίνει τῆς γῆς τὸ μὲν λιπαρὸν ἐκτήκεσθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, τὸ δὲ τραχὺ καὶ
4 ὀστῶδες ὡς εἰπεῖν ὑπολείπεσθαι. σηραγγώδεις τε οὖν οἱ ὄγκοι ἐξ ἀνάγκης γίγνονται, καὶ αὐχμῷ μὲν δοθέντες ἐς κόνιν διαλύονται, ὕδατι δὲ σὺν κονίᾳ φυραθέντες συνίστανται, καὶ ἐφ' ὅσον γ' ἂν ἐν τῷ ὑγρῷ ὦσι, πήγνυνταί τε καὶ πετροῦνται. αἴτιον δὲ ὅτι τὸ μὲν κραῦρον αὐτῶν ὑπὸ μὲν τοῦ πυρὸς ὁμοφυοῦς οἱ ὄντος ἐπιτείνεταί τε καὶ θραύεται, τῇ δὲ δὴ συμμίξει τῆς νοτίδος ἀναψύχεται, κἀκ τούτου εἴσω διὰ παντὸς συμπιληθὲν ἄλυτον
5 γίγνεται. τοιαῦται μὲν αἱ Βαιαί εἰσι, καὶ ἐς αὐτὰς τότε ὁ Ἀγρίππας, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τοὺς ἔσπλους ἐξεποίησε, τάς τε ναῦς καὶ τοὺς ἐρέτας ἤθροισε, καὶ τὰς μὲν κατέφραττε, τοὺς δὲ ἐπ' ἰκρίων ἐρέττειν ἤσκει.

52 Οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐταράττοντο μὲν καὶ ὑπὸ σημείων. ἄλλα τε γὰρ συχνά σφισιν ἐσηγγέλθη, καὶ ὅτι δελφῖνες πολλοὶ περὶ τὴν Ἀσπίδα τὴν τῆς Ἀφρικῆς πόλιν ἐμαχέσαντό τε ἀλλήλοις
2 καὶ διεφθάρησαν· καί τι καὶ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τῷ ἄστει αἷμα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ῥυὲν ὄρνιθες διεφόρησαν.

[1] πλεῖον ἀπό τε Xiph., πλείονα ποτε L, πλείονάποτε M.

earth and from the water, the dryer it becomes. B.C. 37 Costly apparatus is in use for turning both the vapour and the water to practical use, and they are very serviceable indeed for the uses of daily life and also for effecting cures. Now besides these products that mountain furnishes an earth, the peculiar nature of which I am going to describe. Since the fire has not the power of burning, since by its union with the water all its scorching qualities are extinguished, yet is still able to separate and melt the substances with which it comes in contact, it follows that the soft part of the earth is melted out by it, whereas the hard and what might be called the bony part of it is left. Hence the masses of earth necessarily become porous and when exposed to the dry air crumble into dust, but when mixed with water and lime become compact, and as long as they remain in the liquid they harden and petrify. The reason for this is that the brittle element in them is disintegrated and broken up by the fire, which possesses the same nature, but by the admixture of moisture is chilled, and so is wholly packed together on the inside and becomes indissoluble. So much for the description of Baiae. Here Agrippa, as soon as he had constructed the entrances, set about collecting his ships, which he proceeded to equip with decks, and his oarsmen, whom he trained to row on practice benches.

Now the population of Rome was being disturbed by signs also. Among the numerous reports brought to them was one to the effect that many dolphins had battled with one another and perished near Aspis, the African city. And in the very vicinity of the city blood flowed from heaven and was carried

ἐπειδή τε ἐν τῇ πανηγύρει τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαίων οὐδεὶς τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ, ὥσπερ εἴθιστο, εἱστιάθη, ἐν τέρατος λόγῳ καὶ τοῦτ' 3 ἔλαβον. τό τε τῇ Λιουίᾳ συμβὰν ἐκείνῃ μὲν καθ' ἡδονὴν ἐγένετο, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις δέος ἐνεποίησε· λευκὴν γὰρ ὄρνιθα, κλωνίον δάφνης ἐγκάρπου φέρουσαν, ἀετὸς ἐς τὸν κόλπον αὐτῆς ἐνέβαλε. καὶ ἐδόκει γὰρ οὐ σμικρὸν τὸ σημεῖον εἶναι, τήν τε ὄρνιθα ἐν ἐπιμελείᾳ ἦγε καὶ τὴν 4 δάφνην ἐφύτευσε. καὶ ἡ μὲν ῥιζωθεῖσα ηὔξησεν ὥστε καὶ τοῖς τὰ ἐπινίκια μετὰ τοῦτο πέμψασιν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐξαρκέσαι, ἥ τε Λιουία ἐγκολπώσεσθαι[1] καὶ τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἰσχὺν καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν 53 αὐτοῦ κρατήσειν ἔμελλε· τοὺς δὲ δὴ ἄλλους τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει ταῦτά τε καὶ αἱ διαλλαγαὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἰσχυρῶς ἐτάρασσον· οὐ γὰρ ὅπως οἵ τε ὕπατοι καὶ οἱ στρατηγοί, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ταμίαι ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις ἀντικαθίσταντο, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπὶ 2 χρόνον ἐγένετο. αἴτιον δὲ ὅτι πάντες οὐχ οὕτως ἵν' οἴκοι ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἄρξωσιν, ὡς ἵνα ἐν τοῖς ἄρξασιν ἀριθμῶνται καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς τιμὰς καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις τὰς ἔξω λαμβάνωσιν[2] ἐσπούδαζον. οὔκουν οὐδὲ ἐς ῥητὸν ἔτι τινὲς χρόνον ᾑροῦντο, ἀλλ' ὥστε ἐπιβῆναί τε τοῦ ὀνόματος τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ ἀποστῆναι ὅταν τοῖς τὸ κράτος ἔχουσι 3 δόξῃ· καὶ πολλοί γε ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ἑκάτερον ἔπραξαν. εἰσὶ δὲ οἳ καὶ παντάπασι τὰς ἀρχὰς ὑπὸ πενίας ἐγκατέλιπον· τῶν γὰρ σὺν τῷ Σέξτῳ τότε ὄντων, ὡς καὶ κατὰ δίκην δή 4 τινα ἀτιμασθέντων, οὐ μνημονεύω. βουλευο-

[1] ἐγκολπώσεσθαι Pflugk, ἐγκολπώσασθαι LM Xiph.
[2] λαμβάνωσιν Rk., λαμβάνειν LM.

in all directions by the birds. And when at the Ludi Romani not one of the senators gave a banquet on the Capitol, as had been the custom, they took this, too, as a portent. Again, the incident that happened to Livia, although it caused her pleasure, inspired the rest with dread; a white bird carrying a sprig of laurel with the berries on it was thrown by an eagle into her lap. As this seemed to be a sign of no small moment, she cared for the bird and planted the laurel, which took root and grew, so that it long supplied those who celebrated triumphs in after time; and Livia was destined to hold in her lap even Caesar's power and to dominate him in everything. However, the other people in the city were greatly disturbed not only by this but also by the changes in the magistrates; for not only the consuls and praetors but even the quaestors were continually succeeding one another, and this lasted for some time. The reason was that all were anxious, not so much to hold office for any considerable time at home, as to be counted among the ex-officials and so secure the offices and military forces outside of Italy. Accordingly, some of the magistrates were no longer chosen for a specified period, but merely for a time sufficient to assume the title of the office, and then to resign from it whenever it seemed good to those in power; indeed, many did both on the same day. But there were some who had to abandon hope of office altogether because of poverty, to say nothing of those who were at this time with Sextus, whose disfranchisement was in a manner justified. Yet when

B.C. 37

μένου δ' οὖν καὶ Μάρκου τινὸς Ὀππίου ἀγορανομίας ὑπ' ἀπορίας (ἐκ γὰρ τῶν ἐπικεκηρυγμένων καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ἦν) ἐκστῆναι τὸ πλῆθος οὐκ ἐπέτρεψεν,[1] ἀλλ' ἔς τε τὰ ἄλλα τὰ πρὸς τὸν βίον ἀναγκαῖα καὶ ἐς τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀνάλωμα
5 ἀργύριον αὐτῷ συνεσήνεγκε. καὶ λόγος γε[2] ἔχει καὶ τῶν κακούργων τινὰς ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ θέατρον ἐν προσωπείοις, ὡς καὶ ὑποκρινουμένους[3] τι, ἐσελθόντας συγκαταβαλεῖν[4] τὰ χρήματα. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω ζῶν τε ὑπὸ τοῦ ὁμίλου ἠγαπήθη, καὶ ἀποθανὼν οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἔς τε τὸ Ἄρειον πεδίον
6 ἐκομίσθη καὶ ἐκεῖ καὶ ἐκαύθη καὶ ἐτάφη· ἡ δὲ δὴ βουλὴ ἀγανακτήσασα τῇ πάσῃ τοῦ πλήθους περὶ αὐτὸν σπουδῇ τὰ ὀστᾶ αὐτοῦ, ὡς οὐχ ὁσίως ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ χωρίῳ κείμενα, ἀνείλετο, πεισθεῖσα τοῖς ποντίφιξι, καίπερ πολλοὺς ἄλλους ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ πρότερον καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα θάψασα.

54 Κἀν τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ χρόνῳ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἦλθε μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν αὖθις ἐκ τῆς Συρίας, πρόφασιν μὲν ὡς καὶ τοῦ Σεξτείου πολέμου διὰ τὰς τοῦ Καίσαρος συμφορὰς μεθέξων, οὐ μέντοι
2 καὶ παρέμεινεν αὐτῷ, ἀλλ' ἅτε[5] ἐς κατασκοπὴν αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ καὶ ἔργου τινὸς ἕνεκα ἀφιγμένος, ἐκείνῳ μὲν ναῦς ἔδωκε καὶ ἑτέρας πέμψειν ὑπέσχετο, ἀνθ' ὧν ὁπλίτας ἀντέλαβεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς
3 καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους στρατεύσων ἀπῆρε. πρὶν δὲ ἢ ἀποπλεῖν αὐτὸν[6] ᾐτιάσαντο ἀλλήλους, πρό-

[1] τὸ πλῆθος οὐκ ἐπέτρεψεν om. L.
[2] γε H. Steph., τε LM cod. Peir.
[3] ὑποκρινουμένους Naber, ὑποκρινομένους LM.
[4] συγκαταβαλεῖν Bk., συγκαταβάλλειν LM cod. Peir.
[5] ἀλλ' ἅτε R. Steph., ἄλλά τε LM.
[6] αὐτὸν Zon., αὐτοὺς LM.

a certain Marcus Oppius planned to resign the aedileship because of poverty (for both he and his father had been among the proscribed), the populace did not permit it, but contributed money to meet the various necessities of his living and the expenses of his office. And the story goes that some criminals, too, actually came into the theatre in masks as if they were acting a play, and contributed their money also. Thus was this man loved by the multitude while in life, and at his death not much later he was carried to the Campus Martius and there burned and buried. The senate, however, feeling vexed at the utter devotion of the masses to him, took up his bones, on the plea that it was impious for them to lie in that sacred ground; they were persuaded by the pontifices to make this declaration, although they buried many other men there both before and after this. B.C. 37

At this same period Antony came back to Italy from Syria. The reason he gave was that he intended to bear his share of the war against Sextus because of Caesar's mishaps; he did not, however, stay by his colleague, but, having come to spy upon his actions rather than to accomplish anything, he gave him some ships and promised to send others, in return for which he received heavy-armed troops and departed, stating that he was going to conduct a campaign against the Parthians. Before he left, they presented to each other their mutual grievances, at

τερον μὲν διὰ τῶν ἑταίρων, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ δι' ἑαυτῶν· καὶ οὐ γάρ πω σχολὴν πολεμῆσαί σφισιν ἦγον, συνηλλάγησαν τρόπον τινά, τῆς
4 Ὀκταουίας ὅτι μάλιστα τοῦτο πρασσούσης. καὶ ὅπως γε πλείοσι τοῖς τῆς συγγενείας συνδέσμοις συνέχοιντο, ὅ τε Καῖσαρ Ἀντύλλῳ τῷ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου υἱεῖ τὴν θυγατέρα, καὶ ἐκεῖνος τῷ Δομιτίῳ, καίτοι τοῦ Καίσαρος σφαγεῖ τε γενομένῳ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀπολουμένοις ἐκτεθέντι, τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τὴν ἐκ
5 τῆς Ὀκταουίας οἱ γεννηθεῖσαν ἠγγύησε.[1] ταῦτά τε ἅμα[2] πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐπλάσσοντο· οὐ γάρ που καὶ ποιήσειν τι αὐτῶν ἤμελλον, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν χρείαν τῶν παρόντων σφίσι πραγμάτων ὑπεκρίνοντο.[3] ἀμέλει καὶ τὴν Ὀκταουίαν αὐτὴν εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς Κερκύρας ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἵνα δὴ μὴ συγκινδυνεύσῃ οἱ τοῖς Πάρθοις
6 πολεμοῦντι, ἀπέπεμψεν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἔν γε τῷ τότε ἐκεῖνά τε οὕτως ἔπραξαν, καὶ τὸν μὲν Σέξτον τῆς τε ἱερωσύνης ἅμα καὶ τῆς ὑπατείας ἐς ἣν ἀπεδέδεικτο ἔπαυσαν, ἑαυτοῖς δὲ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐς ἄλλα ἔτη πέντε, ἐπειδὴ τὰ πρότερα ἐξεληλύθει, ἐπέτρεψαν. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο Ἀντώνιος μὲν ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἠπείγετο, Καῖσαρ δὲ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον
7 καθίστατο. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατὰ γνώμην αὐτῷ ἐχώρει, ὁ δὲ δὴ Μηνᾶς ἄπιστός τε φύσει ὢν καὶ τὰ τοῦ κρείττονος ἀεὶ θεραπεύων, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἀγανακτήσας ὅτι μηδεμίαν ἀρχὴν εἶχεν ἀλλὰ τῷ Σαβίνῳ ὑπετέτακτο, πρὸς τὸν Σέξτον αὖθις ηὐτομόλησεν.

[1] ἠγγύησε Dind., ἐνεγγύησε LM.
[2] Some words have probably been lost at this point.
[3] ὑπεκρίνοντο Xiph., ὑπεκρίναντο LM.

first through their friends and then personally; and since they had as yet no leisure for war with each other, they became reconciled in a way, chiefly through the instrumentality of Octavia. And in order that they might be bound by still more ties of relationship, Caesar betrothed his daughter to Antyllus, Antony's son, and Antony betrothed to Domitius, though he had been one of Caesar's murderers and one of those proscribed to die, his own daughter, borne to him by Octavia. These agreements were merely pretences on both sides; for they really had no intention of carrying out any of them, but were acting a part in view of the exigencies of the moment. At all events, Antony immediately sent back Octavia herself from Corcyra to Italy, in order that, as he represented, she might not share his danger while he was warring against the Parthians. Nevertheless, they made these agreements at that time as stated and removed Sextus from his priesthood as well as from the consulship to which he had been appointed, and granted themselves the leadership for another five years, since the first period had elapsed. After this Antony hastened to Syria and Caesar entered upon the war. Nearly everything was going as he wished; but Menas, who was naturally untrustworthy and always cultivated the stronger side, and was furthermore vexed because he held no command but had been made subordinate to Sabinus, deserted again to Sextus.

B.C. 37

BOOK XLIX

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ τετταρακοστῷ ἐνάτῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαϊκῶν

α. Ὡς Καῖσαρ Σέξτον[1] ἐνίκησε καὶ Λέπιδον καθεῖλεν.
β. Ὡς Οὐεντίδιος Πάκορον νικήσας ἀπέκτεινεν καὶ τοὺς Πάρθους ὑπὲρ τὸν Εὐφράτην ἐξήλασεν.
γ. Ὡς Ἀντώνιος ὑπὸ Πάρθων ἡττήθη.
δ. Ὡς Καῖσαρ Παννονίους κατεστρέψατο.
ε. Ὡς Ἀντώνιος Ἀρταουάσδην τὸν Ἀρμενίων βασιλέα ἀπατήσας εἷλεν.
ϛ. Ὡς ἡ Παύλου στοὰ καθιερώθη.
η. Ὡς Μαυριτανία ἡ περὶ Καισάρειαν Ῥωμαίων ἐγένετο.

Χρόνου πλῆθος ἔτη τέτταρα ἐν οἷς ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι οἵδε ἐγένοντο

Λ. Γέλλιος Λ. υἱ. Ποπλικόλας[2]
Μ. Κοκκήιος[3] . . . υἱ.[4] Νέρουας[5] ὕπ.
Λ. Κορνουφίκιος Λ. υἱ.
Σέξτος[1] Πομπήιος[6] Σέξτου[1] υἱ. ὕπ.[7]
Μ. Ἀντώνιος Μ. υἱ. τὸ β′
Λ. Σκριβώνιος Λ. υἱ. Λίβων ὕπ.
Καῖσαρ τὸ β′
Λ.[8] Οὐολκάκιος Λ. υἱ. Τοῦλλος ὕπ.[7]

Ἐν μὲν οὖν τῷ χειμῶνι ἐν ᾧ Λούκιός τε Γέλλιος καὶ Κοκκήιος Νέρουας ὑπάτευσαν, ταῦθ᾽ οὕτως ἐγένετο· Καῖσαρ δέ, ὡς τό τε ναυτικὸν ἡτοίμαστο καὶ τὸ ἔαρ ἐνέστη, ἦρέ τε ἐκ τῶν Βαιῶν καὶ παρὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐκομίζετο, ἐλπίδα οὐκ ἐλαχίστην ἔχων ἁπανταχόθεν πέριξ τὴν

[1] Σέξτον, Σέξτος, Σέξτου Dind., σέξστον, σέξστος, σέξστου LM (as usual).
[2] Ποπλικόλας R. Steph., ποπλικόλλας LM.
[3] Κοκκήιος Leuncl., κόκκιος LM (and so below).

BOOK XLIX

The following is contained in the Forty-ninth of Dio's *Rome*:—

Duration of time, four years, in which there were the magistrates (consuls) here enumerated:—

B.C.	
36	L. Gellius L. F. Publicola, M. Cocceius . . . Nerva.
35	L. Cornificius L. F. Sextus Pompeius Sex. F.
34	M. Antonius M. F. (II), L. Scribonius L. F. Libo.
33	Caesar (II), L. Volcacius L. F. Tullus.

All this happened in the winter in which Lucius Gellius and Cocceius Nerva became consuls. When the fleet had been made ready and spring had set in, Caesar set out from Baiae and coasted along Italy with great hopes of encompassing Sicily on all sides. B.C. 36

[4] . . . *νί.* added by Bs.
[5] Νέρουας R. Steph., *νέρβας* LM.
[6] Πομπήιος Xyl., *πόππιος* LM.
[7] *ὕπ.* added by Bs. [8] Λ. L, om. M.

Σικελίαν περισχήσειν. αὐτός τε γὰρ πολλαῖς ναυσὶν ἐπέπλει, καὶ αἱ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ἐς τὸν πορθμὸν ἤδη παρῆσαν· ὅ τε Λέπιδος ἄκων μέν, 2 *ὑπέσχητο δ' οὖν αὐτῷ βοηθήσειν. μέγιστον δὲ τῷ τε ὕψει τῶν σκαφῶν καὶ τῇ παχύτητι τῶν ξύλων ἐθάρσει· ὑπερπαχῆ τε γὰρ καὶ ὑπερμεγέθη κατεσκευάσθη, ὥστε ἐπιβάτας τε πλείστους ὅσους ἄγειν (καὶ γὰρ πύργους ἔφερον, ὅπως ὥσπερ ἀπὸ τείχους ἐξ ὑπερδεξίων ἀγωνίζωνται) καὶ αὐτὰ πρός τε τὰς ἐμβολὰς τῶν ἐναντίων ἀντέχειν, καὶ τοὺς ἐμβόλους αὐτῶν, ἅτε καὶ βιαιοτέραν τὴν σύγκρουσιν ποιουμένων, ἀπο-* 3 *στρέφειν. τοιούτοις μὲν λογισμοῖς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν ἠπείγετο. καὶ αὐτῷ τὸ ἀκρωτήριον τὸ Παλίνουρον ὀνομαζόμενον ὑπερβάλλοντι χειμὼν μέγας ἐπέπεσε· καὶ οὗτός τε πολλὰς ναῦς ἔφθειρε, καὶ ὁ Μηνᾶς ταραττομέναις ταῖς λοιπαῖς ἐπιγενό-* 4 *μενος συχνὰς τὰς μὲν ἔκαυσε τὰς δ' ἀνεδήσατο. εἰ δὲ μὴ αὖθις ἐπί τε τῇ ἀδείᾳ καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλαις τισὶν ἐλπίσι μετέστη, καὶ τριήρεις ψευδαυτομόλους δεξάμενος πᾶν τὸ ναυτικὸν οὗ ἦρχε προέδωκε, διὰ κενῆς ἂν καὶ τότε ὁ ἐπίπλους τῷ Καίσαρι ἐγένετο. τοῦτο δὲ ἔπραξεν, ὅτι οὔτε*[1] *τῷ Λεπίδῳ πολεμῆσαι ὑπὸ τοῦ Σέξτου ἐπετράπη καὶ πρὸς* 5 *πάντα τἆλλα ὑπωπτεύετο. Καῖσαρ δὲ προσήκατο μὲν αὐτὸν καὶ τότε ἀσμενέστατα, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπίστευσέ τι ἔτ' αὐτῷ. ὡς δ' οὖν τάς τε πεπονηκυίας ναῦς ἐπεσκευάσατο, καὶ τοὺς δούλους τοὺς τριηρίτας ἠλευθέρωσε, τούς τε περίνεως (πολλοὶ γὰρ φθειρομένων ἐν τῇ ναυαγίᾳ τῶν σκαφῶν ἀπεκολύμβησαν) ἐς τὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ναυ-*

[1] *οὔτε* Bk., *οὐδὲ* LM.

For he was sailing thither with many ships himself and those of Antony were already in the strait; also Lepidus had reluctantly promised to assist him. But his chief ground of confidence lay in the height of his vessels and the thickness of their timbers; they had been built unusually stout and unusually high, in order not only to carry the largest possible number of marines (in fact they had towers on them, in order that the men might fight from higher ground, as if from a wall), but also to withstand the attacks of the opposing vessels and at the same time bend back their beaks, since the violence of their collision would be increased thereby. With such plans Caesar was hastening to Sicily. As he was passing the promontory named Palinurus a great storm fell upon him; this destroyed many ships, and Menas, coming upon the rest while they were in confusion, burned or towed away many of them. And had he not again changed sides, on the promise of immunity and because of some other hopes, and betrayed the whole fleet that he commanded by receiving some triremes that simulated desertion, Caesar's voyage to Sicily on this occasion also would have proved fruitless. Menas acted as he did because he was not allowed by Sextus to fight against Lepidus and was under suspicion in all other ways. Caesar received him very gladly on this occasion also, but trusted him no longer. And when he had repaired the damaged ships, freed the slaves that were serving on the triremes, and assigned the reserves (many of whom had escaped by leaping overboard when their vessels were destroyed in the wreck) to Antony's fleet, which was short of men he

B.C. 36

6 τικὸν ὀλιγανδροῦν κατέταξεν, ἔς τε Λιπάραν ἦλθε, κἀνταῦθα τόν τε Ἀγρίππαν καὶ τὰς ναῦς καταλιπὼν ἐς τὴν ἤπειρον ἐκομίσθη, ἵνα καὶ τὸν πεζὸν ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν, ὅταν καιρὸς γένηται, περαιώσῃ.

2 Μαθὼν δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Σέξτος αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν Μεσσήνῃ ὑφώρμει, τὸν διάπλουν αὐτοῦ τηρῶν, τῷ δ' Ἀγρίππᾳ Δημοχάρην ἀνθορμεῖν ἐν Μύλαις ἐκέ-
2 λευσεν. οὗτοι οὖν τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον τοῦ χρόνου ἀποπειρώμενοι μὲν ἀλλήλων κατὰ τὸ παρεῖκον, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐναποκινδυνεῦσαι παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ τολμῶντες, κατανάλωσαν· οὔτε γὰρ τὰς δυνάμεις ἀλλήλων ᾔδεσαν, καὶ πάντα πρός τε τὸ μεῖζον καὶ πρὸς τὸ φοβερώτερον παρ' ἀμφοτέροις περὶ
3 τῶν ἑτέρων ἐλογοποιεῖτο. τέλος δὲ ὁ Ἀγρίππας συνιεὶς ὅτι οὐ συμφέρει οἱ διατρίβειν (οἱ γὰρ τοῦ Σέξτου, ἅτε ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ ναυλοχοῦντες, οὐδὲν ἐδέοντο σπεύδειν) τάς τε ἀρίστας τῶν νεῶν ἔλαβε, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς Μύλας πρὸς κατασκοπὴν τοῦ τῶν ἐναντίων πλήθους ὥρμησε. καὶ ἐπειδὴ μήτε πάντας αὐτοὺς ἰδεῖν ἠδυνήθη[1] μήτ' ἀναχθῆναί τις αὐτῶν ἠθέλησε, κατεφρόνησεν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐπανελθὼν παρεσκευάζετο ὡς καὶ πάσαις ταῖς ναυσὶ τῆς ὑστεραίας ἐπὶ τὰς Μύλας ἐπιπλευσού-
4 μενος. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ Δημοχάρης ἔπαθε· μόνας τε γὰρ τὰς ἀφικομένας ναῦς ὑποτοπήσας εἶναι, καὶ βραδύτατα αὐτὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγέθους πλεούσας ἰδών, τόν τε Σέξτον τῆς νυκτὸς μετεπέμψατο, καὶ ἡτοιμάζετο ὡς καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ Λιπάρᾳ προσμίξων. ἡμέρα τε ὑπέφηνε,[2] καὶ ἀμφότεροι ἅμα ὡς καὶ ἐπ' ἐλάττους σφῶν ἀλλήλους ὄντας ἔπλεον.

[1] ἠδυνήθη St., ἐδυνήθη LM. [2] ὑπέφηνε M, ἀπέφηνε L.

came to Lipara; and leaving there Agrippa and the ships, he returned to the mainland, in order to transport the infantry also to Sicily, when an opportunity should arise. B.C. 36

On learning of this Sextus himself remained at anchor off Messana, waiting for Caesar to cross, but he ordered Demochares to anchor opposite Agrippa at Mylae. These two men spent most of the time in testing each other's strength as opportunity offered, but they did not dare to risk an engagement with their entire armaments; for they were not acquainted with each other's forces and on both sides the reports that circulated about the opposing fleet were exaggerated and made more fear-inspiring than the reality. But finally Agrippa realized that it was not advantageous for him to delay,—for the forces of Sextus, lying as they did in home waters, had no need of haste,—and so, taking the best of his ships, he set out for Mylae to spy out the numbers of the enemy. And when he found that he could not see them all and that none of them wished to come out into the open sea, he came to despise them, and on his return made preparations to sail against Mylae on the following day with all his ships. And Demochares came to much the same conclusion; for he had the idea that the ships which had approached him were all alone, and seeing that they sailed very slowly by reason of their size, he sent for Sextus by night and proceeded to make preparations to attack Lipara itself. When day broke, they were sailing against each other, both sides expecting to meet

3 ἐγγὺς δὲ δὴ γενόμενοι, καὶ παρὰ δόξαν πολλῷ πλείους τοὺς ἐναντίους ἑκάτεροι ὧν ᾤοντο εἶναι ἰδόντες, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐταράχθησαν ὁμοίως ἀμφότεροι, καί τινες καὶ πρύμναν ἐκρούσαντο· ἔπειτα δὲ τὴν φυγὴν τῆς μάχης μᾶλλον φοβηθέντες, καὶ ἐν μὲν ταύτῃ καὶ κρατῆσαι ἂν ἐλπίσαντες,[1] ἐν δὲ ἐκείνῃ πασσυδὶ[2] ἀπολεῖσθαι προσδοκήσαντες, ἀντεξώρμησαν καὶ συμμίξαντες ἐναυμάχησαν.
2 ἦσαν δὲ οἱ μὲν τῷ πλήθει τῶν νεῶν, οἱ δὲ ταῖς ἐμπειρίαις τῶν ναυτικῶν προφέροντες, καὶ τοῖς μὲν τό τε ὕψος τῶν σκαφῶν καὶ τὸ πάχος τῶν ἐπωτίδων οἵ τε πύργοι συνήροντο, τοὺς δ' ἑτέρους οἵ τε διέκπλοι ἀνέφερον, πρός τε τὴν ῥώμην τῶν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπιβατῶν ἡ τόλμα αὐτῶν ἀντήρκει· αὐτόμολοι γὰρ οἱ πλείους ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας
3 ὄντες ἀπονοίᾳ πολλῇ ἐχρῶντο. κἀκ τούτου πλεονεκτοῦντές τε ἅμα ἀλλήλων καὶ ἐλαττούμενοι οἷς εἶπον, ἴσην τὴν ἰσχὺν ἐκ τοῦ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων σφίσιν ἀντιπάλου εἶχον· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο χρόνῳ καὶ ἀγχώμαλα ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἠγωνί-
4 σαντο. οἵ τε γὰρ Σέξτειοι τοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας τοὺς ἐναντίους τῷ ῥοθίῳ ἐξέπλησσον, καί τινας ναῦς, ῥύμῃ τέ σφισι προσπίπτοντες καὶ τὰς παρεξειρεσίας αὐτῶν ἀναρρηγνύντες, ἐτίτρωσκον, ἀπὸ δὲ δὴ τῶν πύργων ἐν τῇ προσμίξει βαλλόμενοι καὶ χειρῶν ἐπιβολαῖς σιδηρῶν προσ-
5 αρτώμενοι οὐδὲν ἔλαττον ὧν ἔδρων ἔπασχον· καὶ

[1] κρατῆσαι ἂν ἐλπίσαντες Bk., κρατήσειν ἀνθελπίσαντες LM.
[2] πασσυδὶ R. Steph., πασσυδεὶ LM (so in chap. 7, 3).

inferior numbers. But when now they drew near together and each force contrary to its expectation saw that its opponents were much more numerous than they had supposed, both alike were at first thrown into confusion, and some even backed water. Then, fearing flight more than battle, because in the one case they hoped they should prevail, whereas in the other they expected to be utterly destroyed, they sailed out to meet each other and when they came to close quarters joined in battle. The one side surpassed in the number of its ships, the other in the experience of its sailors; one side was helped by the height of the vessels and the thickness of the catheads and also the towers, but these advantages were counterbalanced by the manoeuvring of the other side, and the superior strength of Caesar's marines was matched by the daring of those of Sextus, the majority of whom fought with great desperation inasmuch as they were deserters from Italy. Consequently, since each side had the points of superiority and likewise of inferiority that I have named with respect to the other, they found their total strength equal as the result of the even balance of their resources; and on this account they at last fought on even terms for a long time. The followers of Sextus alarmed their opponents by the way they dashed up the waves, and they also damaged some of their ships by assailing them with a rush and ripping open the parts that were beyond the banks of oars,[1] but since they were assailed with missiles from the towers at the moment of attack and were brought alongside by grappling irons, they suffered no less harm than they inflicted. And Caesar's forces,

B.C. 36

[1] The prows and sterns.

οἱ Καισάρειοι ἐς χεῖρας μέν σφισιν ἰόντες καὶ ἐς τὰς ναῦς σφῶν μετεκβαίνοντες κρείττους ἐγίγνοντο, ἐκπηδώντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ὁπότε βαπτίζοιντο, καὶ ἑτέρων σκαφῶν ῥᾳδίως ἔκ τε τοῦ καλῶς νεῖν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ κούφως ἐσκευάσθαι ἐπιβαινόντων, ἀντιρρόπως ἠλαττοῦντο. 6 κἂν τούτῳ καὶ τῶν νεῶν ἥ τε τῆς ναυτιλίας τῶν ἑτέρων ὀξύτης ἰσοπαλὴς τῇ τῶν ἐναντίων βεβαιότητι καὶ ἡ τούτων βαρύτης ἰσοστασία τῇ ἐκείνων λεπτότητι ἐγίγνετο.

4 Ὀψὲ δ' οὖν ποτε καὶ πρὸς νύκτα ἤδη οἱ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐκράτησαν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπεδίωξάν τινα, ὡς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ καὶ τὸ εἰκὸς συμβάλλεται, ὅτι μήτε καταλαβεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐδύναντο, καὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν, βράχη ὧν ἄπειροι ἦσαν ἔχουσαν, ἐφοβήθησαν ἐξοκεῖλαι· ὡς δέ τινες λέγουσιν, ὁ Ἀγρίππας, ἅτε καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ μαχόμενος, ἐξαρκεῖν οἱ τὸ τρέψαι 2 τοὺς ἀντιπάλους ἡγεῖτο. καὶ γὰρ εἰώθει λέγειν πρὸς τοὺς πάνυ ἑταίρους ὅτι οἱ πλείους τῶν ἐν ταῖς δυναστείαις ὄντων οὐδένα ἐθέλουσι κρείττω[1] σφῶν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν πλείω, ὅσα γε καὶ πρόχειρον τὴν νίκην ἔχει, αὐτοὶ δι' ἑαυτῶν ποιοῦνται, τὰ δὲ δὴ χείρω καὶ ἀτοπώτερα ἄλ- 3 λοις προστάττουσι. κἂν ἄρα ποτὲ τῶν ἀμεινόνων τι ἀναγκασθῶσί σφισιν ἐπιτρέψαι, βαρύνονταί τε καὶ ἄχθονται τῇ εὐδοξίᾳ αὐτῶν· ἡττᾶσθαι μὲν γάρ σφας καὶ κακῶς πράττειν οὐκ εὔχονται, οὐ μέντοι καὶ παντελῶς τι καταπράξαντας τὴν 4 δόξαν αὐτοὺς λαβεῖν αἱροῦνται. δεῖν οὖν παρήνει τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν σωθησόμενον τῆς μὲν δυσχε-

[1] κρείττω Xiph., κρείττων LM.

when they came into close conflict and crossed over to the hostile ships, proved superior; but as the enemy leaped overboard into the sea whenever their vessels sank, and because of their good swimming and light equipment succeeded easily in climbing aboard others, the attackers were at a corresponding disadvantage. Meanwhile, in the case of the ships also, the rapidity of movement of those on the one side counterbalanced the steadiness of those on the other side, and the weight of the latter made up for the lightness of the former. B.C. 36

Late in the day, however, toward nightfall, Caesar's forces were at last victorious, but they did not give chase. The reason, as it appears to me and as may with probability be conjectured, was that they could not overtake the fleeing ships and were afraid of running ashore, since the coast abounded in shoals with which they were unacquainted; but some assert that Agrippa thought it sufficient merely to rout his adversaries, since he was fighting for Caesar and not for himself. For he was wont to say to his intimate friends that most men in positions of power wish no one to be superior to themselves, but attend personally without the use of agents to most matters—to all, in fact, that afford them an easy victory—and assign the more difficult and extraordinary tasks to others. And if they ever do find themselves obliged to entrust an enterprise of the better sort to their assistants, they are irritated and displeased at the fame these subordinates win, and although they do not pray that they may be defeated and fare badly, yet they do not choose to have them win a complete success and secure glory from it. His advice, therefore, was that the man who expected to come out

ρείας αὐτοὺς[1] τῶν πραγμάτων ἀπαλλάττειν, τὴν δὲ δὴ κατόρθωσίν σφων ἐκείνοις φυλάττειν. ἐγὼ δὲ ὅτι μὲν ταῦθ' οὕτω πέφυκε καὶ ὅτι καὶ ὁ Ἀγρίππας ἐπεμελεῖτο αὐτῶν οἶδα, οὐ μὴν ἔν γε τῷ τότε παρόντι τοῦτ' αἴτιον τῆς οὐ διώξεως αὐτοῦ γράφω· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' εἰ πάνυ ἐβούλετο, οἷός τε ἦν ἐπισπέσθαι σφίσιν.

5 Ἐν ᾧ δ' οὖν ἡ ναυμαχία ἐγίγνετο, ὁ Καῖσαρ ὡς τάχιστα τόν τε Σέξτον ἐκ τῆς Μεσσήνης ἀπεληλυθότα καὶ τὸν πορθμὸν φυλακῆς ἔρημον ὄντα ᾔσθετο, τὸ μὲν καινὸν τοῦ πολέμου οὐ παρέλιπεν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἐπιβὰς τῶν Ἀντωνιείων νεῶν πρὸς Ταυρομένιον ἐπεραιώθη, οὐ μὴν καὶ ἐν τύχῃ αὐτῷ 2 ἐχρήσατο. πλέοντα μὲν γὰρ οὐδ' ἀποβαίνοντα αὐτὸν οὐδεὶς ἐκώλυσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ καθ' ἡσυχίαν τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐποιήσατο· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἥ τε ναυμαχία ἐγένετο, καὶ ὁ Σέξτος ἔς τε τὴν Μεσσήνην σπουδῇ ἀφίκετο, καὶ μαθὼν παρόντα αὐτὸν ἄλλους τε διὰ ταχέων 3 ἀκραιφνεῖς ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἀντενεβίβασε καὶ ἐκείναις τε αὐτῷ ἅμα καὶ τοῖς ὁπλίταις κατὰ γῆν προσέμιξε, τούτοις μὲν οὐδ' ἐπεξῆλθεν, ἀνταναχθεὶς δὲ καταφρονήσει τῆς τε ὀλιγότητος τῶν ἐναντίων νεῶν καὶ ὅτι καὶ προήττηντο, τοῦ τε ναυτικοῦ τὸ πλεῖον ἀπέβαλε καὶ αὐτὸς ὀλίγου προσδιεφθάρη. 4 οὔκουν οὐδ' ἠδυνήθη πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ τοὺς ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ ὄντας διαφυγεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀγαπητῶς ἐς τὴν ἤπειρον ἀπεσώθη. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ ἦν, ὁρῶν δὲ τὸ στράτευμα ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἀπειλημμένον 5 δεινῶς ἤχθετο. καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἀνεθάρσησε πρὶν

[1] αὐτοὺς Polak, αὐτὸν LM.

alive should relieve his masters of undertakings which involve great difficulty and reserve for them the successes. As for me, I know that all this is naturally so and that Agrippa paid heed to these principles, but I am not saying that on that particular occasion this was the reason for his failure to pursue; for he would not have been able to catch up with the foe no matter how much he might have desired it. B.C. 36

While the naval battle was in progress, Caesar, as soon as he perceived that Sextus had departed from Messana and that the strait was destitute of a garrison, did not let slip this "chance of war,"[1] but immediately embarked on Antony's vessels and crossed over to Tauromenium; however, he enjoyed no good fortune in doing so. No one, to be sure, interfered with his sailing or his disembarking, and he was quite undisturbed in general and also when he made his camp; but when the naval battle was over, Sextus came with all speed to Messana, and learning of Caesar's presence he quickly filled his ships with fresh troops and attacked him at one and the same time with this fleet and with his heavy-armed troops on land. Caesar did not even come out to fight the infantry, but sailing out against Sextus, because he despised the enemy's fleet with its small number of vessels and because they had been previously defeated, he lost the greater part of his fleet and barely avoided destruction himself. Indeed, he could not even escape to his own men in Sicily, but was glad to reach the mainland in safety. And though he himself was then in security, yet when he saw his army cut off on the island, he was terribly distressed. His confidence was not restored until a

[1] An expression borrowed from Thucydides (iii. 30).

ἰχθύν τινα ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης αὐτόματον ἀναθορόντα πρὸς τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ προσπεσεῖν· ἐκ γὰρ τούτου πιστεύσας τοῖς μάντεσιν, εἰποῦσίν οἱ ὅτι δουλώσεται αὐτήν, ἀνερρώσθη.

6 Καὶ ὁ μὲν τὸν Ἀγρίππαν σπουδῇ πρὸς τὴν ἐπικουρίαν αὐτῶν μετεπέμπετο, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἐπολιορκοῦντο. καὶ ἐπειδὴ τά τε ἐπιτήδεια ἐπιλείπειν σφᾶς ἤρχετο καὶ βοήθεια οὐδεμία πω ἐφαίνετο, φοβηθεὶς ὁ Κορνουφίκιος (οὗτος γὰρ αὐτῶν ἦρχε) μὴ καὶ ὑπὸ λιμοῦ τῷ χρόνῳ κατὰ χώραν 2 μένων ἐκπολιορκηθῇ, καὶ νομίσας διατρίβοντι μέν οἱ αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ μηδένα τῶν πολεμίων ἐς χεῖρας, ἅτε καὶ κρείττονι τοῖς ὁπλίταις ὄντι, ἥξειν, ἂν δέ πῃ προχωρῇ, δυοῖν θάτερον, ἢ προσμίξαντάς σφισιν αὐτοὺς κρατήσειν, ἢ μὴ βουληθέντων αὐτῶν τοῦτο ποιῆσαι πρός τε τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἀποχωρήσειν καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων εὐπορήσειν καί τινα καὶ ὠφελίαν παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἢ καὶ τοῦ 3 Ἀγρίππου σχήσειν, τά τε σκάφη ὅσα ἔκ τε τῆς ναυμαχίας ὑπελέλειπτο καὶ πρὸς τὸ τάφρευμα ἐξεπεπτώκει κατέκαυσε, καὶ αὐτὸς ἄρας ὡς πρὸς τὰς Μύλας ἐπορεύετο. καὶ αὐτῷ προσβαλόντες καὶ ἱππῆς καὶ ψιλοὶ πόρρωθεν (οὐ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὁμόσε χωρῆσαι ἐτόλμων) ἄποροι δεινῶς 4 ἐγίγνοντο. αὐτοὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐπῄεσαν ὁπότε καιρὸς εἴη, καὶ ἀνέστρεφον διὰ βραχέος· οἱ δέ, ὥς γε ὁπλῖται, οὔτ' ἄλλως ἐπιδιώκειν σφᾶς ὑπὸ τοῦ βάρους ἐδύναντο, καὶ τοὺς ἀόπλους τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ σωθέντας περιέστελλον. κἀκ τού-

fish of its own accord leaped out of the sea and fell at his feet; this incident gave him courage once more, for he believed the soothsayers who told him that he should make the sea his slave. B.C. 36

Caesar, now, was sending urgent messages to Agrippa to come to the aid of his soldiers in Sicily, and these troops meanwhile were being besieged. And when their provisions began to fail them and no rescuing force appeared, Cornificius, their leader, became afraid that if he stayed where he was he should in the course of time be compelled by hunger to yield to his besiegers; and he reflected that while he tarried there in that same spot none of the enemy would join issue with him, because he was superior in heavy-armed troops, but if he should leave his camp in any direction one of two things would happen—either he would overpower the enemy, if they joined battle with him, or, if they declined battle, he would retire to a place of safety, get a supply of provisions, and obtain some help from Caesar or from Agrippa. Therefore he burned all the vessels that had been left over from the sea-fight and had been cast up beside the entrenchments, and set out as if to proceed to Mylae. Both cavalry and light-armed troops attacked him from a distance, not daring to come to close quarters, and proved exceedingly troublesome to him; for they would not only attack whenever opportunity offered but would also quickly retreat again, whereas his men, being heavy-armed, could not pursue them in any case owing to the weight of their armour, and moreover were endeavouring to protect the unarmed men who had been saved from the fleet. Consequently they were

του ἔπασχον μὲν πολλὰ καὶ δεινά, ἀντέδρων δὲ οὐδέν· εἰ γάρ που καὶ ἐπάξειάν[1] τισιν, ἔτρεπον μὲν αὐτούς, πέρα δ' οὐ δυνάμενοι διώκειν χαλεπωτέρους σφᾶς ἐν τῇ ἀναστροφῇ, ἅτε καὶ μονούμενοι 5 ταῖς ἐκδρομαῖς, εἶχον. ἔν τε οὖν τῇ ἄλλῃ πορείᾳ καὶ ἐν ταῖς διαβάσεσι τῶν ποταμῶν μάλιστα ἰσχυρῶς ἐταλαιπώρουν· περιστοιχιζόμενοι γὰρ αὐτοὺς οἱ ἐναντίοι κατ' ὀλίγους, οἷα ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ, καὶ[2] σπουδῇ ἀτάκτως χωροῦντας, ἔς τε τὰ καίρια παραγυμνουμένους ἔπαιον, καὶ ἐς τὰ πηλώδη τά τε ῥοώδη ἐσπίπτοντάς πῃ[3] καὶ ἐνισχομένους ἢ καὶ παραφερομένους ἔβαλλον.

7 Καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπὶ τρεῖς ὅλας ἡμέρας ἐποίησαν, καὶ τῇ γε τελευταίᾳ παντελῶς αὐτοὺς ἐκάκωσαν, ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ Σέξτου τῷ ὁπλιτικῷ προσγενομένου σφίσιν, ὥστε τῶν μὲν ἀπολλυμένων οὐδένα ἔτι λόγον ἐποιοῦντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν κέρδει τὸ μηκέτ' αὐτοὺς κακοπαθεῖν ἐτίθεντο, καὶ ἤθελον καὶ αὐτοὶ τῶν ἤδη τεθνηκότων ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνελπιστίας 2 εἶναι. οἱ δὲ δὴ τραυματίαι πολλοί τε καὶ πλείους τῶν τελευτώντων ὄντες (ἅτε γὰρ καὶ λίθοις καὶ ἀκοντίοις πόρρωθεν βαλλόμενοι, καὶ μηδεμίαν ἐκ χειρὸς πληγὴν ὑπομένοντες, πολλαχῇ τε καὶ οὐ πάντῃ καιρίαν ἐτιτρώσκοντο) αὐτοί τε δεινῶς 3 ἐταλαιπώρουν, καὶ τοῖς περιλοίποις πολὺ πλείω πόνον ἢ οἱ πολέμιοι παρεῖχον· εἴτε γὰρ φέροιντο, καὶ τοὺς ἀνέχοντάς σφας προσαπώλλυσαν, εἴτε

[1] ἐπάξειάν Dind., ἐπάξειάν LM.
[2] καὶ placed here by Bs., before κατ' ὀλίγους in LM.
[3] πῃ Cary, ὡς LM.

suffering many injuries and could inflict none in return; for, in case they made a rush upon any of them, they would put them to flight, to be sure, but not being unable to carry their pursuit to the end, they would find themselves in a worse plight during their retreat, since by their sortie they would become isolated. However, it was during their march forward and especially when they had rivers to cross that they suffered their greatest hardships; for their foes hemmed them in as they hurried along in small groups, as is natural in such a march, and in disorder, and kept raining fatal blows upon them as they chanced to expose themselves, and hurling their missiles at them whenever they stumbled into swamps or flowing streams and were being checked in their course or else swept down stream. B.C. 36

The enemy employed these tactics for three whole days and on the last demoralized them completely, especially since Sextus had now joined them with his heavy-armed contingent. Consequently the troops of Caesar ceased to concern themselves about those who were perishing, but counted them fortunate to escape from further torment, and in their despair wished that they, too, were among those already dead. Indeed the wounded were far more numerous than those who died; for since they were being hit by stones and javelins thrown from a distance and sustained no blows dealt in hand-to-hand fighting, they received their wounds in many parts of their bodies, and not always in a vital spot. Thus men were not only in great distress themselves, but they caused the uninjured far more trouble than did the enemy. For, if they were carried, they usually caused the death of the men who supported them and lost

καὶ κατελείποντο, τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν ἐς ἀθυμίαν ὀλοφυρόμενοι καθίστασαν. κἂν πασσυδὶ διεφθάρησαν, εἰ μήπερ οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ ἄκοντές σφων 4 *ἀπέσχοντο. ὅ τε γὰρ Ἀγρίππας τότε μὲν νικήσας τὴν ναυμαχίαν πρὸς τὴν Λιπάραν ἀνέπλευσε, μαθὼν δὲ τόν τε Σέξτον ἐς τὴν Μεσσήνην πεφευγότα καὶ τὸν Δημοχάρην ἄλλοσέ ποι ἀπεληλυθότα, ἐπεραιώθη ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν καὶ καταλαβὼν τάς τε Μύλας καὶ τὴν Τυνδαρίδα σῖτόν τέ σφισι καὶ* 5 *στρατιώτας ἔπεμψε· καὶ ὁ Σέξτος οἰηθεὶς καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον ἥξειν ἐφοβήθη καὶ σπουδῇ προανεχώρησεν, ὥστε καὶ σκεύη τινὰ καὶ ἐπιτήδεια ἐν τῷ ἐρύματι καταλιπεῖν, ἐξ ὧν τὴν τροφὴν ἄφθονον οἱ περὶ τὸν Κορνουφίκιον ἔχοντες πρὸς τὸν* 6 *Ἀγρίππαν ἀπεσώθησαν. καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ ἐπαίνοις καὶ δωρεαῖς ἀνεκτήσατο, καίπερ ὑπεροπτικώτατά*[1] *σφισιν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Ἀγρίππου ναυκρατίᾳ, ὡς καὶ διαπεπολεμηκότος, χρησάμενος. τοσοῦτον γάρ που καὶ ὁ Κορνουφίκιος ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν στρατιωτῶν σωτηρίᾳ ἐφρόνει ὥστε καὶ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπὶ ἐλέφαντος, ὁσάκις ἔξω τῆς οἰκίας ἐδείπνει, ἀνακομίζεσθαι.*

8 Τῷ δ' οὖν Καίσαρι ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν μετὰ τοῦτ' *ἐλθόντι ὁ Σέξτος περὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἀντεστρατοπεδεύσατο· καὶ μάχην μὲν οὐδεμίαν εὐθὺς μεγάλην ἐμαχέσαντο, ἱππομαχίας δέ τινας βραχείας ἐποιοῦντο. ἀντικαθημένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἀλλήλοις, τῷ μὲν Σέξτῳ ὁ Γάλλος ὁ Τισιῆνος, τῷ δὲ Καίσαρι* 2 *ὁ Λέπιδος σὺν ταῖς δυνάμεσι προσεγένοντο. οὗτός τε γὰρ περιπεσὼν τῷ χειμῶνι οὗπερ ἐμνημόνευσα καὶ τῷ Δημοχάρει, ναῦς τε συχνὰς ἀπέβαλε καὶ*

[1] ὑπεροπτικώτατά Xyl., ὑποπτικώτατά LM.

their own lives besides, and if they were left behind, B.C. 36 they threw the whole army into dejection by their laments. The detachment would have perished utterly, had not the foe reluctantly desisted from attacking them. For Agrippa had sailed back to Lipara after winning the naval battle, as related above, but when he learned that Sextus had fled to Messana and Demochares had gone off in some other direction, he crossed over to Sicily, occupied Mylae and Tyndaris, and sent food and soldiers to the other party; and Sextus, believing that Agrippa himself would come likewise, became frightened and hastily withdrew before his approach, even abandoning some baggage and supplies in his camp; and from this source the troops under Cornificius obtained ample provisions and made their way in safety to Agrippa. Caesar welcomed them back with words of praise and with gifts, although he had treated them with utter indifference after the victory of Agrippa, who, as he thought, had finished the war. As for Cornificius, he so prided himself upon having saved his soldiers that even when he was back in Rome he always had himself conveyed on the back of an elephant whenever he dined out.

After this Caesar went to Sicily and Sextus encamped opposite him in the vicinity of Artemisium; yet they did not have any great battle at once, but indulged in a few slight cavalry skirmishes. While they were encamped there opposite one another Sextus was reinforced by Tisienus Gallus and Caesar by Lepidus with his forces. Lepidus had encountered the storm which I have mentioned, and also had fallen in with Demochares, and he had lost a number

οὐκ εὐθὺς πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἦλθεν, ἀλλ' εἴτε δὴ διὰ τὸ πάθος, εἴθ' ὅπως καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐκεῖνος ποιοῖτο, εἴτε καὶ ἀπαγαγεῖν τὸν Σέξτον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ βουληθείς, Λιλυβαίῳ προσέβαλε· καὶ ὁ Γάλλος ἐνταῦθα αὐτῷ πεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Σέξτου προσεπο-
3 λέμει. καὶ οὕτως ἐκεῖθεν ἀμφότεροι, ἐπειδὴ μηδὲν ἐπέραινον, πρὸς τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἀφίκοντο. καὶ ὁ μὲν Γάλλος ἐπέρρωσε τὸν Σέξτον, ὁ δὲ δὴ Λέπιδος τῷ τε Καίσαρι διηνέχθη (αὐτός τε γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου πάντα αὐτῷ διοικεῖν ὡς καὶ συνάρχων ἠξίου, καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἐς πάντα αὐτῷ ὡς καὶ ὑποστρατήγῳ οἱ ἐχρῆτο), κἀκ τούτου πρός τε τὸν Σέξτον ἀπέκλινε
4 καὶ ἐκοινολογεῖτο αὐτῷ δι' ἀπορρήτων. ὑποτοπήσας οὖν τοῦτο ὁ Καῖσαρ, καὶ μήτε ἐκφῆναι τολμῶν, μὴ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ αὐτὸν πολεμώσηται, μήτ' αὖ ἀποκρύψασθαι ἀσφαλῶς δυνάμενος (ὕποπτον μὲν γὰρ ἐνόμιζεν εἰ μὴ συμβουλεύοιτό τι αὐτῷ, δεινὸν δ' εἰ πάντα ἀνακοινοῖτο [1]), διακινδυνεῦσαι ὅτι τάχιστα, πρὶν νεοχμωθῆναί τι, ἔγνω, καίτοι
5 τῶν ἄλλων ἕνεκα ἥκιστα ἐπειγόμενος· οὔτε γὰρ σῖτος οὔτε χρήματα τῷ Σέξτῳ ὑπῆν, ἐξ ὧν ἤλπιζεν αὐτὸν ἀμαχεὶ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον καταλύσειν. ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν ἔκρινε τοῦτο, αὐτός τε κατὰ γῆν τὸν στρατὸν ἐξάγων πρὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου προπαρέτασσε, καὶ ὁ Ἀγρίππας ἅμα ἐπιπλέων ἀπεσάλευεν· ὁ γὰρ Σέξτος πολὺ ταῖς δυνάμεσιν αὐτῶν ἐλαττούμενος
6 οὐδετέρωσε ἀντεπεξῄει. καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ πλείους ἡμέρας ἐγένετο. τέλος δὲ δείσας μὴ καὶ καταφρονηθεὶς διὰ ταῦθ' ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων ἐγκαταλειφθῇ, ἀνταναχθῆναί ποτε ταῖς ναυσὶ προσ-

[1] ἀνακοινοῖτο R. Steph., ἀνακινοῖτο LM.

of ships; he had not at once come to Caesar, but B.C. 36 either on account of his reverse, or because he wanted Caesar to face difficulties by himself, or because he wished to draw Sextus away from Caesar, he had made an assault on Lilybaeum, and Gallus had been sent thither by Sextus and had contended against him. From there, then, both the contestants, finding that they were accomplishing nothing, went to Artemisium. Gallus proved a source of strength to Sextus, but Lepidus quarrelled with Caesar, since he claimed the privilege, as a colleague, of managing everything on equal terms with Caesar, whereas Caesar treated him in all respects as a lieutenant; therefore he inclined to Sextus and secretly held communication with him. Caesar suspected this, but dared not make it known, lest Lepidus should openly make war upon him; nor, on the other hand, could he safely conceal his thoughts, for he felt that it would arouse suspicion if he did not consult him at all, and that it would be dangerous if he revealed all his plans. Hence he determined to risk a decisive encounter as soon as possible, before there should be any defection, although on other accounts he was by no means in haste; for Sextus had neither food nor money, and therefore he hoped to overthrow him without a battle before a great while. When, therefore, he had once reached this decision, he himself led out the army on land and marshalled it in front of the camp, while at the same time Agrippa sailed in and lay at anchor, for Sextus, whose forces were far inferior to theirs, would not come out to meet them on either element. This lasted for several days. But finally, becoming afraid that he might be despised for his behaviour and so be deserted by his allies, Sextus gave orders at last for

ἔταξε· καὶ γάρ τινα ἐλπίδα ἐν ταύταις μᾶλλον εἶχεν.

9 Ὡς οὖν τό τε σημεῖον ἤρθη καὶ ἡ σάλπιγξ ὑπεσήμηνεν, ἐκεῖναί τε ἅπασαι πρὸς τῇ γῇ συνέμιξαν καὶ ὁ πεζὸς ἀμφοτέρων ὁμοίως ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ῥαχίας παρετάξατο, ὥστε τὴν θέαν ἀξιολογωτάτην γενέσθαι. 2 ἥ τε γὰρ θάλασσα ἡ ἐκεῖ πᾶσα τῶν νεῶν ἐπεπλήρωτο (πολλαὶ γὰρ οὖσαι ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐπέσχον), καὶ ἡ χώρα ἡ μὲν ἐγγὺς αὐτῆς ὑπὸ τῶν ὡπλισμένων, ἡ δ' ἄλλη ἡ[1] προσεχὴς ὑπὸ τοῦ λοιποῦ ἑκατέρων ὁμίλου κατείχετο. ὅθενπερ καὶ ὁ ἀγὼν ἔδοξε μὲν τῶν ναυμαχούντων μόνων εἶναι, τῇ δ' ἀληθείᾳ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐγένετο· 3 οἵ τε γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν ὄντες προθυμότερον ἐς τὴν τῶν ὁρώντων σφᾶς ἐπίδειξιν ἡμιλλῶντο, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἀπείχοντο ἀλλήλων, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρός γε τὴν τῶν δρωμένων ὄψιν καὶ αὐτοὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἠγωνίζοντο. ἀντιπάλου γὰρ ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς μάχης γενομένης (ὁμοιοτροπώτατα γὰρ τοῖς πρόσθεν ἐναυμάχησαν) ἰσορρόπῳ καὶ 4 αὐτοὶ συστάσει τῆς γνώμης συνέσχοντο. μάλιστα μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὸν πόλεμον πάντα ἐν αὐτῇ καταλυθήσεσθαι ἤλπιζον· εἰ δὲ μή, οἱ μέν, εἰ καὶ τότε κρατήσειαν, οὐδὲν ἔτι μέγα ἐπιπονήσειν, οἱ δέ, εἰ τότε γε νικήσειαν, οὐκέθ' ἡττηθήσεσθαι προσδοκῶντες 5 ἔρρωντο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ σιωπῇ, ὅπως αὐτοί

[1] ἡ supplied by Pflugk.

the ships to put out to battle; for in these he reposed his chief trust. B.C. 36

Accordingly,[1] when the standard was raised and the trumpet gave the signal, all the vessels joined battle near the land and the infantry forces on both sides alike were marshalled at the very edge of the water, so that the spectacle was a most notable one. The whole sea in that vicinity was full of ships—they were so many, in fact, that they formed a long line—and the land just behind it was occupied by the armed men, and the adjacent space was taken up by the rest of the throng that followed each side. Hence, although the struggle seemed to be between the fighters on the ships alone, in reality the others too participated; for those on the ships strove with greater zeal in order to display their prowess to those who were watching them, while the others, no matter how far away they were, were themselves in a manner participants in the struggle as they watched the men in action. The battle was for a long time indecisive, the fighting being very similar to that in the previous encounters, and the men on shore were swayed by a conflict of feelings that was balanced between hope and fear. For they hoped that, if possible, the whole war would be settled by this engagement, but if that could not be, they yet were heartened by the expectation, on the one side, that if only they should be victorious this time, they would have no serious hardship to suffer in the future, and, on the other side, that if only they should win this time, they would not again be defeated. Accordingly, in order that they might keep their own

[1] In the following passage Dio was undoubtedly inspired by the dramatic description in Thucydides vii. 70 f.

τε πρὸς τὰ γιγνόμενα ἀποβλέπωσι καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ μὴ ἀποτρίβωσι, καὶ κραυγῇ μικρᾷ ἐχρῶντο, τούς τε ναυμαχοῦντας ἀνακαλοῦντες καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπιβοώμενοι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν κρατοῦντάς σφων
6 ἐπαινοῦντες τοὺς δ' ἡττωμένους λοιδοροῦντες, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἐκείνοις ἀντιπαρακελευόμενοι πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἀντιβοῶντες, τοῦ τε τοὺς σφετέρους ῥᾷον τὰ λεγόμενα ἀκούειν καὶ τοῦ τοὺς[1] ἐναντίους ἧττον τῶν οἰκείων ἐπαΐειν.

10 Τέως μὲν οὖν ἰσοπαλεῖς ἦσαν, οὕτω τε ταῦτα παρ' ἀμφοτέρων ὁμοίως ἐγίγνετο, καί τι καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ὡς καὶ ἰδεῖν καὶ νοῆσαι δυναμένοις σφίσιν ἐνεδείκνυντο· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐτράποντο οἱ τοῦ Σέξτου, ἐνταῦθα ἤδη ἀθρόοι καὶ ἀπὸ μιᾶς ὁρμῆς οἱ μὲν
2 ἐπαιώνισαν οἱ δὲ ὠλοφύραντο.[2] καὶ οὗτοι μέν, ὡς καὶ αὐτοὶ συννενικημένοι, πρὸς τὴν Μεσσήνην εὐθὺς ἀπεχώρησαν· ὁ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ τούς τε ἐκπίπτοντας τῶν ἡττωμένων ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐξεδέχετο, καὶ ἐς αὐτὴν τὴν θάλασσαν ἐπεσβαίνων πάντα τὰ σκάφη τά γε[3] ἐς τὸ τεναγῶδες ὀκέλλοντα κατε-
3 πίμπρη, ὥστε μήτε τοῖς ἔτι πλέουσιν ἀσφάλειαν εἶναι (πρὸς γὰρ τοῦ Ἀγρίππου ἐκόπτοντο) μήτε τοῖς προσίσχουσί[4] πῃ (πρὸς γὰρ τοῦ Καίσαρος διώλλυντο), πλὴν ὀλίγων, ὅσοι ἐς τὴν Μεσσήνην προκατέφυγον. κἀν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ ὁ μὲν Δημο-
4 χάρης ἁλισκόμενος ἑαυτὸν ἀπέσφαξεν, ὁ δ' Ἀπολλοφάνης ἄθραυστον τὴν ναῦν ἔχων καὶ δυνηθεὶς ἂν φυγεῖν προσεχώρησε τῷ Καίσαρι. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ

[1] τοῦ τοὺς M, τούτους L.
[2] ὠλοφύραντο Bk., ὠλοφύροντο LM Zon.
[3] γε Rk., τε LM.
[4] προσίσχουσί Reim., προίσχουσί LM.

gaze fixed upon the action and might not distract those who were taking part in it, they kept silent or indulged in but little shouting. They cheered the men who were fighting and appealed to the gods; they praised those of their own number who were winning and reproached those who were losing; they exchanged many exhortations with their own men, and many shouts with each other, in order that their own men might hear more easily what was said and their opponents might not catch the commands meant for them.

B.C. 36

Now so long as the forces were evenly matched, this was the conduct of the partisans of both sides alike, and they even tried to show the combatants by the postures of their bodies that they could both see and understand; but when the adherents of Sextus were being routed, then at length all together and with one impulse they raised the paean on the one side and a wail of lamentation on the other. And the land forces of Sextus at once retired to Messana, as if they, too, had shared in the defeat, whilst Caesar proceeded to take over those of the vanquished who were cast ashore, and going on into the sea itself, to set fire to all the vessels that ran aground in the shallow water. Thus there was no safety for those who continued to sail, for they would be cut to pieces by Agrippa, nor for such as tried to land anywhere, for they would be destroyed by Caesar,—except for a few, who had already escaped to Messana. During this struggle Demochares, when on the point of being captured, slew himself, and Apollophanes, who had his ship unscathed and might have fled, went over to Caesar. The same course was taken by others,

τοῦτο καὶ ἄλλοι, ὅ τε Γάλλος καὶ οἱ ἱππῆς οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πάντες, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ πεζοί τινες
11 ἐποίησαν. ἀφ' οὗπερ οὐχ ἥκιστα ὁ Σέξτος ἀπογνοὺς τὰ παρόντα φυγεῖν ἐβουλεύσατο, καὶ παραλαβὼν τήν τε θυγατέρα καὶ ἄλλους, τά τε χρήματα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τὰ πλείστου ἄξια ἐς τὰς ναῦς τὰς ἄριστα τῶν σωθεισῶν πλεούσας ἐσθέμενος,[1] νυκτὸς ἀπῆρεν. οὐδὲ ἐπεδίωξέ τις αὐτόν· ἐκεῖνός τε γὰρ λάθρᾳ ἐξέπλευσε, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐν μεγάλῃ ταραχῇ παραχρῆμα ἐγένετο.

2 Ὁ γὰρ Λέπιδος τῇ τε Μεσσήνῃ προσέπεσε, καὶ ἐσδεχθεὶς ἐς αὐτὴν τὰ μὲν ἐνεπίμπρη τὰ δ' ἥρπαζεν· ἐπειδή τε ἐκεῖνος αἰσθόμενος τοῦτ' ἐπῆλθέ τέ οἱ διὰ ταχέων καὶ ἐμποδὼν ἐγίγνετο, τῆς μὲν πόλεως ὑπεξῆλθε φοβηθείς, ἐπὶ δὲ λόφον τινὰ καρτερὸν ἀναστρατοπεδευσάμενος ἐγκλήματα ἐποιεῖτο, καταλέγων πάνθ' ὅσα ἐλαττοῦσθαι ἐνόμιζε,
3 καὶ τά τε ἄλλα ἀπήτει ὅσα αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν πρώτην σφῶν συνωμοσίαν ἐδέδοτο, καὶ τῆς Σικελίας ὡς καὶ συγκαταστρεψάμενος αὐτὴν ἀντεποιεῖτο. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτά τε τῷ Καίσαρι πέμπων τινὰς
4 ἐπεκάλει, καὶ ἐς δίκην αὐτὸν προυκαλεῖτο (εἶχε δὲ τάς τε δυνάμεις ἃς ἐκ τῆς Λιβύης ἐπῆκτο, καὶ τοὺς ἐγκαταλειφθέντας ἐν τῇ Μεσσήνῃ πάντας, ἐπειδὴ καὶ πρώτως ἐς αὐτὴν ἐσεληλύθει καί τινα καὶ ἐλπίδα νεωτέρων σφίσι πραγμάτων ὑπεβε-
12 βλήκει)· Καῖσαρ δὲ πρὸς μὲν ταῦτα οὐδὲν ἀντεῖπε, νομίσας δὲ δὴ πάντα τὰ δίκαια παρά τε ἑαυτῷ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ὅπλοις, ἅτε καὶ ἰσχυρότερος αὐτοῦ ὤν, ἔχειν, εὐθὺς ἐπ' αὐτὸν μετ' ὀλίγων τινῶν ὥρμησεν ὡς καὶ ἐκεῖνόν τε ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου, οἷα

[1] ἐσθέμενος R. Steph., ἐνθέμενος Zon., αἰσθόμενος LM.

including Gallus and all the cavalry that was with him, and subsequently by some of the infantry. This more than anything else caused Sextus to despair of the situation, and he resolved to flee; so, taking his daughter and some other persons, his money, and his other possessions of most value, he put them aboard the swiftest of the ships that had come through safely, and departed at night. And none pursued him, for he sailed away secretly and moreover Caesar straightway found himself in great embarrassment. B.C. 36

It seems that Lepidus had attacked Messana and on being admitted to the town had proceeded to set fire to some of it and to pillage other portions. When Caesar, on ascertaining this, came up quickly and interfered with him, Lepidus was alarmed and slipped out of the city, and encamping on a strong hill, made complaints about his treatment; he detailed all the slights he considered that he was receiving and demanded all the rights that had been conceded to him according to their first compact, and, further, laid claim to Sicily, on the ground that he had helped to subdue it. He sent some men to Caesar with these complaints and called upon him to submit to arbitration; his forces consisted not only of those which he had brought over from Africa but also of all those which had been left behind in Messana, as he had been the first to enter it and had suggested to them some hopes of a revolution. Caesar, however, made no answer to these demands, but feeling that he had justice all on his side as well as in his weapons, since he was stronger than Lepidus, he immediately set out against him with a few followers, expecting to alarm him by the suddenness of his move, as Lepidus

μηδὲν δραστήριον ἔχοντα, καταπλήξων, καὶ τοὺς
2 *στρατιώτας αὐτοῦ προσποιησόμενος. καὶ*[1] *ἐσῆλθε μὲν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον δόξας σφίσι διὰ τὴν ὀλιγότητα τῶν συνακολουθούντων οἱ εἰρηνικόν τι πράξειν· ὡς δ' οὐδὲν κατὰ γνώμην αὐτοῖς ἔλεγε, παρωξύνθησαν καὶ ἐπέθεντο αὐτῷ, καί τινας τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ἀπέκτειναν· ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἐν τάχει βοη-*
3 *θείας τυχὼν ἐσώθη. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐπῆλθέ τε αὖθις αὐτοῖς μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ, καὶ κατακλείσας σφᾶς ἐς τὸ τάφρευμα ἐπολιόρκει. φοβηθέντες οὖν τὴν ἅλωσιν κοινῇ μὲν οὐδὲν διὰ τὴν τοῦ Λεπίδου αἰδῶ ἐνεόχμωσαν, ἰδίᾳ δὲ κατ' ὀλίγους ὡς ἕκαστοι ἐγκατέλιπον αὐτὸν καὶ μεθίσταντο· καὶ οὕτω καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἠναγκάσθη ἐθελοντὴς δὴ ἐν*
4 *ἐσθῆτι φαιᾷ ἱκέτης αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκ τούτου τῆς τε ἐξουσίας πάσης παρελύθη, καὶ δίαιταν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ οὐκ ἄνευ φυλακῆς εἶχε· τῶν δὲ δὴ τὰ τοῦ Σέξτου πραξάντων οἱ μὲν ἱππεύοντες ἢ καὶ βουλεύοντες ἐκολάσθησαν πλὴν ὀλίγων, τοῦ δὲ ἐν τῷ τεταγμένῳ ὄντος τὸ μὲν ἐλεύθερον ἐς τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος στρατόπεδα κατελέχθη, τὸ δὲ δεδουλευκὸς τοῖς δεσπόταις πρὸς*
5 *τιμωρίαν ἀπεδόθη· εἰ δέ του μηδεὶς κύριος εὑρίσκετο, ἀνεσκολοπίζετο. τῶν τε πόλεων αἱ μὲν ἑκούσιαί οἱ προσχωρήσασαι συγγνώμης ἔτυχον, αἱ δ' ἀντάρασαι ἐδικαιώθησαν.*

13 *Πράσσοντι δ' αὐτῷ ταῦτα οἱ στρατιῶται ἐστασίασαν· ἄλλως τε γὰρ οὐκ ὀλίγοι ὄντες πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν τοῦ πλήθους σφῶν ἐθρασύνοντο, καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους τάς τε ἐλπίδας τὰς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐκλογι-*

[1] καὶ Xiph., om. LM.

was not at all energetic, and to win over his soldiers. B.C. 36
And he actually got inside their camp, because on account of the small number of the men who accompanied him they supposed he was on a peaceful errand; but when his words were not at all to their liking, they became angry and attacked him, even killing some of his men, though Caesar himself soon got reinforcements and got safely away. After this he came against them once more with his entire army, shut them up within their entrenchments, and besieged them. This caused them to fear capture, and without making any general revolt, through their regard for Lepidus, they privately deserted him in groups as individuals and transferred their allegiance. In this way he, too, was compelled on his own initiative, arraying himself in mourning, to become a suppliant of Caesar. As a result Lepidus was shorn of all authority and could not even live in Italy without a guard; and in the case of those who had been enlisted in the cause of Sextus, the members of the senatorial or equestrian classes were punished, save a few, while of the rank and file the free citizens were incorporated in the legions of Caesar, and those who had been slaves were given back to their masters for punishment, and in case no master could be found for any one of them, he was impaled. As for the cities, some of them voluntarily came over to Caesar and received pardon, and others resisted him and were punished.

While Caesar was thus occupied his soldiers revolted. For they were emboldened by observing their own numbers, and moreover, when they stopped to think of the dangers they had encountered and the hopes they had built up on them, they became

ζόμενοι πρός τε τὰ γέρα ἀπλήστως εἶχον, καὶ συλλεγόμενοι κατ' ἀλλήλους ᾔτουν ὅ τι τις ἐπό-
2 θει. ἐπειδή τε μάτην ἐθρύλουν (ὁ γὰρ Καῖσαρ, ἅτε μηδενὸς ἔτι πολεμίου οἱ παρόντος, ἐν ὀλιγωρίᾳ αὐτοὺς ἐποιεῖτο), ἐθορύβουν· καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ προφέροντες πάνθ' ὅσ' ἐτεταλαιπώρηντο, καὶ προβάλλοντες εἴ τί που ὑπέσχητό σφισι, πολλὰ ἐπηπείλουν, καὶ ἐνόμιζον καὶ ἄκοντα αὐτὸν καταδου-
3 λώσεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδὲν ἐπέραινον, τῆς γοῦν στρατείας ὡς καὶ κεκμηκότες ἀφεθῆναι ἠξίουν, θυμῷ καὶ βοῇ ἀπλέτῳ χρώμενοι, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ ἐβούλοντο αὐτῆς ἀπαλλαγῆναι (καὶ γὰρ ἤκμαζόν σφων οἱ πλείονες), ἀλλ' ὅτι τὸν[1] πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιόν οἱ ἐσόμενον ὑπετόπουν καὶ διὰ τοῦθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἀνετίμων· ὧν γὰρ ἀπαιτοῦντες οὐκ ἐτύγχανον, ταῦτ' ἐγκαταλείψειν αὐτὸν ἀπει-
4 λοῦντες λήψεσθαι προσεδόκων. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦτό σφισι προυχώρησεν· ὁ γὰρ Καῖσαρ, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα τόν τε πόλεμον ἀκριβῶς ᾔδει γενησόμενον καὶ τὰ ἐκείνων βουλήματα σαφῶς συνίει, ἀλλ' οὔτοι καὶ ὑπεῖξεν αὐτοῖς, νομίζων μηδὲν δεῖν τὸν ἄρχοντα παρὰ γνώμην ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν στρατιωτῶν βίας ποιεῖν, ὡς καὶ ἄλλο τι αὖθίς σφων
14 διὰ τοῦτο πλεονεκτῆσαι ἐθελησόντων. προσποιησάμενος οὖν εὔλογά τε αὐτοὺς ἀξιοῦν καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων δεῖσθαι, διῆκε πρώτους μὲν τοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον πρὸς τὴν Μούτιναν στρατεύσαντας αὐτῷ, ἔπειτα δὲ ὡς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐνέκειντο, καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνων πάντας τοὺς δέκατον ἔτος ἐν τῇ στρατείᾳ[2] ἔχοντας. καὶ ἵνα γε τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐπισχῇ, προσ-

[1] τὸν Rk., τὸν μὲν LM.
[2] στρατείᾳ R. Steph., στρατιᾶι LM.

insatiable in their desire for rewards, and gathering by themselves they demanded whatever any one of them longed for. And when their talk had no effect, inasmuch as Caesar, with no longer any enemy confronting him, paid no heed to them, they became clamorous; and setting before him all the hardships they had endured and throwing up to him whatever promises he had made them, they uttered many threats besides, and thought to make him their slave even in spite of himself. But as they accomplished nothing, they demanded with much heat and no end of shouting that they be at least discharged from the service, claiming they were worn out. This was not because they really wished to be free from it, for most of them were in their prime, but because they had an inkling of the coming conflict between Caesar and Antony and for that reason set a high value upon themselves; for what they could not obtain by requests, they expected to secure by threatening to abandon him. Not even this, however, served their purpose. For Caesar did not yield to them in the least, even though he knew perfectly well that the war was going to occur and though he clearly understood their intentions, because he thought that a commander should never do anything contrary to his own judgment under pressure from his soldiers, realizing that if he did, they would want to get the advantage of him again in some other matter. So he pretended that their demands were reasonable and their needs only what was natural for men and then gave their discharge, first to those who had served under him in the campaign against Antony at Mutina, and next, since the rest, too, were importunate, to all of them who had been ten years in the service. And in order to restrain the remainder, he gave further

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ανεῖπεν ὅτι οὐδενὶ ἔτ᾽ αὐτῶν, οὐδ᾽ ἂν τὰ μάλιστα
2 ἐθελήσῃ, χρήσεται. ἀκούσαντες δὲ τοῦτο οὐδὲν ἔτ᾽ ἐφθέγξαντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ προσέχειν αὐτῷ ἤρξαντο, ὅτι τοῖς τε ἀφειμένοις, οὐ πᾶσι, πλὴν τῶν προτέρων, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀξιωτάτοις, τά τε ἄλλα ὅσα ὑπέσχητο δώσειν καὶ χώραν νεμεῖν [1] ἐπηγγείλατο, καί σφισι πᾶσι μὲν πεντακοσίας δραχμάς, τοῖς δὲ δὴ ναυκρατήσασι καὶ στέφανον ἐλαίας ἔδωκε.
3 κἀκ τούτου τούς τε ἄλλους πολλὰ ὡς ἑκάστους, καὶ τοὺς ἑκατοντάρχους ὡς καὶ ἐς τὰς βουλὰς αὐτοὺς τὰς ἐν ταῖς πατρίσι καταλέξων, ἐπήλπισε. τοῖς τε ὑποστρατήγοις ἄλλοις τε ἄλλα καὶ τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ στέφανον χρυσοῦν ἐμβόλοις ἠσκημένον ἐδωρήσατο· ὃ μήτε [2] πρότερον μήτ᾽ αὖθις ἄλλῳ
4 τῳ ἐγένετο. καὶ ὅπως γε διὰ παντός, ὁσάκις οἵτινα ἐπινίκια πέμψαντες τὸν στέφανον τὸν δάφνινον φοροῖεν,[3] ἐκεῖνος τούτῳ τῷ ναυκρατητικῷ [4] χρῷτο, δόγματι ὕστερον ἐβεβαιώθη. οὕτω μὲν τότε τοὺς στρατιώτας κατέστησε· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀργύριον αὐτοῖς αὐτίκα, τὴν δὲ χώραν οὐ πολλῷ
5 ὕστερον ἔδωκεν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὐκ ἐξήρκεσεν ἡ ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ ἔτι τότε οὖσα, προσεξεπρίατο ἄλλην τε καὶ παρὰ Καμπανῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Καπύῃ οἰκούντων συχνήν (καὶ γὰρ ἐποίκων ἡ πόλις πολλῶν ἐδεῖτο), καὶ αὐτοῖς τό τε ὕδωρ τὸ Ἰούλιον ὠνομασμένον, ἐφ᾽ ᾧ [5] καὶ τὰ μάλιστα διὰ πάντων ἀγάλλονται, τήν τε χώραν τὴν Κνωσίαν, ἣν καὶ νῦν ἔτι καρποῦνται, ἀντέδωκε.

[1] νεμεῖν Bk., νέμειν LM.
[2] μήτε Bk., μή LM.
[3] φοροῖεν supplied by Bk.
[4] ναυκρατητικῷ Reim., ναυκρατικῶι LM.
[5] ἐφ᾽ ᾧ Reim., ὑφ᾽ οὗ LM.

notice that he would not in future employ any discharged soldier, no matter how much he might wish it. On hearing this they uttered not another word, but began to pay strict heed to what he said, because he announced that he would give to the men discharged—not to all, save to the first of them, but to the worthiest—everything he had promised, and would assign them land, and because he made a present to each of them of two thousand sesterces and to those who had been victors in the sea-fight a crown of olive in addition. After this he inspired the rank and file with many hopes, and the centurions in particular with the expectation that he would enrol them in the senates in their native cities. Upon his lieutenants he bestowed various gifts and upon Agrippa a golden crown adorned with ships' beaks—a decoration given to nobody before or since. And in order that Agrippa might regularly enjoy this trophy of his naval victory on every occasion on which generals should wear the laurel crown in celebrating a triumph, Caesar's grant was later confirmed by a decree. In this way Caesar calmed the soldiers at that time. The money he gave them at once and the land not much later. And since the land which was still held by the state at the time did not suffice, he bought more in addition, especially a large tract from the inhabitants of Capua in Campania, since their city needed a large number of settlers. In return he gave the Capuans the water-supply called the Aqua Iulia, their chief source of pride at all times, and the Gnosian territory,[1] the use of which they still enjoy at the present time.

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[1] This is the well-known Gnosos in Crete. Cf. Strabo, x. 4, 9, and Velleius Paterculus, ii. 81, 2.

6 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὕστερον ἐγένετο· τότε δὲ τά τε ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ διῴκησε, καὶ τὴν Λιβύην ἑκατέραν ἀμαχεὶ διὰ Στατιλίου Ταύρου παρεστήσατο, τῷ τε Ἀντωνίῳ τὸν ἴσον ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπολομένων νεῶν
15 ἀριθμὸν ἀντέπεμψε. κἀν τούτῳ τά τε τῶν Τυρσηνῶν στασιάσαντα ἔπειτα ἅμα τῷ τῆς νίκης αὐτοῦ πυθέσθαι κατέστη, καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ ἄστει ἐπαίνους τε αὐτῷ ὁμοθυμαδὸν καὶ εἰκόνας καὶ προεδρίαν ἁψῖδά τε τροπαιοφόρον, καὶ τὸ ἐφ' ἵππου[1] ἐσελάσαι τό τε στεφάνῳ δαφνίνῳ ἀεὶ χρῆσθαι, καὶ τὸ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐν ᾗ ἐνενικήκει, ἱερομηνίᾳ ἀιδίῳ οὔσῃ, ἐν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Καπιτωλίου μετά τε τῆς γυναικὸς
2 καὶ μετὰ τῶν[2] παίδων ἑστιᾶσθαι ἔδωκαν. ταῦτα μὲν εὐθύς σφισι μετὰ τὴν νίκην ἔδοξεν, ἤγγειλαν δὲ αὐτὴν πρῶτον μὲν στρατιώτης τις τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει τότε ὄντων, κάτοχος ἐν αὐτῇ ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκ θεοῦ δή τινος γενόμενος, καὶ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ καὶ εἰπὼν καὶ πράξας, καὶ τέλος ἔς τε τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀναδραμὼν καὶ τὸ ξίφος πρὸς τοὺς τοῦ Διὸς πόδας ὡς μηκέτ' αὐτοῦ χρείας οὔσης θείς, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ παραγενόμενοί τε ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ πεμφθέντες ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ὑπὸ τοῦ
3 Καίσαρος. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀφίκετο, καί σφας συναγαγὼν ἔξω τοῦ πωμηρίου κατὰ τὰ πάτρια τά τε πεπραγμένα οἱ ἀπελογίσατο[3] καὶ τῶν ψηφισθέντων τινὰ παρῄκατο, τόν τε φόρον τὸν ἐκ τῶν ἀπογραφῶν, καὶ εἰ δή τι ἄλλο ἔτι τῷ δημοσίῳ ἐς τὸν πρὸ τοῦ ἐμφυλίου πολέμου χρόνον ἐπωφείλετο, ἀφῆκε, τέλη τέ τινα κατέλυσε, καὶ τὴν τοῦ Λεπίδου

[1] ἵππου L, ἵππους M.
[2] τῶν added by Bk.
[3] ἀπελογίσατο Rk., ἀπελογήσατο LM.

These were later events, however; at the time Caesar arranged matters in Sicily and through Statilius Taurus won over both the Africas without a struggle and sent back to Antony ships equal in number to those which had been lost. Meanwhile the parts of Etruria which had been in rebellion had subsequently become quiet as soon as word came of his victory. The people of the capital unanimously bestowed upon him votes of praise, statues, the right to the front seat, an arch surmounted by trophies, and the privilege of riding into the city on horseback, of wearing the laurel crown on all occasions, and of holding a banquet with his wife and children in the temple of Capitoline Jupiter on the anniversary of the day on which he had won his victory, which was to be a perpetual day of thanksgiving. These were the honours which they granted him immediately after his victory. The victory had been announced first by one of the soldiers in the city at the time who had become possessed by some god on the very day of the victory (for after saying and doing many strange things he finally ran up to the temple on the Capitol and laid his sword at the feet of Jupiter, to signify that there would be no further use for it), and afterwards by the others who had been present at the victory and had been sent to Rome by Caesar. And when Caesar himself arrived, he assembled the people according to ancient custom outside the pomerium, gave them an account of what he had done, declined some of the honours which had been voted to him, remitted the tribute called for in the registered lists and all the other debts owed to the state for the time previous to the civil war, abolished certain taxes, and refused to accept the priesthood of Lepidus,

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ἱερωσύνην διδομένην οἱ οὐκ ἔλαβεν (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐξῆν ζῶντά τινα ἀφελέσθαι), καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ αὐτῷ
4 *προσεψηφίσαντο. ἤδη μὲν γάρ τινες διεθρόησαν ὅτι ἐπί τε τῇ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Λεπίδου διαβολῇ, καὶ ὥστε τὴν αἰτίαν τῶν πρότερον ἀδίκως γενομένων ἐς ἐκείνους μόνους ἀπώσασθαι, ταῦθ' οὕτω τότε ἐμεγαλοφρονήσατο· ἄλλοι δὲ ὅτι, ἐπειδὴ μηδένα τρόπον ἀπολαβεῖν τὰ ὀφειλόμενα ἐδύνατο, χάριν τινὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἀζήμιον τὴν ἐκείνων ἀδυναμίαν*
5 *ἐποιήσατο. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἄλλως ἐθρυλεῖτο, τότε δὲ οἰκίαν τε αὐτῷ ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου δοθῆναι ἔγνωσαν· τὸν γὰρ τόπον ὃν[1] ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ,[2] ὥστ' οἰκοδομῆσαί τινα, ἑώνητο, ἐδημοσίωσε καὶ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἱέρωσεν, ἐπειδὴ κεραυνὸς ἐς αὐτὸν ἐγκατέσκηψε. τήν τε οὖν οἰκίαν αὐτῷ ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ τὸ μήτε ἔργῳ μήτε λόγῳ τι ὑβρίζεσθαι·*
6 *εἰ δὲ μή, τοῖς αὐτοῖς τὸν τοιοῦτό τι δράσαντα ἐνέχεσθαι οἷσπερ ἐπὶ τῷ δημάρχῳ ἐτέτακτο. καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν βάθρων συγκαθέζεσθαί σφισιν ἔλαβε.*

16 *Τῷ μὲν οὖν Καίσαρι ταῦτα παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἐδόθη, αὐτὸς δὲ τόν τε Μεσσάλαν τὸν Οὐαλέριον, ὃν πρότερον ἐν ταῖς προγραφαῖς ἐτεθανατώκει, ἐς τοὺς οἰωνιστὰς ὑπὲρ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐσέγραψε, καὶ τοὺς Οὐτικησίους πολίτας ἐποιήσατο, τήν τε ἐσθῆτα τὴν ἁλουργῆ μηδένα ἄλλον ἔξω τῶν βουλευτῶν τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ὄντων ἐνδύεσθαι ἐκέλευσεν· ἤδη γάρ τινες καὶ τῶν τυχόντων αὐτῇ ἐχρῶντο.*

[1] ὃν R. Steph., τὸν LM. [2] Παλατίῳ Xyl., στατίωι LM.

which was offered to him, as it was not lawful to take away the office from a man who was still alive. Thereupon they voted him many other distinctions. Some people, to be sure, even spread the report abroad that these acts of magnanimity on Caesar's part on that occasion were designed to bring reproach upon Antony and Lepidus and to enable him to shift the blame upon them alone for the acts of injustice formerly committed; and others alleged that, since he was unable in any way to collect the debts due to the state, he turned the people's inability to pay into a favour from himself that cost him nothing. But this was mere idle talk. The people at this time resolved that a house should be presented to Caesar at public expense; for he had made public property of the place on the Palatine which he had bought for the purpose of erecting a residence upon it, and had consecrated it to Apollo, after a thunderbolt had descended upon it. Hence they voted him the house and also protection from any insult by deed or word; any one who committed such an offence was to be liable to the same penalties as had been established in the case of a tribune. This was only logical, inasmuch as he received the privilege of sitting upon the same benches with the tribunes. B.C. 36

These were the privileges bestowed upon Caesar by the senate. And Caesar on his own responsibility enrolled among the augurs, above the proper number, Valerius Messalla, whom he had previously in the proscriptions condemned to death, made the people of Utica citizens, and gave orders that no one should wear the purple dress except the senators who were acting as magistrates; for some ordinary individuals were already using it. In this same year

2 *κἀν τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ ἔτει οὔτ' ἀγορανόμος τις ἀπορίᾳ τῶν αἱρεθησομένων ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' οἱ στρατηγοὶ οἵ τε δήμαρχοι τὰ προσήκοντα αὐτοῖς ἔπραξαν, οὔτε πολίαρχος ἐς τὰς ἀνοχὰς ἀπεδείχθη, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν στρατηγῶν τινες τὰ ἐπιβάλλοντα αὐτῷ διήγαγον. τά τε ἄλλα τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει τῇ τε λοιπῇ Ἰταλίᾳ Γάιός τις Μαικήνας, ἀνὴρ ἱππεύς, καὶ τότε καὶ ἔπειτα ἐπὶ πολὺ διῴκησεν.*

17 *Ὁ δὲ δὴ Σέξτος ἔκ τε τῆς Μεσσήνης ἐξαναχθεὶς καὶ τὴν δίωξιν φοβηθείς, προδοσίαν τέ τινα ἀπὸ τῶν συνακολουθούντων οἱ ἔσεσθαι ὑποτοπήσας, προεῖπε μέν σφισιν ὡς διὰ πελάγους τὸν πλοῦν* 2 *ποιησόμενος, ἀποσβέσας δὲ τὸ φῶς ὃ ἐν τοῖς νυκτερινοῖς πλοῖς*[1] *αἱ στρατηγίδες νῆες, ὅπως καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ κατὰ πόδας αὐτῶν ἐφέπωνται, προδεικνύουσι, παρά τε τὴν Ἰταλίαν παρέπλευσε, καὶ διαβαλὼν*[2] *ἐπὶ Κέρκυραν*[3] *ἐς Κεφαλληνίαν ἐκεῖθεν ἦλθε· κἀνταῦθα καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι κατὰ τύχην ὑπὸ χειμῶνος ἐκπεσόντες αὖθις αὐτῷ συνεγένοντο.* 3 *συγκαλέσας οὖν αὐτοὺς τήν τε σκευὴν τὴν στρατηγικὴν*[4] *ἀπεδύσατο, καὶ εἰπὼν ἄλλα τε καὶ ὅτι ἀθρόοι μὲν ὄντες οὔτ' ὠφελίαν τινὰ ἀλλήλοις διαρκῆ παρέξουσιν οὔτε λήσουσι, σκεδασθέντες δὲ ῥᾷω τὴν διάφευξιν ποιήσονται, παρῄνεσέ σφισιν ἰδίᾳ καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἑκάστῳ τῆς σωτηρίας προ-* 4 *σκοπῆσαι. κἀκ τούτου πεισθέντων οἱ τῶν πλειόνων, καὶ ἄλλων ἄλλοσε ἀποχωρησάντων, αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐπεραιώθη, γνώμην ἔχων πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον εὐθὺς ὁρμῆσαι. γενό-*

[1] πλοῖς R. Steph., πλοίοις LM.
[2] διαβαλὼν Leuncl., διαλαβὼν LM.
[3] Κέρκυραν R. Steph., κόρκυραν LM (here only).
[4] στρατηγικὴν Zon., στρατιωτικὴν LM.

there was no aedile owing to a lack of candidates, B.C. 36 but the praetors and the tribunes performed the aediles' duties; also no prefect of the city was appointed for the Feriae, but some of the praetors discharged his functions. Other matters in the city and in the rest of Italy were administered by one Gaius Maecenas, a knight, both then and for a long time afterward.

Now after Sextus had taken ship from Messana he was afraid of pursuit and suspected that some act of treachery would be committed by his followers. Therefore he gave notice to them that he was going to sail across the sea, but when he had extinguished the light which flagships exhibit during night voyages for the purpose of causing the rest to follow close behind, he coasted along past Italy, then went over to Corcyra, and from there came to Cephallenia. Here the remainder of his vessels, which had by chance been driven from their course by a storm, joined him again. Accordingly, after calling them together, he took off his general's uniform and made an address, in which he said, among other things, that while they remained together they could render no lasting aid to one another or escape detection, but if they scattered they could more easily make their escape; and he advised them to look out for their own safety each man separately and for himself. Thereupon the majority gave heed to him and departed in various directions, while he with the remainder crossed over to Asia with the intention of going straight to Antony.

μενος δὲ ἐν Λέσβῳ, καὶ ἐκεῖνόν τε ἐπὶ Μήδους ἐστρατευκέναι καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ τὸν Λέπιδον πεπολεμῶσθαι μαθών, διενοεῖτο μὲν κατὰ χώραν
5 χειμάσαι· τῶν δὲ Λεσβίων προθυμότατα αὐτὸν διὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ μνήμην καὶ δεξαμένων καὶ κατεχόντων, ἐπειδὴ τόν τε Ἀντώνιον δυστυχήσαντα ἐν τῇ Μηδίᾳ ἐπύθετο καὶ Γάιος Φούρνιος ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας τότε ἄρχων οὐκ εὐνοϊκῶς οἱ ἐχρῆτο,
6 οὐ κατέμεινεν, ἀλλὰ ἐλπίσας τὴν τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ἀρχὴν διαδέξεσθαι, ὅτι τε ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας συχνοὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφίκοντο καὶ ὅτι καὶ ἕτεροι, οἱ μὲν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ δόξαν οἱ δὲ καὶ βίου δεόμενοι, συνελέγησαν, τό τε σχῆμα τὸ στρατηγικὸν ἀνέλαβε, καὶ παρεσκευάζετο ὡς καὶ τὴν
18 περαίαν καταληψόμενος. κἀν τούτῳ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ἔς τε τὴν φιλίαν ἀποσωθέντος καὶ τὰ πραττόμενα ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ μαθόντος, καὶ τήν τε ἄδειαν αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν εὔνοιαν, ἂν τὰ ὅπλα κατάθηται, ὑποσχομένου δώσειν, ἀντέγραψε μὲν ὡς καὶ πεισθησόμενός οἱ, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐποίησε τοῦτο, ἀλλ᾽ ἔκ τε τῶν συμφορῶν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐπειδὴ πρὸς τὴν Αἴγυπτον αὐτίκα ἀπῆρε, καταφρονήσας τῶν τε παρόντων εἴχετο καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Πάρθους διεκηρυ-
2 κεύετο. πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἀντώνιος οὐκ ἀνέστρεψεν, ἀλλὰ τό τε ναυτικὸν καὶ τὸν Τίτιον τὸν Μᾶρκον, μεταστάντα τε πρὸς ἑαυτὸν πρότερον ἀπὸ τοῦ Σέξτου καὶ τότε συνόντα[1] οἱ, ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἔπεμψε. καὶ ὃς προαισθόμενός τε τοῦτο καὶ φοβηθεὶς (οὐδέπω γὰρ ἱκανῶς παρεσκεύαστο) ἐξανήχθη,[2]
3 καὶ προχωρῶν ᾗ μάλιστα διαφεύξεσθαι ἐδόκει, ἐς

[1] συνόντα R. Steph., ξυνόντα LM.
[2] ἐξανήχθη Pflugk, ἐξήχθη LM.

When he reached Lesbos, however, and learned that Antony had gone on a campaign against the Medes and that Caesar and Lepidus had gone to war with each other, he decided to winter where he was; and in fact the Lesbians welcomed him with great enthusiasm on account of their recollection of his father and tried to keep him there. But when he learned that Antony had met with a reverse in Media, and when Gaius Furnius, the governor of Asia at the time, was not disposed to be friendly to him, he was against remaining, but hoping to succeed to Antony's leadership, inasmuch as many had come to him from Sicily and still others had rallied around him, some on account of his father's renown and some because they were in need of a livelihood, he resumed the dress of a general and began to make preparations for occupying the land opposite. Meanwhile Antony had got back safely into friendly territory and on learning what Sextus was doing promised to grant him pardon and favour, if he would lay down his arms. Sextus in his answer intimated that he would obey him, but did not do so; instead, because he despised Antony on account of his reverses and in view of his setting off immediately for Egypt, he held to his present plan and entered into negotiations with the Parthians. Antony found this out, but without turning back sent against him the fleet and Marcus Titius, who had formerly deserted Sextus and come over to him and was with him at this time. Sextus received information of this move beforehand, and in alarm, since his preparations were not yet complete, put out to sea, and taking the course which seemed most likely to B.C. 36

τε Νικομήδειαν ἀφίκετο, κἀνταῦθα καταληφθεὶς ἐπεκηρυκεύσατο μὲν αὐτῷ, ἅτε καὶ ἐλπίδα αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς εὐεργεσίας ἣν εὐηργέτητο[1] ἔχων· ὡς δὲ ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ἔφη οἱ σπείσεσθαι ἂν μὴ τάς τε ναῦς καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ προπαραλάβῃ, τῆς τε κατὰ θάλασσαν σωτηρίας ἀπέγνω, καὶ τὰ σκεύη τὰ βαρύτερα ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἐμβαλὼν ταύτας
4 τε κατέκαυσε καὶ ἐς τὴν μεσόγειαν ὥρμησε. καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπιδιώξαντες ὅ τε Τίτιος καὶ ὁ Φούρνιος ἔν τε Μιδαείῳ τῆς Φρυγίας κατέλαβον καὶ περισχόντες ἐζώγρησαν. μαθὼν δὲ τοῦτο ὁ Ἀντώνιος εὐθὺς μὲν ὑπ' ὀργῆς ἐπέστειλέ σφισιν ἵνα ἀποθάνῃ, αὖθις δ' οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον μετανοήσας ἵνα σωθῇ
5 . . . .[2] τοῦ οὖν δευτέρου γραμματοφόρου τὸν πρότερον φθάσαντος, ὕστερον τὰ περὶ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ γράμματα ὁ Τίτιος λαβών, καὶ νομίσας ὄντως δεύτερα εἶναι, ἢ καὶ γνοὺς μὲν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, οὐκ ἐθελήσας δὲ αὐτῇ πιστεῦσαι, τῇ τάξει τῆς κομιδῆς αὐτῶν ἀλλ' οὐ τῇ γνώμῃ προσέσχε.
6 καὶ οὕτως ὅ τε Σέξτος ἐπί τε τοῦ Κορνουφικίου τοῦ Λουκίου καὶ ἐπὶ Σέξτου τινὸς Πομπηίου ὑπάτων ἀπέθανε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἱπποδρομίαν τε ἐποίησε καὶ τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ ἅρμα τε ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βήματος καὶ εἰκόνας ἐν τῷ Ὁμονοείῳ ἔστησε, τό τε ἐξουσίαν σύν τε τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις ἑστιᾶσθαι ἐνταῦθ' ἔχειν ἔδωκεν,
7 ὥσπερ ποτὲ καὶ αὐτῷ ἐψήφιστο· φίλος τε γὰρ ἔτι οἱ εἶναι ἐπλάττετο, καὶ ἐκεῖνόν τε ἐπὶ[3] ταῖς ἀπὸ τῶν Πάρθων συμφοραῖς παρεμυθεῖτο δῆθεν, καὶ

[1] εὐηργέτητο St., εὐεργέτητο LM.
[2] L here has a lacuna of eighteen to twenty letters, M of about thirty-four. The scribe of L' supplied ἔγραψε before ἵνα.
[3] ἐπὶ Pflugk, ἐν LM.

afford escape, came to Nicomedeia. And when he was overtaken there, he opened negotiations with Titius, placing some hope in him because of the kindness which had been shown him; but when the other refused to enter into a truce with him without first taking possession of his ships and the rest of his force, Sextus despaired of safety by sea, put all his heavier baggage into the ships, which he thereupon burned, and proceeded inland. Titius and Furnius pursued him, and overtaking him at Midaëum in Phrygia, surrounded him and captured him alive. When Antony learned of this, he at once in anger sent word to them that Sextus should be put to death, but repenting again not long afterward, wrote that his life should be spared . . . . Now the bearer of the second letter arrived before the other; and Titius later received the letter ordering Sextus' death, and either believing that it was really the second or else knowing the truth but not caring to heed it, he followed the order of the arrival of the two, but not their intention. So Sextus was executed in the consulship of Lucius Cornificius and one Sextus Pompeius. Caesar held games in the Circus in honour of the event, and set up for Antony a chariot in front of the rostra and statues in the temple of Concord, giving him also authority to hold banquets there with his wife and children, even as had once been voted in his own honour. For he pretended to be Antony's friend still and to be consoling him for the disasters inflicted by the Parthians, and in this way he tried to

B.C. 36

B.C. 35

ἑαυτοῦ τὸ ἐπίφθονον πρός τε τὴν νίκην καὶ πρὸς τὰ ψηφισθέντα ἐπ' αὐτῇ ἐξηκεῖτο.[1]

19 Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἔπραττε, τὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου τῶν τε βαρβάρων ὧδε ἔσχεν. ὁ Οὐεντίδιος ὁ Πούπλιος τὸν Πάκορον στράτευμά τε ἀθροίζειν καὶ ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἐμβάλλειν μαθὼν ἔδεισεν, ἐπειδὴ μήτε αἱ πόλεις πω καθειστήκεσαν καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα ἐν τοῖς χειμαδίοις ἔτι διέσπαρτο, καὶ τοιόνδε τι ἔς τε τὴν διατριβὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐς τὴν βραδυτῆτα 2 τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐποίησε. Χανναῖόν τινα δυνάστην γνωρίμως μὲν καὶ αὐτῷ ἔχοντα, τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν Πάρθων μᾶλλον φρονοῦντα εἰδώς, τά τε ἄλλα ὡς καὶ πιστότατόν οἱ ὄντα ἐτίμα καὶ σύμβουλον ἔστιν ὧν ἐποιεῖτο, ἐξ ὧν αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν βλαβήσεσθαι, ἐκείνῳ δὲ δὴ πίστιν τοῦ καὶ τὰ ἀπορρητότατα δῆθεν αὐτῷ συνειδέναι παρέξειν ἔμελλεν. 3 ἐπειδή τε ἐνταῦθα ἦν, φοβεῖσθαί τε ἐπλάσατο μή πως οἱ βάρβαροι τὴν συνήθη σφίσι διάβασιν τοῦ Εὐφράτου, παρ' ᾗ τὸ Ζεῦγμα ἡ πόλις ἔστι, παραλιπόντες ἑτέρᾳ τινὶ ὁδῷ κάτω τοῦ ποταμοῦ χρήσωνται (τῇ μὲν γὰρ πεδία τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπιτήδεια, τῇ δὲ γηλόφους ἑαυτοῖς πρέποντας 4 εἶναι ἔλεγε), καὶ τοῦτο[2] αὐτόν τ'[3] ἀνέπεισε πιστεῦσαι, καὶ τὸν Πάκορον δι' αὐτοῦ προσεξηπάτησε· τὴν γὰρ πεδιάδα, ἣν προσεποιεῖτο ὁ Οὐεντίδιος μὴ βούλεσθαι αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν, μακροτέραν τῆς ἑτέρας οὖσαν τραπεὶς παρέσχεν οἱ 20 καιρὸν τὰς δυνάμεις ἀθροῖσαι. καὶ οὕτως ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ αὐτῷ τῇ Κυρηστικῇ γενομένῳ συμβαλὼν ἐνίκησεν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὔτε τὸν ποταμὸν δια-

[1] ἐξηκεῖτο Rk., ἐξηγεῖτο LM.

[2] καὶ τοῦτο Bk., κἀκ τούτου LM. | [3] τ' supplied by Pflugk.

cure the jealousy the other might feel at his own victory and the decrees which followed it. B.C. 35

This was what Caesar was doing; as for Antony and the barbarians, their warfare was as follows. Publius Ventidius heard that Pacorus was gathering an army and invading Syria, and becoming afraid, since the cities had not yet become quiet and the legions were still scattered in their winter-quarters, he acted as follows, in order to secure delay on the part of his foe and to make up for the slowness of his own army. Knowing that a certain prince Channaeus, with whom he, too, was acquainted, favoured the Parthian cause, he honoured him in all respects as if he had his entire confidence and took him as an adviser in some matters wherein he could not be injured himself and yet would cause Channaeus to think he possessed his most hidden secrets. Having reached this point, he affected to be afraid that the barbarians might abandon the place where they customarily crossed the Euphrates near the city of Zeugma [1] and use some other road farther down the river; for this other place, he said, was a plain and convenient for the enemy, whereas the former was hilly and best suited to his own forces. He persuaded the prince to believe this and through him deceived Pacorus also; for the Parthian leader took the route through the flat district, which Ventidius kept pretending to hope he would not take, and as this was longer than the other, it gave the Roman time to assemble his forces. In this way he met Pacorus in Syria Cyrrhestica [2] and conquered him. For when he had not prevented them from B.C. 38

[1] Cf. xl. 17, 3.

[2] The district in Syria called Cyrrhestica.

βῆναί σφας ἐκώλυσεν οὔτ' αὖ διαβᾶσιν εὐθὺς ἐπέθετο, μαλακίαν τέ τινα καὶ ἀρρωστίαν τῶν Ῥωμαίων κατέγνωσαν, κἀκ τούτου πρὸς τὸ ἔρυμα αὐτῶν καίπερ ἐν μετεώρῳ ὂν προσήλασαν ὡς καὶ
2 αὐτοβοεί σφας αἱρήσοντες. ἐπεκδρομῆς τε αἰφνιδίου γενομένης κατά τε τοῦ πρανοῦς οὐ χαλεπῶς, ἅτε καὶ ἱππῆς ὄντες, ἀπεώσθησαν, κἀνταῦθα ἀνδρείως μὲν ἀμυνόμενοι (κατάφρακτοι γὰρ οἱ πλείους αὐτῶν ἦσαν) ταραττόμενοι δὲ πρός τε τὸ ἀνέλπιστον καὶ περὶ ἀλλήλοις, ὑπό τε τῶν ὁπλιτῶν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν σφενδονητῶν μάλιστα ἡττήθησαν· πόρρωθεν γὰρ σφοδραῖς ταῖς βολαῖς
3 ἐξικνούμενοι χαλεπώτατοι αὐτοῖς ἐγίγνοντο. κἀν τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ καὶ ὁ Πάκορος πεσὼν πλεῖστον αὐτοὺς ἔβλαψεν· ὡς γὰρ τάχιστα τὸν ἄρχοντά σφων ἀπολωλότα ᾔσθοντο, ὀλίγοι μὲν περὶ τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ προθύμως ἠγωνίσαντο, φθαρέντων δὲ καὶ τούτων πάντες οἱ λοιποὶ ἐνέδοσαν. καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν διὰ τῆς γεφύρας οἴκαδε διαφυγεῖν ἐθελήσαντες οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν, ἀλλὰ προκαταληφθέντες ἀπώλοντο, οἱ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν
4 Ἀντίοχον ἐς τὴν Κομμαγηνὴν κατέφυγον. Οὐεντίδιος δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τὰ ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ μετέωρα πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πολέμου ἔκβασιν γιγνόμενα (τὸν γὰρ Πάκορον ὅμοια τοῖς μάλιστα τῶν πώποτε βασιλευσάντων καὶ ἐπὶ δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ ἐπὶ πρᾳότητι ὑπερηγάπων) ῥᾳδίως, τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ
5 κατὰ τὰς πόλεις περιπέμψας, κατεστήσατο· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντίοχον, πρόφασιν μὲν ὅτι τοὺς ἱκέτας οἱ οὐκ ἐξέδωκε, τῇ δ' ἀληθείᾳ διὰ τὰ χρήματα ἃ πάμπολλα εἶχεν, ἐπεστράτευσεν.

crossing the river and had not attacked them at once after they had got across, they imputed sloth and weakness to the Romans and therefore marched against their camp, although it was on high ground, expecting to take it without resistance. But when a sally was suddenly made, the assailants, being cavalry, were driven back down the slope without difficulty; and although at the foot they defended themselves valiantly, the majority of them being in armour, yet they were confused by the unexpectedness of the onslaught and by stumbling over one another and were defeated by the heavy-armed men and especially by the slingers; for these struck them from a distance with their powerful missiles and so were exceedingly difficult for them to withstand. The fall of Pacorus in this struggle was a very great loss to them; for as soon as they perceived that their leader had perished, although a few men zealously fought for his body, yet when these also were slain, all the rest gave way. Some of them desired to escape homeward across the bridge and were unable to do so, being cut off and killed before they could reach it, and others fled for refuge to Antiochus in Commagene. Ventidius easily brought into subjection all the rest of Syria, which had been hesitating while awaiting the outcome of the war, by sending the prince's head about through the different cities; for the Syrians felt unusual affection for Pacorus on account of his justice and mildness, an affection as great as they had felt for the best kings that had ever ruled them. And Ventidius himself made an expedition against Antiochus, on the plea that the latter had not delivered up to him the refugees, but really because of the vast wealth which he possessed.

B.C. 38

21 Ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἤδη αὐτῷ ὄντι ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐξαίφνης ἐπιστὰς οὐ μόνον οὐχ ἥσθη ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐφθόνησεν, ὅτι ἔδοξέ τι καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἠνδραγαθίσθαι·[1] καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτὸν ἔπαυσε, καὶ ἐς οὐδὲν ἔτι οὔτ' αὐτίκα οὔθ' ὕστερον αὐτῷ ἐχρήσατο, καίτοι καὶ ἱερομηνίας ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς 2 ἔργοις καὶ ἐπινίκια δι' αὐτὸν λαβών. οἵ γε μὴν ἐν τῷ ἄστει Ῥωμαῖοι ἐψηφίσαντο μὲν τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ ταῦτα πρός τε τὸ προῦχον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ νόμου, ὅτι ἡ στρατηγία ἐκείνου ἦν, ἐψηφίσαντο δὲ καὶ τῷ Οὐεντιδίῳ, ἅτε καὶ τὴν συμφορὰν τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ Κράσσου σφίσι γενομένην ἱκανώτατα τοῖς Πάρθοις διὰ τοῦ Πακόρου, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἑκατέρου τοῦ ἔτους ἀμφότερα συν-3 ηνέχθη, νομίζοντες ἀνταποδεδωκέναι. καὶ συνέβη γε τῷ Οὐεντιδίῳ μόνῳ τε τὰ[2] νικητήρια ἑορτάσαι ὥσπερ καὶ μόνος ἐνίκησεν (ὁ γὰρ Ἀντώνιος προαπώλετο), καὶ δόξαν ἀπό τε τούτου καὶ ἐκ τοῦ παραλόγου ἅμα τῆς τύχης μείζω λαβεῖν· ἐν γὰρ τοῖς τοῦ Πομπηίου τοῦ Στράβωνος ἐπινικίοις πομπεύσας ποτὲ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων αἰχμαλώτων αὐτὸς ἐπινίκια τῶν Πάρθων πρῶτος Ῥωμαίων ἤγαγε.

22 Ταῦτα μὲν χρόνῳ ὕστερον ἐγένετο, τότε δὲ ὁ Ἀντώνιος προσέβαλε μὲν τῷ Ἀντιόχῳ, καὶ κατακλείσας αὐτὸν ἐς Σαμόσατα ἐπολιόρκει· ὡς δ' οὐδὲν ἐπέραινεν, ἀλλ' ὅ τε χρόνος ἄλλως ἀναλοῦτο καὶ τὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀλλοτρίως οἱ διὰ τὴν τοῦ Οὐεντιδίου ἀτιμίαν ἔχειν ὑπώπτευσε,

[1] ἠνδραγαθίσθαι Bs., ἠνδραγαθεῖσθαι LM.
[2] τε τὰ Bk., τά τε LM.

When he had got to this point, Antony suddenly came upon him, and so far from being pleased, was actually jealous of him because he had gained the reputation of having carried out a brave exploit independently. Accordingly, he not only removed him from his command but employed him on no other business either then or later, although he himself obtained the honour of thanksgivings for both achievements and a triumph for his assistant's work. The Romans in the capital voted these honours to Antony, on the one hand, because of his prominence and in accordance with the law, because he was the commander in charge; but they voted them to Ventidius also, since they felt that he had fully requited the Parthians, through the death of Pacorus, for the disaster which had been suffered by the Romans in the time of Crassus, especially since both events had taken place on the same day in both years. And it turned out, in fact, that Ventidius alone celebrated the triumph, even as the victory had been his alone (for Antony perished in the meantime), and he acquired a greater reputation from this fact as well as from the caprice of fortune; for he himself had once marched in procession with the other captives at the triumph of Pompeius Strabo, and now he was the first of the Romans to celebrate a triumph over the Parthians. B.C. 38

This, to be sure, took place at a later period; at the time under consideration Antony attacked Antiochus, shut him up in Samosata and proceeded to besiege him. But when he found he was accomplishing nothing and was spending his time in vain, and when he also suspected that the soldiers were alienated from him on account of the disgrace of Ventidius, he

διεκηρυκεύσατο αὐτῷ κρύφα, καὶ πλαστὰς πρὸς αὐτὸν συνθήκας, ὅπως εὐπρεπῶς ἀπαναστῇ, ἐποιή-
2 σατο. ἀμέλει αὐτὸς μὲν οὔτε ὁμήρους, πλὴν δύο καὶ τούτων οὐκ ἐπιφανῶν, οὔτε τὰ χρήματα ἃ ᾔτησεν ἔλαβε, τῷ δ' Ἀντιόχῳ θάνατον Ἀλεξάνδρου τινὸς αὐτομολήσαντος παρ' αὐτοῦ πρότερον πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐχαρίσατο. καὶ ὁ μὲν
3 ταῦτα πράξας ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀφωρμήθη,[1] Γάιος δὲ δὴ Σόσσιος τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς τε Συρίας καὶ τῆς Κιλικίας παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβὼν τούς τε Ἀραδίους πολιορκηθέντας τε μέχρι τότε καὶ λιμῷ καὶ νόσῳ ταλαιπωρηθέντας ἐχειρώσατο, καὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονον τοὺς φρουροὺς τοὺς παρ' ἑαυτῷ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὄντας ἀποκτείναντα μάχῃ τε ἐνίκησε, καὶ καταφυγόντα ἐς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα πολιορκίᾳ κατεστρέ-
4 ψατο. πολλὰ μὲν δὴ καὶ δεινὰ καὶ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἔδρασαν (τὸ γάρ τοι γένος αὐτῶν θυμωθὲν πικρότατόν ἐστι), πολλῷ δὲ δὴ πλείω αὐτοὶ ἔπαθον. ἑάλωσαν μὲν γὰρ πρότεροι μὲν οἱ ὑπὲρ τοῦ τεμένους τοῦ θεοῦ ἀμυνόμενοι, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐν τῇ τοῦ Κρόνου καὶ τότε ἡμέρᾳ
5 ὠνομασμένῃ. καὶ τοσοῦτόν γε τῆς θρησκείας αὐτοῖς περιῆν ὥστε τοὺς προτέρους τοὺς μετὰ τοῦ ἱεροῦ χειρωθέντας παραιτήσασθαί τε τὸν Σόσσιον, ἐπειδὴ ἡμέρα αὖθις ἡ τοῦ Κρόνου ἐνέστη, καὶ ἀνελθόντας ἐς αὐτὸ πάντα μετὰ τῶν
6 λοιπῶν τὰ νομιζόμενα ποιῆσαι. ἐκείνους μὲν οὖν Ἡρώδῃ τινὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἄρχειν ἐπέτρεψε, τὸν δ'

[1] ἀφωρμήθη M, ἀφωρμίσθη L.

secretly opened negotiations with the foe and made a pretended compact with him so that he might have a plausible reason for withdrawing. At any rate, Antony got neither hostages (except two and these of little importance) nor the money which he had demanded, but he granted Antiochus the death of a certain Alexander, who had earlier deserted from him to the Roman side. After doing this he set out for Italy, and Gaius Sosius received from him the governorship of Syria and Cilicia. This officer subdued the Aradii, who had been besieged up to this time and had been reduced to hard straits by famine and disease, and also conquered in battle Antigonus, who had put to death the Roman guards that were with him, and reduced him by siege when he took refuge in Jerusalem. The Jews, indeed, had done much injury to the Romans, for the race is very bitter when aroused to anger, but they suffered far more themselves. The first of them to be captured were those who were fighting for the precinct of their god, and then the rest on the day even then called the day of Saturn.[1] And so excessive were they in their devotion to religion that the first set of prisoners, those who had been captured along with the temple, obtained leave from Sosius, when the day of Saturn came round again, and went up into the temple and there performed all the customary rites, together with the rest of the people. These people Antony entrusted to a certain Herod to govern; but Antigonus he

B.C. 38

[1] This was just twenty-seven years after Pompey had taken the city under similar conditions; cf. xxxvii. 16, and Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 16, 4. Josephus styles it "the day of fasting" in each instance, apparently meaning the day of atonement.

Ἀντίγονον ἐμαστίγωσε σταυρῷ προσδήσας, ὃ μηδεὶς βασιλεὺς ἄλλος ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπεπόνθει, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀπέσφαξεν.

23 Ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ τοῦ τε Κλαυδίου τοῦ τε Νωρβανοῦ τοῦθ' οὕτως ἐγένετο, τῷ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένῳ ἔτει οἱ μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι οὐδὲν ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ λόγου ἄξιον ἔπραξαν· Ἀντώνιος μὲν γὰρ ἔς τε τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀφικνούμενος καὶ ἐκεῖσε αὖθις ἐπανιὼν πάντα τὸν 2 ἐνιαυτὸν κατέτριψε, Σόσσιος δέ, ἅτε τὰ ἐκείνου ἀλλ' οὐ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἐπαύξων, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὸν φθόνον τήν τε ὀργὴν αὐτοῦ φοβούμενος, διετέλεσε διασκοπῶν οὐχ ὅπως προσκατορθώσας τι ἀπεχθήσοιτό οἱ, ἀλλ' ὅπως ἡσυχίαν ἄγων χαρίσαιτο· τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν Πάρθων ἰσχυρῶς αὐτὰ καθ' ἑαυτὰ 3 ἐκ τοιοῦδέ τινος ἐνεωτερίσθη. ὁ Ὀρώδης ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν ἐπειδὴ τῇ τε ἡλικίᾳ καὶ τῷ πένθει τῷ τοῦ Πακόρου ἔκαμνε, Φραάτῃ τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ τῶν λοιπῶν παίδων τὴν ἀρχὴν ζῶν ἔτ' ἐνεχείρισε, καὶ ὃς παραλαβὼν αὐτὴν ἀνοσιώτατος ἀνθρώπων 4 ἐγένετο· τούς τε γὰρ ἀδελφοὺς τοὺς ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Ἀντιόχου θυγατρὸς γεγεννημένους ἐδολοφόνησεν, ὅτι καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὸ γένος τὸ μητρόθεν ἀμείνους αὐτοῦ ἦσαν, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον δυσανασχετοῦντα ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐπαπέκτεινε, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα 5 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς γενναιοτάτους ἔφθειρε, καὶ πολλὰ ἕτερα καὶ δεινὰ ἐποίει, ὥστε συχνοὺς τῶν πρώτων ἐγκαταλιπόντας αὐτὸν τοὺς μὲν ἄλλοσε τοὺς δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀποχωρῆσαι, ἐν οἷς καὶ ὁ Μοναίσης[1] ἦν.

Τοῦτο μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀγρίππου καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ 24 Γάλλου ὑπατευόντων ἐγένετο· ἐν δὲ δὴ τῷ λοιπῷ

[1] μοναίσης M, μοναίσσης L.

bound to a cross and flogged,—a punishment no other king had suffered at the hands of the Romans,—and afterwards slew him. B.C. 38

This was the course of events in the consulship of Claudius and Norbanus; during the following year the Romans accomplished nothing worthy of note in Syria. For Antony spent the entire year in reaching Italy and returning again to the province; and Sosius, because anything he did would be advancing Antony's interests rather than his own, and he therefore dreaded his jealousy and anger, spent the time in devising means, not for achieving some success and incurring his enmity, but for pleasing him without engaging in any activity. The Parthian state, in fact, with no outside interference underwent a severe revolution from the following cause. Orodes, the Parthian king, had succumbed to age and to grief for Pacorus as well, but before he died had delivered the government to Phraates, the eldest of his remaining sons. Phraates after receiving the kingdom proved himself the most impious of men. He treacherously murdered his brothers, sons of the daughter of Antiochus, because they were his superiors in virtue, and, on their mother's side, in family; and when Antiochus chafed under this outrage, he killed him also, and after that destroyed the noblest men in the state generally and kept committing many other crimes. Consequently a large number of the most prominent persons abandoned him and betook themselves to various places, some, including Monaeses, going to Antony. B.C. 37

This happened in the consulship of Agrippa and Gallus. During the remainder of the winter, when

χειμῶνι, τοῦ τε Γελλίου καὶ τοῦ Νέρουα ἀρχόντων, Πούπλιος Κανίδιος[1] Κράσσος ἐπὶ Ἴβηρας τοὺς ταύτῃ στρατεύσας μάχῃ τε τὸν βασιλέα αὐτῶν Φαρνάβαζον ἐνίκησε καὶ ἐς συμμαχίαν προσηγάγετο, καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐς τὴν Ἀλβανίδα τὴν ὅμορον ἐμβαλών, καὶ ἐκείνους τόν τε βασιλέα αὐτῶν Ζόβηρα κρατήσας, ὁμοίως αὐτοὺς ᾠκειώ-
2 σατο. τούτοις τε οὖν ἐπαρθεὶς ὁ Ἀντώνιος, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ Μοναίσῃ πολλὰ ἐπελπίσας (καὶ γὰρ ὑπέσχητο αὐτῷ τῆς τε στρατείας ἡγήσεσθαι καὶ τὰ πλείω τῆς Παρθίας ἀκονιτὶ προσποιήσειν) τόν τε πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐς χεῖρας ἤγετο καὶ[2] τῷ Μοναίσῃ ἄλλα τε καὶ τρεῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων πόλεις, μέχρις ἂν διαπολεμήσῃ, νέμεσθαι ἔδωκε, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὴν τῶν Πάρθων
3 βασιλείαν ὑπέσχετο. πραττόντων δὲ αὐτῶν ταῦτα δείσας ὁ Φραάτης, ἄλλως τε καὶ τῶν Πάρθων χαλεπῶς ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Μοναίσου φυγῇ φερόντων, ἐπεκηρυκεύσατό τε αὐτῷ οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐκ ἐπαγγελλόμενος, καὶ ἔπεισεν αὐτὸν ἐπαναχωρῆσαι.
4 γνοὺς οὖν τοῦτο ὁ Ἀντώνιος ὀργὴν μέν, ὥσπερ εἰκός, ἐποιεῖτο, οὐ μέντοι ἀπέκτεινε τὸν Μοναίσην, καίπερ ἐν τῇ αὑτοῦ ἐπικρατείᾳ ἔτ' ὄντα· οὔτε γὰρ ἂν[3] ἄλλον τινὰ τῶν βαρβάρων, ἄν γέ τι τοιοῦτο ποιήσῃ, σφετερίσασθαι προσεδόκησε, καὶ
5 τινα ἀπάτην ἐπ' αὐτοὺς παρεσκευάζετο. ἐκεῖνόν τε οὖν ἀφῆκεν ὡς καὶ τὰ τῶν Πάρθων οἱ προσποιήσοντα, καὶ πρέσβεις μετ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν Φραάτην ἔπεμψε. καὶ λόγῳ μὲν τὴν εἰρήνην ἔπραττεν ἐπὶ τῷ τά τε σημεῖα καὶ τοὺς αἰχ-

[1] Κανίδιος Reim., καννίδιος LM.
[2] καὶ supplied by Bk. [3] ἂν supplied by Dind.

BOOK XLIX

Gellius and Nerva were now holding office, Publius Canidius Crassus made a campaign against the Iberians in Asia, conquered in battle their king Pharnabazus and brought them to make an alliance; with this king he invaded Albania, the adjoining country, and, after overcoming the inhabitants and their king Zober, conciliated them likewise. Now Antony was elated by all this and furthermore based great hopes upon Monaeses, who had promised him to lead his army and bring most of Parthia over to him without trouble, and so he took in hand the war against the Parthians and gave Monaeses, in addition to other presents, three Roman cities to occupy until he should finish the war, and promised him the Parthian kingdom besides. While they were thus occupied Phraates became terrified, especially because the Parthians took the flight of Monaeses very much to heart, and he opened negotiations with him, offering him everything conceivable, and so persuaded him to return. When Antony found this out, he was angry, quite naturally, but did not kill Monaeses, though he was still in his power; for he could not hope to win to his side any other barbarians, in case he should do such a thing, and he was moreover preparing a ruse against them. Accordingly, he not only released Monaeses, just as if Monaeses were going to bring the Parthians under his control, but even sent envoys with him to Phraates. Nominally he was negotiating peace, on the condition of getting back the standards and the prisoners

B.C. 36

μαλώτους τοὺς ἐν τῇ τοῦ Κράσσου συμφορᾷ ἁλόντας κομίσασθαι, ἵνα ἀπαράσκευον τὸν βασιλέα διὰ τὴν τῆς συμβάσεως ἐλπίδα λάβῃ, ἔργῳ δὲ τὰ τοῦ πολέμου πάντα ἡτοιμάζετο.

25 Καὶ ἦλθε μέχρι τοῦ Εὐφράτου, νομίζων ἔρημον αὐτὸν φρουρᾶς εἶναι· ἐπεὶ μέντοι πάντα τὰ ταύτῃ διὰ φυλακῆς ἀκριβοῦς ὄντα εὗρεν, ἐκεῖθεν μὲν ἀπετράπετο, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν τῶν Μήδων βασιλέα Ἀρταουάσδην τῷ τῆς Ἀρμενίας τῆς μείζονος βασιλεῖ, ὁμωνύμῳ τέ οἱ καὶ ἐχθρῷ ὄντι, πεισθεὶς στρατεῦσαι πρὸς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν εὐθὺς ὥσπερ εἶχεν 2 ἐχώρησε, καὶ μαθὼν ἐνταῦθα τὸν Μῆδον πολὺ[1] ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Πάρθου συμμαχίᾳ ἀπηρκότα, τὰ μὲν σκευοφόρα καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ μέρος μετ' Ὀππίου Στατιανοῦ ὑπελίπετο,[2] ἐπακολουθεῖν σφας κελεύσας, αὐτὸς δὲ τούς τε ἱππέας καὶ τοῦ πεζοῦ τὸ κράτιστον λαβὼν ἠπείχθη ὡς καὶ αὐτοβοεὶ πάντα τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων αἱρήσων, 3 καὶ τοῖς Πραάσποις τῷ βασιλείῳ αὐτῶν προσπεσὼν χώματά τε ἔχου καὶ προσβολὰς ἐποιεῖτο. πυθόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα ὅ τε Πάρθος καὶ ὁ Μῆδος ἐκεῖνον μὲν μάτην εἴων πονεῖσθαι (τά τε γὰρ τείχη ἰσχυρὰ ἦν καὶ συχνοὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἠμύνοντο), 4 τῷ δὲ δὴ Στατιανῷ ἀπροσδοκήτῳ τε ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ καὶ κεκμηκότι προσπεσόντες πάντας, πλὴν τοῦ Πολέμωνος τοῦ ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ βασιλεύοντος καὶ τότε συστρατεύοντος αὐτῷ, ἐφόνευσαν· τοῦτον γὰρ δὴ μόνον καὶ ἐζώγρησαν καὶ ἀπέλυσαν χρήματα λα- 5 βόντες. ἠδυνήθησαν δὲ ταῦτα πρᾶξαι, ὅτι ὁ μὲν Ἀρμένιος οὐ παρεγένετο τῇ μάχῃ, ἀλλὰ καὶ δυνη-

[1] πολὺ Xyl., πολὺν LM.
[2] ὑπελίπετο Bk. (so Zon. cod. A), ὑπελείπετο LM, Zon. B^c.

captured in the disaster of Crassus and with the purpose of taking the king off his guard because of his hope of reaching a settlement; but, as a matter of fact, he was getting everything in readiness for war. B.C. 36

And he went as far as the Euphrates, thinking it was destitute of a garrison; when, however, he found that whole region carefully guarded, he turned aside from it, but undertook to make a campaign against Artavasdes, the king of the Medes, being persuaded thereto by the king of Greater Armenia, who had the same name and was an enemy of the other. Just as he was he at once advanced toward Armenia, and learning there that the Mede had gone far away from his own land to bear aid to his ally, the Parthian king, he left behind the beasts of burden and a portion of the army with Oppius Statianus, giving orders for them to follow, while he himself, taking the cavalry and the strongest of the infantry, hurried on, confident that he would capture all the enemies' strongholds without a blow. He assailed Praaspa, the royal residence, and proceeded to heap up mounds and to make assaults. When the Parthian and the Mede ascertained this, they left him to continue his idle toil,—for the walls were strong and were well-manned by defenders,—but assailed Statianus while off his guard and wearied from the march and slew his whole detachment, with the exception of Polemon, king of Pontus, who was then accompanying Statianus; him alone they took alive and released for a ransom. They were able to gain this success because the Armenian king, on the one hand, was not present at the battle, but, when he might have helped

θεὶς ἄν, ὥς φασί τινες, ἐπικουρῆσαι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις οὔτε τοῦτ' ἐποίησεν οὔτε πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀφί-
26 κετο, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀνεχώρησεν, ὁ δ' Ἀντώνιος ἠπείχθη μὲν πρὸς τὴν πρώτην πεμφθεῖσάν[1] οἱ ὑπὸ τοῦ Στατιανοῦ ἀγγελίαν ὡς καὶ βοηθήσων αὐτῷ, ὑστέρησε δέ· ἔξω γὰρ τῶν νεκρῶν οὐδένα εὗρε. καὶ κατὰ μὲν τοῦτ' ἐφοβήθη, ὅτι δὲ οὐδενὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐνέτυχεν, ὑπετόπησέ τε ἀπεληλυθέναι ποι αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ δέους καὶ ἀνεθάρσησε.
2 κἀκ τούτου συμβαλὼν σφισιν οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον τροπὴν μὲν αὐτῶν ἐποιήσατο· οἱ γὰρ σφενδονῆται πολλοί τε ὄντες καὶ μακροτέραν[2] τῶν τόξων ἱέντες πάντα καὶ τὸν κατάφρακτον ἰσχυρῶς ἐλυμαίνοντο· οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀξιόλογόν τι πλῆθος ἔφθειρεν·[3] οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι διὰ ταχέων ἵππευον.
3 Τοῖς τε οὖν Πραάσποις αὖθις προσέμιξε καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἐπολιόρκει, τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους μηδὲν μέγα λυπῶν (οἵ τε γὰρ ἔνδον ὄντες ἰσχυρῶς αὐτὸν ἀπεκρούοντο, καὶ οἱ ἔξωθεν οὐ ῥᾳδίως αὐτῷ συνέμισγον), τῶν δὲ δὴ σφετέρων πολλοὺς μὲν ἐν τῇ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων καὶ ζητήσει καὶ ἐπαγωγῇ ἀπο-
4 βάλλων, συχνοὺς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς κολάζων. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον, ἕως ἔτι αὐτόθεν ποθὲν τὴν τροφὴν ἐλάμβανον, ἐξήρκουν ἐς ἀμφότερα, ὥστε καὶ τὴν προσεδρείαν καὶ τὴν λῆψιν αὐτῆς ἀσφαλῆ ποιεῖσθαι· ἐπεὶ δὲ τά τε ἐγγὺς πάντα κατανάλωτο καὶ πόρρω ποι οἱ στρατιῶται προχωρεῖν ἠναγκάζοντο,
5 συνέβαινεν αὐτοῖς, εἰ μὲν ὀλίγοι ποι[4] πεμφθεῖεν, μὴ μόνον μηδὲν φέρειν ἀλλὰ καὶ προσαπόλλυσθαι,

[1] πεμφθεῖσάν Bk., πρεμωθεῖσάν LM.
[2] μακροτέραν Bk., μακροτέρων LM.
[3] ἔφθειρεν Bk., ἔφθειρον LM. [4] ποι R. Steph., πηι LM.

the Romans, as some say, neither did so nor joined B.C. 36 Antony, but retired to his own country, and because Antony, on the other hand, although he hastened, at the first message sent him by Statianus, to go to his assistance, was nevertheless too late, for he found nothing but corpses. On this account he felt afraid, but inasmuch as he fell in with no barbarian, he suspected that they had gone off somewhere in alarm, and so regained his courage. Hence, when he met them a little later, he routed them, for as his slingers were numerous and could shoot farther than the archers, they inflicted severe injury upon all, even upon the men in armour; yet he did not kill any considerable number of the enemy, because the barbarians could ride fast.

So he proceeded again against Praaspa and besieged it, though he did no great injury to the enemy; for the men inside the walls repulsed him vigorously, and those outside would not readily join in battle with him. But he lost many of his own men in searching for and bringing in provisions, and many by his own discipline. At first, so long as they could get their food from somewhere in the neighbourhood, they were sufficient for both undertakings, being able not only to carry on the siege but also to secure their supplies in safety. When, however, all the supplies at hand had been used up, and the soldiers were obliged to go to some distance, it was their experience that if only a few men were sent anywhere, they would not only fail to bring any provisions, but would perish as well, whereas if many were sent,

εἰ δὲ δὴ πλείους, ἔρημον τὸ τεῖχος τῶν πολιορκησόντων καταλείπειν, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας ἐν τούτῳ πολλὰς δὲ καὶ μηχανάς, ἐπεξιόντων σφίσι

27 τῶν βαρβάρων, ἀποβάλλειν. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ὁ Ἀντώνιος καὶ κριθὴν πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς ἀντὶ τοῦ σίτου ἔδωκε καὶ ἐδεκάτευσέ τινας, τό τε σύμπαν πολιορ-

2 κεῖν δοκῶν τὰ τῶν πολιορκουμένων ἔπασχεν· οἵ τε γὰρ ἐν τῷ τείχει τοὺς καιροὺς τῶν ἐπεκδρομῶν ἀκριβῶς ἐτήρουν, καὶ οἱ ἔξω τοῖς τε κατὰ χώραν μένουσιν αὐτῶν, ὁπότε δίχα γένοιντο, δεινῶς, καὶ προσελαύνοντες ἐξαπίνης καὶ ὑποστρέφοντες δι' ὀλίγου, ἐνέκειντο, καὶ τοῖς σιταγωγοῦσιν ἐπὶ μὲν τὰς κώμας ἀπιοῦσιν οὐκ ἠνώχλουν, σκεδαννυμένοις δὲ δὴ καὶ ἀνακομιζομένοις προσέπιπτον

3 ἀνέλπιστοι. προσκαθημένου δ' οὖν καὶ ὣς αὐτοῦ τῇ πόλει, δείσας ὁ Φραάτης μὴ καὶ κακόν τι αὐτὴν ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ, ἤτοι καθ' ἑαυτὸν τρόπον τινὰ ἢ καὶ συμμαχίαν ποθὲν προσλαβών, ἐργάσηται, ἔπεισεν αὐτόν, ὑποπέμψας τινάς, ἐπικηρυκεύσασθαί οἱ ὡς καὶ ῥᾷστα τῶν σπονδῶν τευξο-

4 μένου. κἀκ τούτου τοῖς τε πεμφθεῖσιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐχρημάτισεν ἐπί τε χρυσοῦ δίφρου καθήμενος καὶ τὴν νευρὰν τοῦ τόξου ψάλλων, καὶ καταδραμὼν αὐτοὺς πολλὰ τέλος τὴν εἰρήνην, ἄν γε παραχρῆμα ἀποστρατοπεδεύσωνται, δώσειν ὑπέσχετο.

5 ἀκούσας οὖν τοῦτο ὁ Ἀντώνιος, καὶ φοβηθείς τε ἅμα τὴν μεγαλαυχίαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ πιστεύσας ὅτι, ἂν που μεταστῇ, σπείσεται, ἀπανέστη, μηδὲν τῶν

they would be leaving the wall destitute of besiegers B.C. 36 and meantime would lose many men and many engines at the hands of the barbarians, who would make a sortie against them. For this reason Antony gave all his men barley instead of wheat and destroyed every tenth man in some instances; and, in short, although he was supposed to be the besieger, he was enduring the hardships of the besieged. For the men within the walls kept a close watch for opportunities to make sallies; and those outside not only grievously beset the Romans who remained about the city, as often as they became separated, accomplishing this by making a sudden charge and wheeling about again in a short time, but also in the case of those who foraged for provisions, while they did not trouble them on their way out to the villages, yet they would fall upon them unexpectedly when scattered on their way back to camp. But since Antony even under these conditions maintained his place before the city, Phraates, fearing that in the long run he might do it some harm either by himself somehow or else by securing an alliance in some quarter, secretly sent some agents and persuaded him to open negotiations with him, intimating that he could have peace on very easy terms. After this, when men were sent to him by Antony, he held a conference with them seated upon a golden chair and twanging his bowstring; he first inveighed against them at length, but finally promised that he would grant peace, if they would straightway remove their camp. On hearing this Antony was both alarmed at the king's haughtiness and ready to believe that a truce could be secured if he himself should shift his position; hence he withdrew without destroying any

ἐς τὴν πολιορκίαν παρεσκευασμένων[1] ὡς καὶ ἐν φιλίᾳ φθείρας.

28 Ποιήσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῦτο καὶ τὰς σπονδὰς προσδεχομένου, οἵ τε Μῆδοι καὶ τὰ μηχανήματα κατέκαυσαν καὶ τὰ χώματα διεσκέδασαν, καὶ οἱ Πάρθοι λόγον μὲν οὐδένα ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης αὐτῷ ἔπεμψαν, προσπεσόντες δὲ αἰφνίδιοι πολλὰ καὶ 2 δεινὰ εἰργάσαντο. ὡς οὖν ἔμαθεν ὅτι ἠπάτηται, πρεσβεύσασθαι μὲν οὐκέτ'[2] ἐτόλμησεν (οὔτε γὰρ ἐπὶ μετρίοις τισὶ καταλύσεσθαι προσεδόκησε, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐς ἀθυμίαν ἐκ τῆς τῶν σπονδῶν διαμαρτίας ἐμβαλεῖν οὐκ ἠθέλησεν), ἐπειχθῆναι δέ, ἐπειδήπερ ἅπαξ ἐξανειστήκει, ἐς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν 3 ἔγνω. καὶ ἑτέραν τινὰ ὁδὸν (ἣν γὰρ ἦλθον, ἀποκεκλεῖσθαί σφισι παντελῶς ἐνόμιζον) ἰόντες[3] πολλὰ καὶ ἄτοπα ἔπαθον. ἔς τε γὰρ χωρία ἄγνωστα ἐσπίπτοντες ἐσφάλλοντο, καὶ προσέτι καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι τὰ στενόπορα αὐτῶν προκαταλαμβάνοντες τὰ μὲν ἀπέσκαπτον τὰ δὲ ἀπεσταύρουν, τήν τε ὑδρείαν πανταχοῦ ἐδυσχέραινον καὶ τὰς 4 νομὰς ἐξέτριβον· καὶ εἴγε που κατὰ τύχην δι' ἐπιτηδειοτέρων τινῶν τόπων χωρήσειν ἔμελλον, ἐκείνων μέν σφας ὡς καὶ προκατειλημμένων ψευδαγγελίαις ἀπέτρεπον, ἑτέρας δ' ὁδοὺς προλελοχισμένας ἰέναι ἐποίουν, ὥστε πολλοὶ μὲν ἐν τῷ 29 τοιούτῳ πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ λιμοῦ ἐφθείροντο. καὶ ἐκ τούτου καὶ αὐτομολία τις ἐγένετο. κἂν πάντες μετέστησαν, εἰ μήπερ οἱ βάρβαροι τοὺς τολμήσαντας αὐτὸ ποιῆσαι ἐν τοῖς τῶν ἄλλων ὀφθαλ-

[1] παρεσκευασμένων R. Steph., παρασκευασμένων LM.
[2] οὐκέτ' M, οὐκ L.
[3] ἐνόμιζον ἰόντες Dind., νομίζοντες LM.

of his implements of siege, just as if he were in friendly territory. B.C. 36

When Antony had done this and was awaiting the truce, the Medes burned his engines and scattered his mounds, and the Parthians made no proposition to him respecting peace, but suddenly attacked him and inflicted very serious injuries upon him. Learning, therefore, that he had been deceived, he did not venture to send any more envoys, as he did not expect that the barbarians would make peace on any reasonable terms and moreover did not wish to cast the soldiers into dejection by failing to arrange a truce, but he resolved, since he had once set out, to hurry on into Armenia. His troops took another road, since they believed the one by which they had come had been completely closed to them, and on the way they met with many extraordinary adventures. Thus, they came into unknown regions where they lost their way, and furthermore the barbarians seized the passes in advance of their approach, blocking them with trenches or palisades, rendered the securing of water difficult everywhere, and destroyed the pasturage; and in case they ever by good luck were on the point of marching through more favourable regions, the enemy would turn them aside from such places by false announcements that they had been occupied beforehand, and caused them to take different roads along which ambuscades had been previously posted, so that many perished in this way and many of hunger. As a result there were some desertions, and they would all have gone over to the enemy, had not the barbarians shot down before the eyes of the others any who had ventured to

2 μοῖς κατετόξευσαν. τούτου τε οὖν ἐπέσχον, καί τι καὶ τοιόνδε παρὰ τῆς τύχης[1] εὕροντο. ἐσπεσόντες ποτὲ ἐς ἐνέδραν καὶ πυκνοῖς τοξεύμασι βαλλόμενοι τήν τε χελώνην ἐξαπιναίως συνασπίσαντες ἐποίησαν καὶ τὰ γόνατά σφων τὰ
3 ἀριστερὰ πρὸς τὴν γῆν ἤρεισαν. νομίσαντες οὖν αὐτοὺς οἱ βάρβαροι (οὐ γάρ πω τοιοῦτόν τι ἑωράκεσαν) καταπεπτωκέναι τε ὑπὸ τῶν τραυμάτων καὶ μιᾶς ἐπικοπῆς εἶναι, τὰ μὲν τόξα ἀπέρριψαν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων ἀπεπήδησαν, τοὺς δ' ἀκινάκας σπασάμενοι ἐγγύς σφισιν ὡς καὶ ἐπισφάξοντες
4 αὐτοὺς προσῆλθον. κἀν τούτῳ ἐξαναστάντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πᾶσάν τε ἀπὸ παραγγέλσεως τὴν φάλαγγα ἅμα ἀνέπτυξαν, καὶ τοῖς πλησίοις ἀντιπρόσωποι ὡς ἕκαστοι προσπεσόντες παμπληθεῖς, οἷα γυμνοὺς ὡπλισμένοι, ἀπροσδοκήτους παρεσκευασμένοι, τοξότας ὁπλῖται, βαρβάρους Ῥωμαῖοι, κατέκοψαν, ὥστε τοὺς λοιποὺς πάντας παραχρῆμα ἀποχωρῆσαι καὶ μηκέτι μηδέν'[2] αὐτοῖς ἐπακολουθῆσαι.

30 Ἡ δὲ δὴ χελώνη αὕτη τοιάδε τίς ἐστι καὶ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον γίγνεται. τὰ μὲν σκευοφόρα καὶ οἱ ψιλοὶ οἵ τε ἱππῆς ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ στρατεύματος τετάχαται· τῶν δ' ὁπλιτῶν οἱ μὲν ταῖς προμηκέσιν ἀσπίσι ταῖς κοίλαις[3] ταῖς σωληνοειδέσι χρώμενοι περί τε τὰ ἔσχατα ὥσπερ ἐν πλινθίῳ τινὶ τάσσονται, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ἔξω τε βλέποντες καὶ τὰ ὅπλα προβεβλημένοι,[4] περιέχουσιν·
2 οἱ δ' ἕτεροι οἱ τὰς πλατείας ἀσπίδας ἔχοντες ἔν τε

[1] τῆς τύχης Pflugk, τῆι τύχηι LM.
[2] μηδέν' Rk., μηδὲν LM. [3] κοίλαις Zon., κήλαις LM.
[4] προβεβλημένοι Naber, περιβεβλημένοι LM Zon.

take this course. Consequently the men refrained from this, and by good fortune hit upon the following idea. One day, when they fell into an ambush and were being struck by dense showers of arrows, they suddenly formed the *testudo* by joining their shields, and rested their left knees on the ground. The barbarians, who had never seen anything of the kind before, thought that they had fallen from their wounds and needed only one finishing blow; so they threw aside their bows, leaped from their horses, and drawing their daggers, came up close to put an end to them. At this the Romans sprang to their feet, extended their battle-line at the word of command, and confronting the foe face to face, fell upon them, each one upon the man nearest him, and cut down great numbers, since they were contending in full armour against unprotected men, men prepared against men off their guard, heavy infantry against archers, Romans against barbarians. All the survivors immediately retired and no one followed them thereafter. B.C. 36

This *testudo* and the way in which it is formed are as follows. The baggage animals, the light-armed troops, and the cavalry are placed in the centre of the army. The heavy-armed troops who use the oblong, curved, and cylindrical shields are drawn up around the outside, making a rectangular figure; and, facing outward and holding their arms at the ready, they enclose the rest. The others, who have flat

τῷ μέσῳ συσπειρῶνται καὶ ἐκείνας καὶ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων ὑπεραίρουσιν, ὥστε μήτ' ἄλλο τι πλὴν ἀσπίδων διὰ πάσης ὁμοίως τῆς φάλαγγος ὁρᾶσθαι, καὶ ἐν σκέπῃ τῶν βελῶν πάντας αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τῆς πυκνότητος τῆς 3 συντάξεως γίγνεσθαι. οὕτω γάρ τοι δεινῶς ἰσχυρίζεται ὥστε καὶ βαδίζειν τινὰς ἐπάνωθεν αὐτῆς, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἵππους καὶ ὀχήματα, ὁσάκις ἂν ἐν κοίλῳ τινὶ καὶ στενῷ χωρίῳ γένωνται, ἐνελαύνεσθαι. τοιοῦτον μὲν δὴ τὸ σχῆμα τῆς τάξεως ταύτης ἐστί, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν τῆς χελώνης ἐπίκλησιν, πρός τε τὸ ἰσχυρὸν καὶ πρὸς τὸ εὐ- 4 σκέπαστον αὐτῆς, εἴληφε. χρῶνται δὲ αὐτῇ διχῇ· ἢ γὰρ πρὸς φρούριόν τι προσμίσγοντες προσπορεύονται, καὶ πολλάκις καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὸ τὸ τεῖχος ἀναβιβάζουσί τινας, ἢ ὑπὸ τοξοτῶν ποτε περιστοιχισθέντες κυπτάζουσι πάντες ἅμα (καὶ γὰρ καὶ[1] οἱ ἵπποι ὀκλάζειν καὶ κατακλίνεσθαι διδάσκονται), κἂν τούτῳ δόκησίν σφισιν ὡς καὶ κεκμηκότες παρασχόντες ἐξεγείρονταί τε πελασάντων αὐτῶν ἐξαίφνης, καὶ ἐς ἔκπληξίν σφας καθιστᾶσιν.

31 Ἡ μὲν οὖν χελώνη αὕτη τοιουτότροπός ἐστιν, Ἀντώνιος δὲ ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν πολεμίων οὐκέτ' οὐδὲν δεινὸν ἔπαθεν, ὑπὸ δὲ δὴ τοῦ ψύχους ἰσχυρῶς ἐταλαιπώρησεν· χειμών τε γὰρ ἤδη ἦν, καὶ ἡ Ἀρμενία ἡ ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι, δι' ὧνπερ καὶ μόνων ἀγαπητῶς ἐπορεύθη, κρυσταλλώδης ἀεί ποτέ ἐστι. τά τε τραύματα, ἃ πολλὰ εἶχον, ἐνταῦθα δὴ καὶ 2 μάλιστα αὐτοῖς συνεπέθετο. ὅθενπερ συχνῶν μὲν ἀπολλυμένων συχνῶν δὲ καὶ ἀπομάχων γιγνο-

[1] καὶ Xiph., om. LM.

shields, form a compact body in the centre and raise their shields over the heads of all the others, so that nothing but shields can be seen in every part of the phalanx alike and all the men by the density of the formation are under shelter from missiles. Indeed, it is so marvellously strong that men can walk upon it, and whenever they come to a narrow ravine, even horses and vehicles can be driven over it. Such is the plan of this formation, and for this reason it has received the name *testudo*,[1] with reference both to its strength and to the excellent shelter it affords. They use it in two ways: either they approach some fort to assault it, often even enabling men to scale the very walls, or sometimes, when they are surrounded by archers, they all crouch together—even the horses being taught to kneel or lie down—and thereby cause the foe to think that they are exhausted; then, when the enemy draws near, they suddenly rise and throw them into consternation.

B.C. 36

The *testudo*, then, is the kind of device just described. As for Antony, he suffered no further harm from the enemy, but underwent severe hardships by reason of the cold; for it was now winter, and the mountainous districts of Armenia, through which the only route led,—and he was glad enough to take it,—are never free from ice. His soldiers' wounds, which were many, there caused them the greatest distress. So many kept perishing and so many were rendered unfit for fighting that he would

[1] The Latin word *testudo*, reprësented in Greek by the equivalent, means "tortoise."

μένων, οὐκ ἤνεγκε τὴν καθ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν πύστιν, ἀλλὰ ἀπηγόρευσε μηδὲν τοιοῦτο μηδένα οἱ ἀγγέλλειν. καὶ τόν τε Ἀρμένιον, καίτοι ἐν ὀργῇ τε ὅτι ἐγκατέλιπέ σφας ἔχων καὶ τιμωρήσασθαι ἐπιθυμῶν, καὶ ὑπῆλθε καὶ ἐθεράπευσεν, ἵνα τά τε

3 *ἐπιτήδεια καὶ χρήματα παρ' αὐτοῦ λάβῃ· καὶ τέλος, ὡς οὔτ' ἀρκέσαι πρὸς πλείω πορείαν οἱ στρατιῶται, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐν χειμῶνι, ἐδύναντο, καὶ ἅμα καὶ μάτην ταλαιπωρήσειν ἔμελλον (ὑποστρέψαι γὰρ ἐς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἐνενόει), πολλὰ μὲν ἐθώπευσεν αὐτόν, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ καθυπέσχετο αὐτῷ, ὅπως σφίσι χειμάσαι κατὰ χώραν ἐπιτρέψῃ, λέγων ὅτι τῷ ἦρι ἐπὶ*

4 *τοὺς Πάρθους αὖθις ἐπιστρατεύσει. καί οἱ καὶ παρὰ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας χρήματα ἦλθεν, ὥστε τοῖς τε ὁπλίταις καθ' ἑκατὸν δραχμὰς*[1] *καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τὸ ἱκνούμενον δοθῆναι. ἐπειδή τε οὐκ ἐξήρκεσέ σφισι τὰ πεμφθέντα, προσεπέδωκε τοῖς λοιποῖς οἴκοθεν,*[2] *τὸ μὲν ἀνάλωμα ἑαυτοῦ τὴν δὲ δὴ τῆς χάριτος δόξαν τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ποιούμενος· πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἠράνισε, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων ἠργυρολόγησε.*

32 *Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα πράξας ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἀπῆρεν, οἱ δὲ δὴ οἴκοι Ῥωμαῖοι ἠγνόουν μὲν οὐδὲν τῶν γεγονότων, οὐχ ὅτι τἀληθὲς ἐκεῖνος ἐπέστειλέ σφισι (πάντα γὰρ δὴ τὰ δυσχερῆ συνέκρυπτε, καὶ ἔστιν ἅ γε αὐτῶν καὶ ἐς τὸ ἐναντιώτατον, ὡς*

2 *καὶ*[3] *εὐπραγῶν, ἔγραφεν), ἀλλ' ὅτι ἥ τε φήμη τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐσήγγελλε, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ οἵ τε ἄλλοι οἱ συνόντες αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπολυπραγμόνουν ἀκριβῶς αὐ-*

[1] *καθ' ἑκατὸν δραχμὰς* Bs., *καθ' ἕκαστον δραχμὰς* LM.
[2] *οἴκοθεν* R. Steph., *οἴκοθε* LM. [3] *καὶ* M, om. L.

not allow reports of each individual case, but forbade any one to bring him any such news. And although he was angry with the Armenian king for leaving them in the lurch and eager to take vengeance on him, he nevertheless flattered and paid court to him for the purpose of obtaining provisions and money from him; and finally, since his soldiers had not the strength to hold out for a longer march, and it was mid-winter too, and at the same time it was likely that their hardships would go for nothing,—for it was his intention to return to Armenia before a great while,—he fawned upon the king assiduously and made him many attractive promises, to get him to allow the men to winter where they were, claiming that in the spring he would make another campaign against the Parthians. Money also came to him from Cleopatra, so that to each of the infantrymen four hundred sesterces were given and to the rest a proportionate allowance. But inasmuch as the amount sent was not enough for them, he paid the remainder from his own funds, taking the expense upon himself and giving Cleopatra the credit for the favour; for he solicited large contributions from his friends and also levied large amounts upon the allies. B.C. 36

After accomplishing this he departed for Egypt. The Romans at home were not ignorant of anything that had taken place, not because he told them the truth in his dispatches (for he concealed all his reverses and in fact described some of them as just the opposite, making it appear that he was meeting with success), but because rumour reported the truth and Caesar and those with him investigated it carefully

τὰ καὶ διεθρύλουν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐν τῷ κοινῷ διήλεγχον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐβουθύτουν καὶ ἑώρταζον· τοῦ γὰρ Καίσαρος πρὸς τὸν Σέξτον ἔτι καὶ τότε προσπταίοντος οὔτε εὐπρεπὴς οὔτε ἐπίκαιρος ὁ ἔλεγχος 3 αὐτῶν γίγνεσθαι ἐδύνατο. ὁ δ' οὖν Ἀντώνιος ταῦτά τε οὕτως ἔπραξε, καὶ δυναστείας Ἀμύντᾳ μὲν Γαλατίας, καίπερ γραμματεῖ τοῦ Δηιοτάρου γενομένῳ, ἔδωκε, καὶ Λυκαονίας Παμφυλίας τέ τινα αὐτῷ προσθείς, Ἀρχελάῳ δὲ Καππαδοκίας, ἐκβαλὼν τὸν Ἀριαράθην. ὁ δ' Ἀρχέλαος οὗτος πρὸς μὲν πατρὸς ἐκ τῶν Ἀρχελάων ἐκείνων τῶν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀντιπολεμησάντων ἦν, ἐκ δὲ μητρὸς 4 ἑταίρας[1] Γλαφύρας ἐγεγέννητο. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μὲν τούτοις ἧττόν πως ὁ Ἀντώνιος (ἐν γὰρ τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις ἐμεγαλοφρονεῖτο) κακῶς παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις ἤκουεν· ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ μεγάλως διεβλήθη, ὅτι τε παῖδας ἐξ αὐτῆς, πρεσβυτέρους[2] μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Κλεοπάτραν (καὶ δίδυμοι γὰρ ἐτέχθησαν) νεώτερον[3] δὲ Πτολεμαῖον 5 τὸν καὶ Φιλάδελφον ἐπικληθέντα, ἀνείλετο, καὶ ὅτι πολλὰ μὲν τῆς Ἀραβίας τῆς τε Μάλχου καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἰτυραίων (τὸν γὰρ Λυσανίαν, ὃν αὐτὸς βασιλέα σφῶν ἐπεποιήκει, ἀπέκτεινεν ὡς τὰ τοῦ Πακόρου πράξαντα), πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῆς Φοινίκης τῆς τε Παλαιστίνης, Κρήτης τέ τινα καὶ Κυρήνην τήν τε Κύπρον αὐτοῖς ἐχαρίσατο.

33 Τότε μὲν ταῦτ' ἔπραξε, τῷ δὲ ἐχομένῳ ἔτει, ἐν ᾧ ὅ τε[4] Πομπήιος καὶ ὁ Κορνουφίκιος ὑπάτευσαν,

[1] ἑταίρας R. Steph., ἑτέρας LM.
[2] πρεσβυτέρους Bk., πρεσβυτάτους LM cod. Peir.
[3] νεώτερον Bk., νεώτατον LM cod. Peir.
[4] ἐν ᾧ ὅ τε Bk., ὅτε LM.

and discussed it. They did not, however, yet expose the situation to the public, but instead offered sacrifices and held festivals; for since Caesar at that time was still getting the worst of it against Sextus, the exposure of the facts would not, if made, be either fitting or opportune. Antony, in addition to making the arrangements mentioned above, assigned principalities, giving Galatia to Amyntas, though he had been only the secretary of Deiotarus, and also adding to his domain Lycaonia with portions of Pamphylia, and bestowing upon Archelaus Cappadocia, after driving out Ariarathes. This Archelaus belonged on his father's side to those Archelauses who had contended against the Romans, but on his mother's side was the son of Glaphyra, an hetaera. However, Antony was not so severely criticised by the citizens for these matters,—I mean his arrogance in dealing with the property of others; but in the matter of Cleopatra he was greatly censured because he had acknowledged as his own some of her children—the elder ones being Alexandra and Cleopatra, twins at a birth, and the younger one Ptolemy, called also Philadelphus,—and because he had presented them with extensive portions of Arabia, in the districts both of Malchus and of the Ituraeans (for he executed Lysanias, whom he himself had made king over them, on the charge that he had favoured Pacorus), and also extensive portions of Phoenicia and Palestine, parts of Crete, and Cyrene and Cyprus as well. B.C. 36

These were his acts at that time; the following year, when Pompeius and Cornificius were consuls, B.C. 35

στρατεῦσαι ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀρμένιον ἐπεχείρησεν, ἐλπίδα τοῦ Μήδου οὐκ ἐλαχίστην ἔχων, ὅτι πρός τε τὸν Φραάτην ἀγανακτήσας ἐπὶ τῷ μήτε τῶν λαφύρων πολλὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ μήτ' ἄλλην τινὰ τιμὴν λαβεῖν, καὶ τὸν Ἀρμένιον τιμωρήσασθαι τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπαγωγῆς ἐθελήσας, τὸν Πολέμωνα αὐτῷ προσ-2 έπεμψε καὶ φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν αἰτῶν. οὕτω γάρ που ὑπερήσθη τῷ πράγματι ὥστε καὶ ἐκείνῳ σπείσασθαι καὶ τῷ Πολέμωνι μισθὸν τῆς κηρυκείας τὴν μικροτέραν Ἀρμενίαν μετὰ ταῦτα δοῦναι. τὸν δ' οὖν Ἀρμένιον πρότερον μὲν ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ὡς καὶ φίλον, ὅπως[1] ἐνταῦθα αὐτὸν ἀπόνως περιλαβὼν κατεργάσηται, μετεπέμψατο· ἐπεὶ δ' ὑποτοπήσας τοῦτ' οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν, ἕτερόν τινα τρόπον 3 ἐξαπατῆσαι ἐπεβούλευσε. φανερῶς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ὠργίζετο αὐτῷ, μὴ καὶ πολεμωθείη· ὡς δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους καὶ τότε στρατεύσων, ἵνα ἀπαράσκευον αὐτὸν εὕρῃ, ἦρε μὲν ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου, μαθὼν δὲ καθ' ὁδὸν τὴν Ὀκταουίαν ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀφικνεῖσθαι, οὐκέτι περαιτέρω προεχώ-4 ρησεν[2] ἀλλὰ ἀνεκομίσθη, καίτοι καὶ παραυτίκα οἴκαδε αὐτῇ ἐπανελθεῖν κελεύσας, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὰ δῶρα τὰ πεμφθέντα παρ' αὐτῆς, τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας οὓς παρὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ᾐτήκει, λαβών.

Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον τῷ τε ἔρωτι καὶ τῇ 34 γοητείᾳ τῇ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἐδούλευε· Καῖσαρ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ, ἐπειδὴ ὅ τε Σέξτος ἀπωλώλει[3] καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ καταστάσεως ἐδεῖτο, ἦλθε μὲν ἐς τὴν

[1] ὅπως Bk., καὶ ὡς LM.
[2] προεχώρησεν R. Steph., προσεχώρησεν LM.
[3] ἀπωλώλει Dind., ἀπολώλει LM.

he undertook to conduct a campaign against the B.C. 35 Armenian. For this he placed no small hope in the Mede, who in his anger against Phraates because he had not received from him many of the spoils or any other honour and in his eagerness to punish the Armenian for bringing in the Romans had sent Polemon to him requesting his friendship and alliance. Antony was apparently so exceedingly delighted over the affair that he both made terms with the Mede and later gave Polemon Lesser Armenia as a reward for his mission. First, then, he summoned the Armenian to Egypt as a friend, in order that he might seize him there without effort and make away with him; but when the king suspected this and did not respond to the summons, he plotted to deceive him in another fashion. He did not openly become angry with him, lest he should alienate him, but in order that he might find him unprepared, he set out from Egypt as if to make another campaign against the Parthians at this time. Learning on the way, however, that Octavia was coming from Rome, he went no farther, but returned, in spite of the fact that he had then and there ordered her to go home and had later accepted the gifts which she sent, including the soldiers which she had begged from her brother for this very purpose.

As for Antony, he became more than ever a slave to the passion and the witchery of Cleopatra. Caesar in the meantime, now that Sextus had perished and affairs in Africa required settlement, went to Sicily

Σικελίαν ὡς καὶ ἐκεῖσε πλευσούμενος, ἐγχρονίσας δὲ ἐνταῦθα ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος οὐκέτ' ἐπεραιώθη.
2 οἵ τε γὰρ Σάλασσοι καὶ οἱ Ταυρίσκοι Λιβυρνοί τε καὶ Ἰάπυδες[1] οὐδὲν μὲν οὐδὲ ἐκ τοῦ πρὶν μέτριον ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἔπρασσον,[2] ἀλλὰ τήν τε συντέλειαν τῶν φόρων ἐξέλιπον καὶ ἐσβάλλοντες ἔστιν ὅτε ἐς τὰ ὁμοροῦντά σφισιν ἐκακούργουν· τότε δὲ φανερῶς πρὸς τὴν ἀπουσίαν αὐτοῦ ἐπανέστησαν.
3 δι' οὖν τοῦτ' ἀναστρέψας τά τε ἄλλα ἐπ' αὐτοὺς παρεσκευάσατο, καὶ ἐπειδή τινες τῶν ἀφεθέντων ὅτε[3] ἐστασίασαν καὶ μηδὲν λαβόντων στρατεύσασθαι αὖθις ἠθέλησαν, ἐς ἕν σφας στρατόπεδον κατεχώρισεν, ἵν' ἰδίᾳ καὶ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ὄντες μήτε προσδιαφθείρωσί τινα, κἂν ἄρα νεωτερίσαι τι βου-
4 ληθῶσιν, ἔκδηλοι παραχρῆμα γένωνται. ὡς δ' οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐσωφρονίσθησαν, ὀλίγους ἐξ αὐτῶν τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους ἐς Γαλατίαν κληρουχήσοντας ἔπεμψε, νομίσας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἐπελπίσειν[4] καὶ καταστήσειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὣς ἐθρασύνοντο, δίκῃ τινὰς αὐτῶν ἔδωκε. παροξυνθέντων τε ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῶν λοιπῶν συνεκάλεσέ τε αὐτοὺς ὡς καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλο τι, καὶ περισχὼν τῷ στρατῷ τά τε ὅπλα ἀφείλετο καὶ τῆς στρατείας
5 ἔπαυσε. καὶ οὕτω τήν τε ἑαυτῶν ἀσθένειαν ἅμα καὶ τὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος φρόνημα μαθόντες ἀληθῶς τε μετεβάλοντο,[5] καὶ πολλὰ αὐτὸν ἱκετεύσαντες ἀνεστρατεύσαντο. ὁ γὰρ Καῖσαρ στρατιωτῶν τε δεόμενος, καὶ φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος αὐτοὺς

[1] Ἰάπυδες Xyl., ἰάπυγες LM (and so elsewhere).
[2] ἔπρασσον Xyl., ἐσέπρασσον LM.
[3] ὅτε Bk., τε LM.
[4] ἐπελπίσειν R. Steph., ἐλπίσειν LM.
[5] μετεβάλοντο R. Steph., μετεβάλλοντο LM.

as if intending to sail thither, but after delaying there for some time because of the bad weather, he gave up his plan of crossing; for the Salassi, Taurisci, Liburni, and Iapydes, who even before this had been behaving in no decent manner toward the Romans, not only having failed to contribute their assessments of tribute but also having more than once invaded and ravaged the neighbouring districts, openly revolted at this time, in view of his absence. Consequently he turned back and began various preparations against them. When some of the soldiers who had been discharged when they mutinied, and had received nothing, wished to serve again, he placed them apart in a single legion, in order that being separate and by themselves they might find it impossible to corrupt any one else, and that in case they should wish to begin any rebellion, they might be detected at once. But when they proved no better disciplined than before, he sent out a few of the oldest of them to become colonists in Gaul, thinking that thus he would inspire the rest with hopes and quiet them. And since even then they continued their insubordination, he handed some of them over for punishment; and when the rest were stirred to rage at this, he called them together as if for some other purpose, made the rest of the army surround them, took away their arms, and removed them from the service. In this way they learned both their own weakness and the strength of Caesar's resolution, and so they really experienced a change of heart and after urgent supplications were allowed to enter the service anew. For Caesar, being in need of soldiers and fearing that Antony would appropriate them,

B.C. 35

σφετερίσηται, συγγιγνώσκειν τέ σφισιν ἔφη καὶ χρησιμωτάτους πρὸς πάντα αὐτοὺς ἔσχε.

35 Τοῦτο μὲν ὕστερον ἐγένετο, τότε δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἑτέροις τισὶ καταστρέψασθαι προσέταξεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰάπυδας ἐστράτευσε. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐντὸς τῶν ὀρῶν, οὐ πάνυ πόρρω τῆς θαλάσσης οἰκοῦντας, ἀπονώτερον προσηγάγετο, τοὺς δὲ ἐπί τε τῶν ἄκρων καὶ ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ θάτερα αὐτῶν οὐκ 2 ἀταλαιπώρως ἐχειρώσατο. τὸ γὰρ Μέτουλον,[1] τὴν μεγίστην σφῶν πόλιν, κρατυνάμενοι πολλὰς μὲν προσβολὰς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀπεκρούσαντο, πολλὰ δὲ μηχανήματα κατέφλεξαν, αὐτόν τε ἐκεῖνον ἀπὸ πύργου τινὸς ξυλίνου ἐπιβῆναι τοῦ περιβόλου 3 πειρώμενον κατέστρωσαν. καὶ τέλος, ὡς οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἀπανίστατο ἀλλὰ καὶ δυνάμεις προσμετεπέμπετο, συμβῆναί τε βούλεσθαι ἐπλάσαντο, καὶ φρουροὺς ἐς τὴν ἄκραν ἐσδεξάμενοι[2] ἐκείνους τε 4 τῆς νυκτὸς ἅπαντας ἔφθειραν καὶ τὰς οἰκίας ἐνέπρησαν, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἑαυτοὺς οἱ δὲ καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας τά τε παιδία προσαπέκτειναν, ὥστε μηδ' ὁτιοῦν ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῷ Καίσαρι περιγενέσθαι. οὐ γὰρ ὅτι ἐκεῖνοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ζωγρηθέντες σφῶν ἑκούσιοι οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐφθάρησαν.

36 Ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν οὗτοί τε ἀπωλώλεσαν καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι κατεστράφατο μηδὲν ἀξιόλογον πράξαντες, ἐπὶ Παννονίους ἐπεστράτευσεν, ἔγκλημα μὲν οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐπιφέρων (οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ἠδίκητό τι ὑπ' αὐτῶν), ἵνα δὲ δὴ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀσκῇ τε ἅμα καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων τρέφῃ, πᾶν τὸ τῷ

[1] Μέτουλον R. Steph., μέτριον LM.
[2] ἐσδεξάμενοι R. Steph., ἐκδεξάμενοι LM.

said that he pardoned them, and he found them most useful for all tasks. B.C. 35

But this happened later. At that time he himself led the campaign against the Iapydes, assigning the rest of the tribes to others to subdue. Those that were on the nearer side of the mountains, dwelling not very far from the sea, he reduced with comparatively little trouble, but he overcame those on the heights and on the farther side of them with no small hardship. For they fortified Metulum,[1] the largest of their cities, and repulsed many assaults of the Romans, burned up many siege-engines, and laid low Caesar himself as he was trying to step from a wooden tower upon the wall. Finally, when he still did not desist, but kept sending for additional forces, they pretended they wished to make terms and so received a garrison into their citadel; then by night they destroyed all these men and set fire to their own houses, some killing themselves and some their wives and children besides, so that nothing whatever remained of this force to Caesar. For not only they but also such as were captured alive destroyed themselves voluntarily shortly afterward.

When these, then, had perished and the rest had been subdued without performing any exploit of note, Caesar made a campaign against the Pannonians. He had no complaint to bring against them, not having been wronged by them in any way, but he wanted both to give his soldiers practice and to support them at the expense of an alien people, for he regarded every demonstration against a weaker

[1] The modern Möttling.

κρείττονι τοῖς ὅπλοις ἀρέσκον δίκαιον ἐς τοὺς
2 ἀσθενεστέρους ποιούμενος. οἱ δὲ δὴ Παννόνιοι
νέμονται μὲν πρὸς τῇ Δελματίᾳ,[1] παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν
Ἴστρον, ἀπὸ Νωρικοῦ μέχρι τῆς Μυσίας τῆς ἐν
τῇ Εὐρώπῃ, κακοβιώτατοι δὲ ἀνθρώπων ὄντες
(οὔτε γὰρ γῆς οὔτε ἀέρων εὖ ἥκουσιν· οὐκ ἔλαιον,
οὐκ οἶνον, πλὴν ἐλαχίστου καὶ τούτου κακίστου,
3 γεωργοῦσιν, ἅτε ἐν χειμῶνι πικροτάτῳ τὸ πλεῖστον
διαιτώμενοι, ἀλλὰ τάς τε κριθὰς καὶ τοὺς κέγ-
χρους καὶ ἐσθίουσιν ὁμοίως καὶ πίνουσιν) ἀνδρειό-
τατοι δ' οὖν διὰ πάντων ὧν ἴσμεν νομίζονται·
θυμικώτατοι γὰρ καὶ φονικώτατοι,[2] οἷα μηδὲν
4 ἄξιον τοῦ καλῶς ζῆν ἔχοντες, εἰσί. ταῦτα δὲ οὐκ
ἀκούσας οὐδ' ἀναγνοὺς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔργῳ
μαθὼν ὥστε καὶ ἄρξας αὐτῶν, οἶδα· μετὰ γάρ τοι
τὴν ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ ἡγεμονίαν τῇ τε Δελματίᾳ,[1]
ἧς ποτε καὶ ὁ πατήρ μου χρόνον τινὰ ἦρξε, καὶ τῇ
Παννονίᾳ τῇ ἄνω καλουμένῃ προσετάχθην, ὅθεν
ἀκριβῶς πάντα τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς εἰδὼς γράφω.
5 ὀνομάζονται δὲ οὕτως ὅτι τοὺς χιτῶνας τοὺς
χειριδωτοὺς ἐξ ἱματίων τινῶν ἐς πάννους ἐπι-
χωρίως πως καὶ κατατέμνοντες καὶ προσαγο-
ρεύοντες συρράπτουσι. καὶ οἱ μὲν εἴτ' οὖν διὰ
τοῦτο εἴτε καὶ δι' ἄλλο τι οὕτως ὠνομάδαται·
6 τῶν δὲ δὴ Ἑλλήνων τινὲς τἀληθὲς ἀγνοήσαντες
Παίονάς σφας προσεῖπον, ἀρχαίου μέν που τοῦ
προσρήματος τούτου ὄντος, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐκεῖ,

[1] Δελματίᾳ St., δαλματίαι LM.
[2] φονικώτατοι R. Steph., φρονικώτατοι LM.

party as just, when it pleased the man who was their superior in arms. The Pannonians dwell near Dalmatia along the very bank of the Ister from Noricum to Moesia[1] and lead the most miserable existence of all mankind. For they are not well off as regards either soil or climate; they cultivate no olives and produce no wine except to a very slight extent and a wretched quality at that, since the winter is very rigorous and occupies the greater part of their year, but drink as well as eat both barley and millet. For all that they are considered the bravest of all men of whom we have knowledge; for they are very high-spirited and bloodthirsty, as men who possess nothing that makes an honourable life worth while. This I know not from hearsay or reading only, but I have learned it from actual experience as once their governor, for after my command in Africa and in Dalmatia (the latter position my father also held for a time) I was appointed to what is known as Upper Pannonia, and hence it is with exact knowledge of all conditions among them that I write. Their name is derived from the fact that their sleeved tunics are made by stitching together pieces of old clothes which they cut up into strips in a way peculiar to themselves and call *panni*.[2] This is their name, whether the reason be what I have stated or some other; but certain of the Greeks in ignorance of the truth have called them Paeones, an appellation which, though no doubt old, does not, however,

B.C. 35

[1] Literally "Mysia in Europe." In Greek the same word answers for both Mysia and Moesia. Compare the practice of some Greeks, mentioned just below, of applying the old name Paeones to the Pannonians.

[2] This is the Latin word *pannus*, and probably the whole explanation is a purely Roman one.

ἀλλ' ἔν τε τῇ Ῥοδόπῃ καὶ πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ τῇ νῦν μέχρι τῆς θαλάσσης. ὑφ' οὗπερ καὶ ἐγὼ ἐκείνους μὲν Παίονας τούτους δὲ Παννονίους, ὥσπερ που καὶ αὐτοὶ ἑαυτοὺς καὶ Ῥωμαῖοί σφας καλοῦσι, προσαγορεύσω.

37 Ἐπὶ οὖν τούτους ὁ Καῖσαρ τότε στρατεύσας τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οὔτε τι ἐδῄου οὔτε τι ἥρπαζε, καίπερ καὶ τὰς κώμας αὐτῶν τὰς ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις ἐκλιπόντων· ἤλπιζε γὰρ ἐθελοντὰς αὐτοὺς ὑπάξεσθαι·[1] ὡς δὲ[2] καὶ προχωροῦντα αὐτὸν πρὸς Σισκίαν[3] ἐλύπησαν, ὠργίσθη καὶ τήν τε χώραν σφῶν ἔκαιε 2 καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα ἐδύνατο λείαν ἐποιεῖτο. πλησιάσαντος δ' αὐτοῦ τῇ πόλει οἱ ἐπιχώριοι παραυτίκα μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν δυνατῶν ἀναπεισθέντες ὡμολόγησάν τε αὐτῷ καὶ ὁμήρους ἔδοσαν, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τάς τε πύλας ἀπέκλεισαν καὶ ἐς πολιορκίαν κατέστησαν. εἶχον μὲν γὰρ καὶ τείχη ἰσχυρά, τὸ δ' ὅλον ποτα-3 μοῖς δύο ναυσιπόροις ἐθάρσουν. ὁ γὰρ Κόλοψ ὀνομαζόμενος παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν περίβολον παραρρέων ἐς τὸν Σάουον ὀλίγον ἀπέχοντα αὐτοῦ ἐμβάλλει καὶ νῦν πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν ἐγκεκύκλωται, Τιβερίου τάφρῳ τινὶ μεγάλῃ ἐς τοῦτο αὐτὸν καταστήσαντος, δι' ἧς ἐς τὸ ἀρχαῖον αὖθις ῥεῖθρον ἐπανέρχεται. 4 τότε δὲ τῇ μὲν τοῦ Κόλοπος παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ τείχη παρεξιόντος, τῇ δὲ τοῦ Σάουου ὀλίγον ἄπωθεν παραρρέοντος διάκενόν τι κατελέλειπτο, ὃ καὶ 5 σταυρώμασι καὶ ταφρεύμασιν ὠχύρωτο. ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ πλοῖα παρὰ τῶν ταύτῃ συμμάχων ποιηθέντα λαβών, καὶ διά τε τοῦ Ἴστρου ἐς τὸν Σάουον

[1] ὑπάξεσθαι Pflugk, ἐπάξεσθαι LM.
[2] ὡς δὲ R. Steph., ὧδε LM.
[3] Σισκίαν Leuncl. σεισκίαν LM.

apply to that country, but rather to Rhodope, close to the present Macedonia, as far as the sea. Therefore I also shall call the people of the latter district Paeones, but the others Pannonians, just as both they themselves and the Romans do.

B.C. 35

It was against this people, then, that Caesar at that time conducted a campaign. At first he did not devastate or plunder at all, although they abandoned their villages in the plain; for he hoped to make them his subjects of their own free will. But when they harassed him as he advanced to Siscia,[1] he became angry, burned their country, and took all the booty he could. When he drew near the city, the natives for the moment listened to their leaders and made terms with him and gave hostages, but afterwards they shut their gates and underwent a siege. For while they possessed strong walls also, yet they placed their whole confidence in two navigable rivers. The one named the Colops[2] flows past the very circuit of the wall and empties into the Savus[3] not far distant; it has now encircled the entire city, for Tiberius gave it this shape by constructing a great canal through which it comes back to its original channel. But at that time between the Colops on the one hand, which flowed past the very walls, and the Savus on the other, which flowed at a little distance, a gap had been left which had been fortified with palisades and ditches. Caesar secured boats made by the allies in that vicinity, and after towing them through the Ister into the Savus, and

[1] To-day Siszeg (or Sissele) in Croatia.
[2] Called Colapis by Strabo and Pliny ; to-day the Kulpa.
[3] To-day the Save.

καὶ δι' ἐκείνου ἐς τὸν Κόλοπα αὐτὰ ἀγαγών,[1] προσέβαλέ[2] σφισι τῷ πεζῷ ἅμα καὶ ταῖς ναυσί, καί τινας καὶ ναυμαχίας ἐν αὐτῷ[3] ἐποιήσατο. 6 καὶ γὰρ οἱ βάρβαροι μονόξυλα πλοῖα ἀντικατασκευάσαντες διεκινδύνευον, καὶ ἔν τε τῷ ποταμῷ ἄλλους τε συχνοὺς καὶ τὸν Μηνᾶν τὸν τοῦ Σέξτου ἐξελεύθερον ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ ἰσχυρῶς[4] αὐτὸν ἠμύνοντο, μέχρις οὗ τῶν συμμάχων τινὰς ἐνηδρεῦσθαί[5] τε καὶ ἐφθάρθαι ἐπύθοντο· τότε γὰρ ἀθυμήσαντες ἐνέδοσαν. καὶ οὕτως ἁλόντων ἐκείνων καὶ τὸ ἄλλο Παννονικὸν ὁμολογίᾳ προσηγάγετο.

38 Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐκεῖ μὲν Φούφιον Γέμινον σὺν δυνάμει τινὶ κατέλιπεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀνεκομίσθη, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπινίκια ψηφισθέντα οἱ ἀνεβάλετο,[6] τῇ δ' Ὀκταουίᾳ τῇ τε Λιουίᾳ καὶ εἰκόνας καὶ τὸ τὰ σφέτερα ἄνευ κυρίου τινὸς διοικεῖν, τό τε ἀδεὲς καὶ τὸ ἀνύβριστον ἐκ τοῦ 2 ὁμοίου τοῖς δημάρχοις ἔχειν ἔδωκεν. ὡρμημένου δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐς τὴν Βρεττανίαν κατὰ τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς ζῆλον στρατεῦσαι, καὶ ἤδη καὶ ἐς τὴν Γαλατίαν μετὰ τὸν χειμῶνα ἐν ᾧ ὅ τε Ἀντώνιος τὸ δεύτερον καὶ Λούκιος Λίβων ὑπάτευον προκεχωρηκότος, τῶν τε νεοαλώτων τινὲς καὶ Δελ-3 μάται σὺν αὐτοῖς ἐπανέστησαν. καὶ Παννονίους μὲν ὁ Γέμινος, καίτοι τῆς Σισκίας ἐκπεσών, ὅμως μάχαις ἀνεκτήσατο, τούς τε Σαλάσσους[7] καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς μετ' αὐτῶν νεωτερίσαντας ὁ Μεσσάλας ὁ[8] Οὐαλέριος ἐχειρώσατο· ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ τοὺς

[1] ἀγαγών Bk., ἀνάγων LM. [2] προσέβαλέ M, προσέβαλλέ L.
[3] αὐτῷ Bs., αὐτῆι LM. [4] ἰσχυρῶς Reim., ἐχυρῶς LM.
[5] ἐνηδρεῦσθαί R. Steph., ἐνηδρεῦθαι LM.

through that stream into the Colops, he assailed the enemy with his infantry and ships together, and had some naval battles on the river. For the barbarians prepared in turn some boats made of single logs, with which they risked a conflict; and thus on the river they killed Menas, the freedman of Sextus, besides many others, while on the land they vigorously repulsed the invader, until they ascertained that some of their allies had been ambushed and destroyed. Then they lost heart and yielded; and when they had been captured in this manner, the remainder of Pannonia was induced to capitulate.

B.C. 35

After this he left Fufius Geminus there with a small force and himself returned to Rome. The triumph which had been voted to him he deferred, but granted to Octavia and Livia statues, the right of administering their own affairs without a guardian, and the same security and inviolability as the tribunes enjoyed. In emulation of his father he had set out to lead an expedition into Britain also, and had already advanced into Gaul after the winter in which Antony (for the second time) and Lucius Libo became consuls, when some of the newly-conquered people and Dalmatians along with them rose in revolt. Geminus, although expelled from Siscia, nevertheless recovered Pannonia by a few battles; and Valerius Messalla overthrew the Salassi and the others who had joined them in rebellion. Against the

B.C. 34

[6] ἀνεβάλετο R. Steph., ἀνεβάλλετο LM.
[7] Σαλάσσους R. Steph., ἰαλάσσους LM.
[8] ὁ supplied by Pflugk.

Δελμάτας πρότερος μὲν ὁ Ἀγρίππας, ἔπειτα δὲ
4 καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπεστράτευσε. καὶ τοὺς μὲν πλείους σφῶν αὐτοὶ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ παθόντες, ὥστε καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα τρωθῆναι καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τισι κριθὴν ἀντὶ τοῦ σίτου δοθῆναι, καὶ ἑτέρους τὴν τάξιν ἐκλιπόντας δεκατευθῆναι, κατεστρέψαντο, τοῖς δὲ δὴ λοιποῖς ὁ Ταῦρος Στατίλιος ἐπολέμησεν.

39 Ἀντώνιος δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῆς μὲν ἀρχῆς αὐθημερὸν ἐξέστη, Λούκιον Σεμπρώνιον Ἀτρατῖνον ἀντικαταστήσας· ὅθεν εἰσὶν οἳ τοῦτον ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκεῖνον ἐν
2 τῇ τῶν ὑπάτων ἀπαριθμήσει ὀνομάζουσι· πράττων δ' ὅπως ὡς ὅτι ἀπονώτατα τὸν Ἀρμένιον τιμωρήσηται, τήν τε θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ ὡς καὶ τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ υἱεῖ συνοικίσων ᾔτησε, Κύιντόν τινα Δέλλιον παιδικά ποτε ἑαυτοῦ γενόμενον πέμψας,
3 καὶ πολλά τινα αὐτῷ δώσειν ὑπέσχετο. καὶ τέλος ἔς τε τὴν Νικόπολιν τὴν τοῦ Πομπηίου αἰφνίδιον ἅμα τῷ ἦρι ἦλθε, κἀνταῦθα αὐτὸν ὡς καὶ συμβουλεύσοντα καὶ συμπράξοντά τινα κατὰ τῶν Πάρθων μετεπέμψατο. ἐπειδή τε οὐκ ἀφίκετο τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ὑποπτεύσας, τόν τε Δέλλιον αὖθις ἐς λόγους οἱ προσέπεμψε, καὶ αὐτὸς οὐδὲν ἧττον σπουδῇ
4 πρὸς τὰ Ἀρτάξατα ἤλασε. καὶ οὕτως αὐτὸν ὀψέ ποτε, τὰ μὲν πείθων διὰ τῶν ἑταίρων, τὰ δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν καταπλήσσων, πάντα τε ἁπλῶς ὡς πρὸς φίλον καὶ γράφων καὶ πράττων,
5 ἐπηγάγετο ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐσελθεῖν. κἀνταῦθα συλλαβὼν τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἄδετόν τε εἶχε, καὶ κατὰ

Dalmatians campaigns were made, first by Agrippa B.C. 34 and later by Caesar also. The most of them they themselves subjugated after undergoing many terrible experiences; for example, Caesar was wounded, rations of barley had to be given out to some of the soldiers instead of wheat, and in the case of others who had deserted their posts every tenth man was put to death. With the remaining tribes Statilius Taurus carried on the war.

Antony meanwhile resigned his office on the very first day, putting Lucius Sempronius Atratinus in his place; and consequently some name Sempronius and not Antony in enumerating the consuls. In his endeavour to take vengeance on the Armenian king with the least trouble to himself, he asked for the hand of the king's daughter, in order, as he said, to marry her to his son Alexander; he sent on this errand one Quintus Dellius, who had once been a favourite of his, and promised to give the king many gifts. Finally, at the beginning of spring, he came suddenly into Nicopolis (the place founded by Pompey), and while there sent for the king, stating that he wished to have his aid in planning and executing some measures against the Parthians. And when the king, suspecting the plot, did not come, he sent Dellius to confer with him again, and meanwhile, for his own part, marched with undiminished haste towards Artaxata. In this way he succeeded in inducing him to come into his camp, after a long time, partly by using the king's associates to persuade him, and partly by using his own soldiers to terrorize him, and by writing and acting toward him in every way precisely as he would toward a friend. Thereupon he arrested him, and at first kept him

τὰ φρούρια ἐν οἷς οἱ θησαυροὶ ἦσαν περιῆγεν, εἴ πως ἀμαχεί σφας λάβοι, σκηπτόμενος δι' οὐδὲν ἄλλο αὐτὸν συνειληφέναι[1] ἢ ἵνα τοὺς Ἀρμενίους καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ
6 δασμολογήσῃ. ὡς δ' οὔτε οἱ χρυσοφύλακες[2] προσεῖχον αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ τὰ ὅπλα ἔχοντες Ἀρτάξην τὸν πρεσβύτατον τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ βασιλέα ἀνθείλοντο, ἔδησεν αὐτὸν ἀργυραῖς ἁλύσεσιν· αἰσχρὸν γάρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἦν βασιλέα αὐτὸν γεγονότα
40 σιδηραῖς δεθῆναι. κἀκ τούτου τοὺς μὲν ἐθελοντὶ[3] τοὺς δὲ καὶ βίᾳ λαβὼν πᾶσαν τὴν Ἀρμενίαν κατέσχεν· ὁ γὰρ Ἀρτάξης ἐπειδὴ συμβαλών οἱ ἡλατ-
2 τοῦτο, πρὸς τὸν Πάρθον ἀπεχώρησε. πράξας δὲ ταῦτα, καὶ τῷ υἱεῖ τὴν τοῦ Μήδου θυγατέρα, ὅπως ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτὸν προσεταιρίσηται, μνηστεύσας, τά τε στρατόπεδα ἐν τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ κατέλιπε καὶ ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἀνεκομίσθη, τήν τε ἄλλην λείαν πολλὴν καὶ τὸν Ἀρμένιον μετά τε τῆς γυναι-
3 κὸς καὶ μετὰ παίδων ἄγων. καί σφας σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις αἰχμαλώτοις καὶ ἐν ἐπινικίοις τισὶν ἐς[4] τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν προπέμψας αὐτὸς ἐφ' ἅρματος ἐσήλασε, καὶ τά τε ἄλλα πάντα τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ ἐχαρίσατο καὶ τὸν Ἀρμένιον μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων ἐν χρυσοῖς δεσμοῖς προσήγαγε. προεκάθητο δὲ ἐν μέσῳ τῷ πλήθει ἐπί τε βήματος ἐπαργύρου καὶ
4 ἐπὶ δίφρου ἐπιχρύσου. οἵ γε μὴν βάρβαροι οὔθ' ἱκέτευσαν αὐτὴν οὔτε προσεκύνησαν, καίτοι πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἀναγκαζόμενοι πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐλπίσιν

[1] At this point a folio is lost in L, which resumes in chap. 42, 3.
[2] χρυσοφύλακες R. Steph., χρυσιοφύλακες M.
[3] ἐθελοντὶ Leuncl., ἐθελοντῆι M.
[4] ἐς Rk., ἐς τε M.

without fetters and led him around to the various forts where the king's treasures were deposited, in the hope that he might secure them without a struggle; for he professed to have arrested him for no other purpose than to levy tribute upon the Armenians for the safeguarding of the king and to maintain his sovereignty. When, however, the keepers of the gold would pay no heed to the king, and the Armenian citizens who bore arms chose Artaxes, the eldest of his sons, king in his stead, Antony bound him in silver chains; for it was unseemly, apparently, that this man who had been king should be bound in fetters of iron. After this Antony occupied the whole of Armenia, taking some of the people peaceably and some by force; for Artaxes withdrew and went to the Parthian king, after fighting an engagement and suffering defeat. After accomplishing these things Antony betrothed to his son the daughter of the Median king with the intention of making him still more his friend; then he left his legions in Armenia and went once more to Egypt, taking the great mass of booty and the Armenian with his wife and children. Sending them with the captives ahead of him into Alexandria in a kind of triumphal procession, he himself drove into the city upon a chariot, and he not only presented to Cleopatra all the other spoils but brought her the Armenian and his family in golden bonds. She was seated in the midst of the populace upon a platform plated with silver and upon a gilded chair. The barbarians, however, addressed no supplications to her, nor made obeisance to her, though much coercion was brought to bear upon them and many hopes were held out to them to win their compliance, but they

B.C. 34

ἀναπειθόμενοι, ἀλλ' ὀνομαστί ἑ προσαγορεύσαντες δόξαν μὲν φρονήματος ἔλαβον, κακουχίᾳ δὲ πολλῇ διὰ τοῦτο συνέσχοντο.

41 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ὁ Ἀντώνιος τούς τε Ἀλεξανδρέας εἱστίασε, καὶ τὴν Κλεοπάτραν τούς τε παῖδας αὐτῆς ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ παρεκαθίσατο, δημηγορήσας τέ τινα ἐκείνην τε βασιλίδα βασιλέων καὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον, ὃν Καισαρίωνα ἐπωνόμαζον, βασιλέα βασιλέων 2 καλεῖσθαι ἐκέλευσε. καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον τήν τε Κύπρον, ἄλλην διανομήν τινα ποιησάμενος, ἔδωκε· τοῦ τε γὰρ προτέρου Καίσαρος τὴν μὲν γυναῖκα τὸν δὲ υἱὸν ὄντως γεγονέναι ἔλεγε, καὶ ἐς τὴν ἐκείνου δὴ χάριν ταῦτα ποιεῖν ἐσκήπτετο, ὅπως τὸν Καίσαρα τὸν Ὀκταουιανὸν ἐκ τούτου, ὅτι ποιητὸς ἀλλ' οὐ γνήσιος αὐτοῦ παῖς 3 ἦν, διαβάλλοι. ἐκείνοις μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἔνειμε, τοῖς δὲ δὴ αὐτοῦ παισὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας οἱ γεγονόσι, Πτολεμαίῳ μὲν τήν τε Συρίαν καὶ τὰ ἐντὸς τοῦ Εὐφράτου μέχρι τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου πάντα, Κλεοπάτρᾳ δὲ τὴν Λιβύην τὴν περὶ Κυρήνην, τῷ τε ἀδελφῷ αὐτῶν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τήν τε Ἀρμενίαν καὶ τἆλλα τὰ πέραν τοῦ Εὐφράτου μέχρις Ἰνδῶν δώσειν ὑπέσχετο· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνα 4 ὡς ἔχων ἤδη ἐχαρίζετο. καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ μόνον εἶπεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, ἵνα καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων τὸ κῦρος λάβῃ, ἐπέστειλεν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐν τῷ κοινῷ τι αὐτῶν ἀνεγνώσθη· ὅ τε γὰρ Δομίτιος καὶ ὁ Σόσσιος ὑπατεύοντες ἤδη τότε, καὶ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα αὐτῷ προσκείμενοι, οὐκ ἠθέλησαν, καίπερ τοῦ Καίσαρος 5 ἐγκειμένου σφίσιν, ἐς πάντας αὐτὰ ἐκφῆναι. νικησάντων δὲ ἐν τούτῳ ἐκείνων, ἀντεπεκράτησεν ὁ

merely addressed her by name; this gave them a reputation for high spirit, but they were subjected to much ill-treatment on account of it. B.C. 34

After this Antony feasted the Alexandrians, and in the assembly made Cleopatra and her children sit by his side; also in the course of his address to the people he commanded that she should be called Queen of Kings, and Ptolemy, whom they named Caesarion, King of Kings. And he then made a new distribution of provinces, giving them Egypt and Cyprus in addition; for he declared that in very truth one was the wife and the other the son of the former Caesar, and he professed to be taking these measures for Caesar's sake, though his purpose was to cast reproach upon Caesar Octavianus because he was only an adopted and not a real son of his. Besides making this assignment to them, he promised to give to his own children by Cleopatra the following districts: to Ptolemy, Syria and all the region west of the Euphrates as far as the Hellespont; to Cleopatra, the Cyrenaica in Libya; and to their brother Alexander, Armenia and the rest of the countries east of the Euphrates as far as India; for he even bestowed the last-named regions as if they were already in his possession. Not only did he say this in Alexandria, but he sent a despatch to Rome as well, in order that it might secure ratification also from the people there. None of these despatches, however, was read in public; for Domitius and Sosius were consuls by this time, and being extremely devoted to him, refused to publish them to all the people, even though Caesar urged it upon them. But, although they prevailed in this matter, Caesar won a victory in his turn by prevent-

Καῖσαρ μηδὲν τῶν περὶ τοῦ Ἀρμενίου γραφέντων δημοσιευθῆναι· τοῦτόν τε[1] γὰρ ἠλέει ἅτε καὶ λάθρᾳ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ κεκοινολογη-
6 μένος, καὶ ἐκείνῳ τῶν νικητηρίων ἐφθόνει. τοιαῦτα δ' οὖν ὁ Ἀντώνιος πράττων ἐτόλμα τῇ βουλῇ γράφειν ὅτι τῆς τε ἀρχῆς παύσασθαι καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνῃ τῷ τε δήμῳ πάντα τὰ πράγματα ποιήσασθαι ἐθέλει,[2] οὐχ ὅτι τι καὶ πράξειν αὐτῶν ἔμελλεν, ἀλλ' ὅπως ταῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐλπίσι τὸν Καίσαρα ἤτοι ἀναγκάσωσιν, ἅτε καὶ παρόντα, τῶν ὅπλων προαποστῆναι, ἢ καὶ ἀπειθήσαντα μισήσωσι.

42 Τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦτά τε ἐγένετο, καὶ τὴν πανήγυριν τὴν τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ τῇ γενεθλίῳ τελουμένην οἱ ὕπατοι ἐποίησαν· ἔν τε ταῖς ἀνοχαῖς αἱρετοὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος πολίαρχοι, παῖδες ἄνηβοι, ἐξ ἱππέων ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ βουλευτῶν γεγονότες, ἦρξαν.
2 καὶ τὴν στοὰν τὴν Παύλου καλουμένην Αἰμίλιος Λέπιδος Παῦλος ἰδίοις τέλεσιν ἐξῳκοδόμησε κἀν τῇ ὑπατείᾳ καθιέρωσεν· ὑπάτευσε γὰρ ἐν μέρει τοῦ ἔτους τούτου. ὅ τε Ἀγρίππας τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ Μάρκιον ὠνομασμένον, ἐκλιπὸν φθορᾷ τῶν ὀχετῶν, καὶ ἀνεκτήσατο δαπάνῃ οἰκείᾳ καὶ ἐπὶ πολλὰ
3 τῆς πόλεως ἐπωχέτευσεν. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν, καίπερ ἐξ ἰδίων χρημάτων φιλοτιμούμενοι, καὶ ὑπεστέλλοντο καὶ ἐμετρίαζον· ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ ἐλαχίστην τινὰ ἀρχὴν ἔχοντες καὶ ἐπινίκια διεπράττοντό σφισιν, οἱ μὲν διὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου οἱ δὲ διὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ψηφίζεσθαι, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει

[1] τε supplied by Bk.
[2] ἐθέλει Bk., θέλει M.

ing any of Antony's despatches regarding the Armenian king from being made known to the public; for he not only felt pity for the prince, inasmuch as he himself had been secretly in communication with him for the purpose of injuring Antony, but he also grudged Antony his triumph. Now while Antony was engaged as described he had the effrontery to write to the senate that he wished to give up his office and put the whole administration of the state into the hands of that body and of the people; it was not his intention, of course, to do either, but he desired them under the influence of the hopes he aroused either to compel Caesar to give up his arms first, as being there at hand, or to conceive hatred for him if he should refuse to heed their commands. B.C. 34

In addition to these events at that time, the consuls celebrated the festival held in honour of Venus Genetrix. During the Feriae mere boys who were sons of knights, instead of senators, served as prefects of the city on appointment by Caesar. Also Aemilius Lepidus Paulus constructed at his own expense the Basilica Pauli,[1] as it was called, and dedicated it in his consulship; for he was consul during a portion of that year. And Agrippa restored from his own purse the water-supply named the Aqua Marcia, which had been cut off by the destruction of the pipes, and carried it in pipes to many parts of the city. These men, now, though furthering their ambitions by spending their private funds, still acted with retiring modesty and with moderation; but others who were holding even a most insignificant office bargained to get triumphs voted in their own honour, some using the influence of Antony and some that of Caesar,

[1] The Basilica Aemilia, rebuilt at this time.

ταύτῃ χρυσίον πολὺ παρὰ τῶν δήμων ἐς τοὺς στεφάνους ἐσέπραττον.

43 Τῷ δ' ὑστέρῳ ἔτει ἀγορανόμος ὁ Ἀγρίππας ἑκὼν ἐγένετο, καὶ πάντα μὲν τὰ οἰκοδομήματα τὰ κοινὰ πάσας δὲ τὰς ὁδούς, μηδὲν ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου λαβών, ἐπεσκεύασε, τούς τε ὑπονόμους ἐξεκάθηρε, καὶ 2 ἐς τὸν Τίβεριν δι' αὐτῶν ὑπέπλευσε. κἀν τῷ ἱπποδρόμῳ σφαλλομένους τοὺς ἀνθρώπους περὶ τὸν τῶν διαύλων ἀριθμὸν ὁρῶν τούς τε δελφῖνας καὶ τὰ ᾠοειδῆ δημιουργήματα κατεστήσατο, ὅπως δι' αὐτῶν αἱ περίοδοι τῶν περιδρόμων ἀναδεικνύωνται. καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἔλαιον καὶ ἅλας πᾶσι 3 διέδωκε, τά τε βαλανεῖα προῖκα δι' ἔτους καὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶ λοῦσθαι[1] παρέσχε· καὶ τοὺς κουρέας ἐν ταῖς πανηγύρεσιν, ἃς πολλὰς καὶ παντοδαπὰς ἐποίησεν ὥστε καὶ τοὺς τῶν βουλευτῶν παῖδας τὴν Τροίαν ἱππεῦσαι, ἐμισθώσατο, 4 ἵνα μηδεὶς μηδὲν αὐτοῖς ἀναλώσῃ. καὶ τέλος σύμβολά τέ τινα ἐς τὸ θέατρον κατὰ κορυφὴν ἔρριψε, τῷ μὲν ἀργύριον τῷ δὲ ἐσθῆτα τῷ δὲ ἄλλο τι φέροντα, καὶ ἄλλα πάμπολλα ὤνια ἐς τὸ μέσον 5 καταθεὶς διαρπάσαι σφίσιν ἐπέτρεψεν. Ἀγρίππας μὲν δὴ ταῦτά τε ἐποίει, καὶ τοὺς ἀστρολόγους τούς τε γόητας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξήλασεν· ὑπὸ δὲ τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμέρας δόγμα ἐγένετο μηδένα τῶν ἐς τὴν γερουσίαν τελούντων ἐπὶ λῃστείᾳ κρίνεσθαι, καὶ οὕτως οἵ τε τότε ἐν τοιαύτῃ τινὶ αἰτίᾳ ὄντες

[1] λοῦσθαι Dind., λούεσθαι LM Xiph.

and on this pretext exacted large amounts of gold from foreign states to provide the crowns. B.C. 34

The next year Agrippa agreed to be made aedile, and without taking anything from the public treasury repaired all the public buildings and all the streets, cleaned out the sewers, and sailed through them underground into the Tiber. And seeing that in the circus men made mistakes about the number of laps completed, he set up the dolphins and egg-shaped objects,[1] so that by their aid the number of times the course had been circled might be clearly shown. Furthermore he distributed olive-oil and salt to all, and furnished the baths free of charge throughout the year for the use of both men and women; and in connection with the many festivals of all kinds which he gave—on such a scale, in fact, that the children of senators also performed the equestrian game called "Troy"—he hired the barbers, so that no one should be at any expense for their services. Finally he rained upon the heads of the people in the theatre tickets that were good for money in one case, for clothes in another, and again for something else, and he also set out immense quantities of various wares for all comers and allowed the people to scramble for these things. Besides doing this Agrippa drove the astrologers and charlatans from the city. During these same days a decree was passed that no one belonging to the senatorial class should be tried for piracy, and so those who were under any such charge at the time were set free, B.C. 33

[1] According to Livy (xlii. 27) these *ova* (marble eggs) were first set up in 174 B.C. It is probable that Agrippa added the dolphins, and perhaps increased the number of *ova*. After each lap (usually seven) of the race one *ovum* would be removed and the position of one dolphin changed.

ἀφείθησαν, καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα ἄδειά τισι κακουργεῖν
6 *ἐδόθη. ὁ δ' οὖν Καῖσαρ τήν τε ὑπατείαν (ἦρξε γὰρ μετὰ Λουκίου Τούλλου* [1] *δεύτερον) τῇ πρώτῃ εὐθὺς ἡμέρᾳ κατὰ τὸν τοῦ Ἀντωνίου τρόπον ἀπεῖπε, καὶ ἐς τὸ τῶν εὐπατριδῶν γένος ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους τινὰς ψηφισαμένης τῆς βουλῆς ἐσήγαγεν.*
7 *ἐπειδή τε Λούκιός τις Ἀσέλλιος* [2] *στρατηγῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν διὰ μακρὰν ἀρρωστίαν ἀφεῖναι ἠθέλησε, τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἀνταπέδειξε· καὶ στρατηγοῦ ἑτέρου τῇ τελευταίᾳ ἡμέρᾳ ἀποθανόντος ἄλλον ἐς τὰς περιλιπεῖς ὥρας ἐφείλετο.* [3] *τοῦ τε Βόκχου τελευτήσαντος οὐδενὶ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ ἔδωκεν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἔθνη αὐτὴν ἐσέγραψεν.*
8 *ἐπειδή τε οἱ Δελμάται παντελῶς ἐκεχείρωντο, τάς τε στοὰς ἀπὸ τῶν λαφύρων αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς ἀποθήκας τῶν βιβλίων τὰς Ὀκταουιανὰς ἐπὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ κληθείσας κατεσκεύασεν.*

44 *Ἀντώνιος δὲ ἐν τούτῳ ἤλασε μὲν μέχρι τοῦ Ἀράξου ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους στρατεύσων, ἠρκέσθη δὲ τῇ πρὸς τὸν Μῆδον ὁμολογίᾳ· συμμαχήσειν τε γὰρ ἀλλήλοις, ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους*
2 *ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Καίσαρα, συνέθεντο, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ στρατιώτας τέ τινας ἀντέδοσάν σφισι, καὶ ὁ μὲν τῆς Ἀρμενίας τῆς νεοκτήτου τινὰ ἔλαβεν, ὁ δὲ τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ Ἰωτάπην ὡς καὶ τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ συνοικήσουσαν, καὶ τὰ σημεῖα τὰ στρατιωτικὰ τὰ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Στατιανοῦ μάχῃ ἁλόντα.*
3 *κἀκ τούτου ὁ μὲν Ἀντώνιος τῷ τε Πολέμωνι τὴν*

[1] Λουκίου Τούλλου Bs., Λουκίου τοῦ Τούλλου Xyl., λουκίου τοῦ ἄλλου LM.
[2] Ἀσέλλιος Pighius, ἀσύλλιος LM.
[3] ἐφείλετο M, ἀφείλετο L.

and some were given a free hand to practice their villainy in future. Caesar became consul for the second time, with Lucius Tullus as his colleague, but resigned on the very first day, as Antony had done, and with the sanction of the senate he introduced some persons from the populace into the rank of patricians. When a certain Lucius Asellius, who was praetor, wished on account of a long sickness to lay down his office, he appointed his son in his stead; and when a second praetor died on the last day of his term, Caesar chose another for the remaining hours. At the death of Bocchus he gave his kingdom to no one else, but enrolled it among the Roman provinces. And after the Dalmatians had been utterly subjugated, he erected from the spoils thus gained the porticos and the libraries called the Octavian, after his sister.

B.C. 33

Antony meantime had marched as far as the Araxes, ostensibly to conduct a campaign against the Parthians, but was satisfied to arrange terms with the Median king. They made a covenant to serve each other as allies, the one against the Parthians and the other against Caesar, and to cement the compact they exchanged some soldiers, the Mede received a portion of the newly-acquired Armenia, and Antony received the king's daughter, Iotape, to be united in marriage with Alexander, and the military standards taken in the battle with Statianus. After this Antony bestowed upon Pole-

μικροτέραν Ἀρμενίαν, ὥσπερ εἶπον, χαρισάμενος, καὶ Λούκιον Φλάουιον[1] ποιήσας τε ἅμα ὕπατον καὶ παύσας (συνῆν γὰρ αὐτῷ), ἔς τε τὴν Ἰωνίαν καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Καίσαρος πολέμῳ
4 ὥρμησεν· ὅ τε Μῆδος τὰ μὲν πρῶτα συμμάχοις τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις χρώμενος τούς τε Πάρθους καὶ τὸν Ἀρτάξην ἐπελθόντας οἱ ἐνίκησε, τοῦ δ' Ἀντωνίου τούς τε ἑαυτοῦ στρατιώτας μεταπέμψαντος καὶ προσέτι καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνου κατασχόντος ἀνθηττήθη[2] τε καὶ ἑάλω, καὶ οὕτως ἡ Ἀρμενία μετὰ τῆς Μηδίας ἀπώλετο.

[1] Φλάουιον Panvinius, χλαουύιον LM.
[2] ἀνθηττήθη Xyl., ἀντηττήθη LM.

mon, as I have stated,[1] Lesser Armenia, made Lucius Flavius consul[2] and likewise removed him (for he was there with him), and set out for Ionia and Greece to wage war against Caesar. The Mede at first, by employing the Romans as allies, conquered the Parthians and Artaxes who came against him; but as Antony summoned back his own soldiers, and moreover retained those of the king, the latter was in turn defeated and captured, and so Armenia was lost together with Media.

B.C. 33

[1] See chap. 33, 2.

[2] The name appears thus in the *Fasti Venusini* (*C.I.L.* i.[2] p. 66). Some scholars have emended to Cluvius; cf. lii. 42, 4. The unusual procedure of Antony here related is mentioned nowhere else.

BOOK L

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ πεντηκοστῷ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαϊκῶν

α. Ὡς Καῖσαρ καὶ Ἀντώνιος πολεμεῖν ἀλλήλοις ἤρξαντο.
β. Ὡς Καῖσαρ Ἀντώνιον περὶ Ἄκτιον ἐνίκησεν.

Χρόνου πλῆθος ἔτη δύο ἐν οἷς ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι οἵδε ἐγένοντο

Γν. Δομίτιος Λ. υἱ.[1] Γν. ἐγγ.[2] Ἀηνόβαρβος
Γ. Σόσσιος Γ. υἱ. Τ.[3] ἐγγ. } ὕπ.
Καῖσαρ τὸ γʹ
Μ. Οὐαλέριος Μ. υἱ. Μεσσάλας Κορουῖνος } ὕπ.[4]

Ὁ δὲ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τῆς μὲν δημοκρατίας ἀφῄρητο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐς μοναρχίαν ἀκριβῆ ἀπεκέκριτο, ἀλλ' ὅ τε[5] Ἀντώνιος καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐξ ἴσου ἔτι τὰ πράγματα εἶχον, τά τε πλείω σφῶν διειληχότες, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῷ μὲν λόγῳ κοινὰ νομίζοντες, τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ, ὥς που πλεονεκτῆσαί τι ἑκάτερος αὐτῶν ἐδύνατο, ἰδιού-
2 μενοι. μετὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦτο, ὥς ὅ τε Σέξτος ἀπωλώλει καὶ ὁ Ἀρμένιος ἑαλώκει τά τε προσπολεμήσαντα τῷ Καίσαρι ἡσύχαζε καὶ ὁ Πάρθος οὐδὲν παρεκίνει, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι φανερῶς ἐπ' ἀλλήλους

[1] Λ. υἱ. Melber, γʹ υιʹ LM.
[2] Γν. ἐγγ. (Γν. νεπ.) Palmerius, γιν εγʹ γʹ LM.
[3] Τ. Melber, γʹ LM.

BOOK L

The following is contained in the Fiftieth of Dio's *Rome* :—

How Caesar and Antony began hostilities against each other (chaps. 1–14).

How Caesar conquered Antony at Actium (chaps. 15–35).

Duration of time, two years, in which there were the magistrates (consuls) here enumerated :—

B.C.

32 Cn. Domitius L. F. Cn. N. Ahenobarbus, C. Sosius C. F. T. N.

31 Caesar (III), M. Valerius M. F. Messalla Corvinus.

B.C. 33

The Roman people had been robbed of their democratic form of government, but had not become a monarchy in the strict sense of the term; Antony and Caesar still controlled affairs on an equal footing, having divided by lot most of the functions of government between them, and though nominally they considered all the rest as belonging to them in common, in reality they were trying to appropriate it to themselves, according as either of them was able to seize any advantage over the other. But afterwards, when Sextus had now perished, the Armenian king had been captured, the forces that had warred upon Caesar were quiet, and the Parthians were stirring up no trouble, these two turned openly against each other

[4] M. Οὐαλέριος M. υἱ. Μεσσάλας Κορουῖνος ὕπ. Dind. (following Xyl. and H. Steph.), μ οὐαλέριος μ' υι' μεσσάλ υπ' λαοκορουίνιος LM. [5] τε Bk., γε LM.

ἐτράποντο καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἀκριβῶς ἐδουλώθη. αἰτίαι δὲ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ σκήψεις αἵδε αὐτοῖς ἐγένοντο.
3 Ἀντώνιος μὲν Καίσαρι ἐπεκάλει ὅτι τόν τε Λέπιδον τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπεπαύκει καὶ τὴν χώραν τήν τε δύναμιν τήν τε ἐκείνου καὶ τὴν τοῦ Σέξτου, κοινήν σφων ὀφείλουσαν εἶναι, ἐσφετέριστο· καὶ τούτων τε τὴν ἡμίσειαν ἀπῄτει, καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οὓς[1] ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας τῆς ἀμφοτέροις σφίσι
4 προσηκούσης κατείλεκτο. Καῖσαρ δὲ ἐκείνῳ ὅτι ἄλλα τε καὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον μὴ λαχὼν εἶχε, τόν τε Σέξτον ἀπεκτόνει (αὐτὸς γὰρ ἑκὼν πεφεῖσθαι αὐτοῦ ἔλεγε), καὶ τὸν Ἀρμένιον ἐξαπατήσας καὶ συλλαβὼν καὶ δήσας πολλὴν τῷ δήμῳ κακοδοξίαν
5 προσετέτριπτο· τά τε ἡμίσεα καὶ αὐτὸς τῶν λαφύρων ἀπῄτει, καὶ παρὰ πάντα[2] ἐπέφερεν αὐτῷ τήν τε Κλεοπάτραν καὶ τοὺς παῖδας οὓς ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀνῄρητο, τά τε δωρηθέντα σφίσι, καὶ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ὅτι τὸν Καισαρίωνα ἐπωνόμαζεν
2 οὕτω καὶ ἐς τὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος γένος ἦγε. ταῦτά τε οὖν ἀλλήλοις ἀντενεκάλουν καί πῃ καὶ ἀνταπελογοῦντο, τὰ μὲν ἰδίᾳ σφίσιν ἐπιστέλλοντες, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ κοινῷ λέγων μὲν ὁ Καῖσαρ γράφων δὲ ὁ Ἀντώνιος· πρέσβεις τε ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει ταύτῃ συνεχῶς ἀνταπέστελλον,[3] ὅπως ὅτι μάλιστα τά τε ἐγκλήματα δικαιότατα ποιεῖσθαι δόξωσι
2 καὶ τὰ ἀλλήλων ἅμα κατασκοπῶσι· κἀν τούτῳ καὶ χρήματα ὡς καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλο τι ἤθροιζον, καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν τοῦ πολέμου παρασκευὴν ὡς καὶ ἐφ'

[1] οὓς Zon., τοὺς LM.
[2] πάντα R. Steph., πάντας LM.
[3] ἀνταπέστελλον St., ἀντεπέστελλον LM.

and the people were actually reduced to slavery. The causes for the war and the pretexts they had for it were as follows. Antony charged Caesar with having removed Lepidus from his office, and with having taken possession of his territory and of the troops of both him and Sextus, which ought to have been their common property; and he demanded the half of these as well as the half of the soldiers that had been levied in the parts of Italy which belonged to both of them. Caesar's charge against Antony was that he was holding Egypt and other countries without having drawn them by lot, had killed Sextus (whom he himself had willingly spared, he said), and by deceiving, arresting, and putting in chains the Armenian king had caused much ill repute to attach to the Roman people. He, too, demanded half of the spoils, and above all he reproached him with Cleopatra and the children of hers which Antony had acknowledged as his own, the gifts bestowed upon them, and particularly because he was calling the boy Caesarion [1] and was bringing him into the family of Caesar. These were the charges they made against each other and were in a way their justification of their conduct, and they communicated them to each other partly by private letters and partly by public speeches on the part of Caesar and public messages on the part of Antony. On this pretext also they were constantly sending envoys back and forth, wishing to appear as far as possible justified in the complaints they made and at the same time to reconnoitre each other's position. Meanwhile they were collecting funds, ostensibly for a different purpose, and were making all other preparations for

B.C. 33

[1] Cf. xlix. 41.

ἑτέρους τινὰς ἐποιοῦντο, μέχρις οὗ ὅ τε Δομίτιος ὁ Γναῖος καὶ ὁ Σόσσιος ὁ Γάϊος, ἀμφότεροι τῆς τοῦ Ἀντωνίου μερίδος ὄντες, ὑπάτευσαν. τότε γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔτ' ἐπεκρύψαντο, ἀλλ' ἄντικρυς ἐπολεμώθησαν. ἐπράχθη δὲ ὧδε.

3 Ὁ μὲν Δομίτιος οὐδὲν φανερῶς, ὥς γε καὶ συμφορῶν πολλῶν πεπειραμένος, ἐνεόχμωσεν· ὁ δὲ δὴ Σόσσιος, οἷα κακῶν ἄπειρος ὤν, πολλὰ μὲν τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐν αὐτῇ εὐθὺς τῇ νουμηνίᾳ ἐπῄνεσε, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα κατέδραμε. κἂν παραχρῆμα ἐπ' αὐτῷ τι ἐχρημάτισεν, εἰ μὴ 4 Νώνιος Βάλβος δημαρχῶν ἐκώλυσεν. ὁ γὰρ Καῖσαρ ὑποτοπήσας τὸ μέλλον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γενήσεσθαι, καὶ μήτε περιιδεῖν αὐτὸ μήτ' αὖ ἐναντιωθεὶς προκατάρχειν τοῦ πολέμου δόξαι ἐθελήσας, τότε μὲν οὔτε ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐσῆλθεν οὔθ' ὅλως ἐν τῇ πόλει διῃτήθη, ἀλλά τινα αἰτίαν πλασάμενος ἐξεδήμησε, διά τε ταῦτα καὶ ἵνα κατὰ σχολὴν πρὸς τὰ ἀγγελθέντα οἱ βουλευσάμενος 5 τὸ δέον ἐκ πλείονος λογισμοῦ πράξῃ· ὕστερον δὲ ἐπανελθὼν τήν τε γερουσίαν ἤθροισε φρουρὰν τῶν τε στρατιωτῶν καὶ τῶν φίλων ἐγχειρίδια κρύφα ἐχόντων περιβαλόμενος,[1] καὶ ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ὑπάτων ἐπὶ δίφρου ἀρχικοῦ ἱζήσας, πολλὰ μὲν αὐτόθεν ἐκ τῆς ἕδρας καὶ μέτρια ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ διελέχθη, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τοῦ Σοσσίου τοῦ τε Ἀν- 6 τωνίου κατηγόρησεν. ἐπειδή τε οὔτε ἄλλος τις οὔτ'[2] αὐτῶν τῶν ὑπάτων οὐδέτερος φθέγξασθαί τι ἐτόλμησεν, ἐκέλευσέ σφας ἐν ῥητῇ ἡμέρᾳ αὖθις συνελθεῖν ὡς καὶ διὰ γραμμάτων τινῶν ἀδικοῦντα

[1] περιβαλόμενος H. Steph., περιβαλλόμενος LM.
[2] οὔτ' Rk., οὐδ' LM.

war as if against other persons, until the time that B.C. 32 Gnaeus Domitius and Gaius Sosius, both belonging to Antony's party, became consuls. Then they made no further concealment, but became openly hostile. It happened in the following way.

Domitius did not openly attempt any revolutionary measures, since he had experienced many disasters. Sosius, however, had had no experience with misfortunes, and so on the very first day of the year he said much in praise of Antony and inveighed much against Caesar. Indeed, he would have introduced measures immediately against the latter, had not Nonius Balbus, a tribune, prevented it. Caesar, it seems, had suspected what he was going to do and wished neither to ignore it nor by offering opposition to appear to be beginning the war; hence he did not enter the senate at this time nor even live in the city at all, but invented some excuse which kept him out of town, not only for the reasons given, but also in order that he might deliberate at his leisure according to the reports brought to him and then act, after mature reflection, as necessity dictated. But afterwards he returned and convened the senate, surrounding himself with a guard of soldiers and friends who carried concealed daggers; and sitting with the consuls upon his chair of state, he spoke from there at length and with moderation in defence of himself, and brought many accusations against Sosius and Antony. And when neither of the consuls themselves nor anyone else ventured to utter a word, he bade the senators come together again on a specified day, giving them to understand that he would prove by certain documents that Antony was in the

τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐξελέγξων. οἱ οὖν ὕπατοι μήτ' ἀντειπεῖν αὐτῷ θαρσοῦντες μήτε σιωπῆσαι ὑπομένοντες τῆς τε πόλεως λάθρᾳ προεξεχώρησαν καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀπῆλθον, καί σφισι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων βουλευτῶν οὐκ ὀλίγοι 7 συνεφέσποντο. μαθὼν δὲ τοῦτο ὁ Καῖσαρ ἑκών τε αὐτοὺς ἐκπεπομφέναι ἔφασκεν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ὡς ἀδικῶν τι ἐγκαταλελεῖφθαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν δοκῇ, καὶ ἐπιτρέπειν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ἐθέλουσι[1] πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον μετὰ ἀδείας ἀπᾶραι.

3 Τοῦτο δ' οὖν τοιοῦτον ὑπ' ἐκείνων γενόμενον ἀνεσήκωσαν παρὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου αὖ φυγόντες καὶ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἐλθόντες ἄλλοι τε καὶ ὁ Τίτιος καὶ ὁ Πλάγκος, καίπερ ἀνὰ πρώτους τε ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τιμώμενοι καὶ τὰ ἀπόρρητα αὐτοῦ 2 πάντα εἰδότες. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ταῦτά τε οὕτως ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων ἐπέπρακτο, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀπουσίᾳ αὐτῶν ὁ Καῖσαρ τήν τε γερουσίαν συνήγαγε καὶ ἀνέγνω καὶ εἶπεν ὅσα ἠθέλησε, καὶ αὐτὰ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀκούσας βουλήν τέ τινα ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἤθροισε καὶ λεχθέντων ἐφ' ἑκάτερα πολλῶν τόν τε πόλεμον ἀνείλετο καὶ τὴν τῆς Ὀκταουίας συνοίκησιν ἀπεῖπε, προσκρούσαντές τι αὐτῷ ἐκεῖνοι, ἢ καὶ τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ τι ἀχθε- 3 σθέντες, ηὐτομόλησαν. καί σφας ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀσμενέστατα δεξάμενος τά τε ἄλλα τὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου παρ' αὐτῶν πάντα, καὶ ἃ ἔπραττε καὶ ἃ ἐνενόει, καὶ τὰ ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένα τόν τε ἔχοντα αὐτὰς ἔμαθε· καὶ γὰρ σεση- 4 μασμένοι σφᾶς ἦσαν. κἀκ τούτου περιοργὴς ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον γενόμενος οὐκ ὤκνησεν οὔτ' ἀναζητή-

[1] ἐθέλουσι R. Steph., θέλουσι LM.

wrong. The consuls, accordingly, as they did not dare to reply to him and could not endure to be silent, left the city secretly before the day appointed and later made their way to Antony, followed by not a few of the other senators. And when Caesar learned this he declared that he had sent them away voluntarily, hoping thus that it might not be thought that they had abandoned him because of some wrong-doing on his part, and added that he granted the rest who so wished permission to depart unmolested to Antony. B.C. 32

This action of theirs was counterbalanced by the arrival of others who fled from Antony in turn to Caesar, among them being Titius and Plancus, though they had been honoured by Antony among the foremost and knew all his secrets. For after the consuls had taken the step described and Caesar, moreover, in their absence had convened the senate and had read and said all that he wished, and after Antony, hearing of these things, had assembled a kind of senate from among those who were with him, and after considerable talk on both sides of the question had taken up the war and renounced his connection with Octavia as his wife, then it was that Titius and Plancus, because of some friction with him or because of anger against Cleopatra, deserted him. And Caesar was very glad to receive them and learned from them all about Antony's affairs, what he was doing, what he had in mind to do, what was written in his will, and the name of the man who had the will; for these two men had attached their seals to it. Thereupon Caesar became still more violently enraged and did not shrink from searching for the document, seizing

σαι αὐτὰς οὔτε λαβεῖν οὔτε ἔς τε τὸ βουλευτήριον καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐς ἐκκλησίαν ἐσκομίσαι καὶ ἀναγνῶναι. τοιαῦτα γάρ που ἐν αὐταῖς ἀνεγέγραπτο ὥστε μηδ' αἰτίαν τινὰ παρ' αὐτῶν, καίτοι 5 *παρανομώτατον πρᾶγμα ποιήσας, σχεῖν· τῷ τε γὰρ Καισαρίωνι ὡς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὄντως γεγονότι ἐμεμαρτυρήκει, καὶ τοῖς παισὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῆς Αἰγυπτίας οἱ τρεφομένοις ὑπερόγκους δή τινας δωρεὰς ἐδεδώκει, τό τε σῶμα τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἔν τε τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ καὶ σὺν ἐκείνῃ ταφῆναι ἐκεκελεύκει.*

4 *Δι' οὖν ταῦτα ἀγανακτήσαντες ἐπίστευσαν ὅτι καὶ τἆλλα τὰ θρυλούμενα ἀληθῆ εἴη, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ὅτι, ἂν κρατήσῃ, τήν τε πόλιν σφῶν τῇ*[1] *Κλεοπάτρᾳ χαριεῖται καὶ τὸ κράτος ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον* 2 *μεταθήσει. καὶ τοσαύτῃ γε ἐπὶ τούτοις ὀργῇ ἐχρήσαντο ὥστε πάντας, οὐχ ὅπως τοὺς διαφόρους αὐτῷ ἢ καὶ ἐκ μέσου ἀμφοῖν ὄντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πάνυ φίλους, δεινῶς αὐτὸν αἰτιάσασθαι· τοῖς τε γὰρ ἀναγνωσθεῖσιν ἐκπλαγέντες, καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ὑποψίαν ἀνταγωνιζόμενοι, τὰ αὐτὰ* 3 *τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔλεγον. καὶ τήν τε ὑπατείαν αὐτόν, ἐς ἣν προεκεχειροτόνητο, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἐξουσίαν πᾶσαν ἀφείλοντο· πολέμιόν τε λόγῳ μὲν οὐκ ἀπέφηναν, φοβηθέντες τοὺς συνόντας αὐτῷ, ὅτι καὶ ἐκείνους ἐν ἐχθρῶν μοίρᾳ, ἂν μὴ προλείπωσιν αὐτόν, νομισθῆναι ἐχρῆν, ἔργῳ δὲ παντὸς μᾶλλον* 4 *ἀπέδειξαν. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ συνεξεταζομένοις οἱ τήν τε ἄδειαν καὶ ἐπαίνους, ἂν ἐγκαταλείπωσιν αὐτόν, ἐψηφίσαντο, τῇ δὲ Κλεοπάτρᾳ τὸν πόλεμον ἄντικρυς ἐπήγγειλαν,*[2] *καὶ τάς τε χλαμύδας ὡς*

[1] τῇ R. Steph., τῇ τε LM.
[2] ἐπήγγειλαν H. Steph., ἀπήγγειλαν LM.

it, and then carrying it into the senate and later into the assembly, and reading it. For the clauses contained in it were of such a nature that this most lawless procedure on Caesar's part brought upon him no reproach from the citizens; for Antony had borne witness to Caesarion that he was truly sprung from Caesar, had given some enormous presents to his children by the Egyptian queen, who were being reared by him, and had ordered that his body be buried in Alexandria by her side. B.C. 32

This caused the Romans in their indignation to believe that the other reports in circulation were also true, to the effect that if Antony should prevail, he would bestow their city upon Cleopatra and transfer the seat of power to Egypt. And they became so angry at this that all, not only Antony's enemies or those who were not siding with either man, but even his most intimate friends, censured him severely; for in their consternation at what was read and in their eagerness to counteract Caesar's suspicion of them, they spoke in the same way as the rest. They deprived him of the consulship, to which he had been previously elected, and of all his authority in general. They did not, to be sure, declare him an enemy in so many words, because they were afraid his adherents would also have to be regarded in the light of enemies, in case they should not abandon him; but by this action they showed their attitude more plainly than by any words. For they voted to the men arrayed on his side pardon and praise if they would abandon him, and declared war outright upon Cleopatra, put on their military cloaks as if he were close

5 καὶ ἐν χερσὶν ὄντος αὐτοῦ μετημπίσχοντο, καὶ πρὸς τὸ Ἐνυεῖον ἐλθόντες πάντα τὰ προπολέμια κατὰ τὸ νομιζόμενον, διὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὡς καὶ φητιαλίου, ἐποίησαν· ἅπερ που λόγῳ μὲν πρὸς τὴν Κλεοπάτραν, ἔργῳ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον
5 ἔτεινεν· οὕτω γάρ που αὐτὸν ἐδεδούλωτο ὥστε καὶ γυμνασιαρχῆσαι τοῖς Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι πεῖσαι, βασιλίς τε αὐτὴ καὶ δέσποινα ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνου καλεῖσθαι, στρατιώτας τε Ῥωμαίους ἐν τῷ δορυφορικῷ ἔχειν, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῆς πάντας σφᾶς
2 ταῖς ἀσπίσιν ἐπιγράφειν. ἔς τε τὴν ἀγορὰν μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἐσεφοίτα, καὶ τὰς πανηγύρεις οἱ συνδιετίθει, τάς τε δίκας συνεξήταζε, καὶ συνίππευε καὶ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἢ καὶ ἐκείνη μὲν ἐν δίφρῳ τινὶ ἐφέρετο, ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος αὐτοποδὶ αὐτῇ μετὰ τῶν εὐνούχων ἠκολούθει. καὶ τό τε στρατήγιον βασίλειον ὠνόμαζε, καὶ ἀκινάκην ἔστιν ὅτε παρε-
3 ζώννυτο, ἐσθῆτί τε ἔξω τῶν πατρίων ἐχρῆτο, καὶ ἐπὶ κλίνης ἐπιχρύσου δίφρου τε ὁμοίου καὶ ἐν τῷ κοινῷ ἑωρᾶτο. συνεγράφετό τε αὐτῇ καὶ συνεπλάττετο, αὐτὸς μὲν Ὄσιρις καὶ Διόνυσος [1] ἐκείνη δὲ Σελήνη τε καὶ Ἶσις λέγοντες εἶναι. ἐξ οὗπερ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἔκφρων ὑπ᾽ αὐτῆς ἐκ μαγγανείας
4 τινὸς γεγονέναι ἔδοξεν. οὐ γὰρ ὅτι ἐκεῖνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τούς τι παρ᾽ αὐτῷ δυναμένους οὕτω καὶ ἐγοήτευσε καὶ κατέδησεν ὥστ᾽ αὐτὴν καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἄρξειν ἐλπίσαι, τήν τε εὐχὴν

[1] διόνυσος M cod. Peir., ὁ διόνυσος L.

at hand, and went to the temple of Bellona, where they performed through Caesar as *fetialis* all the rites preliminary to war in the customary fashion. These proceedings were nominally directed against Cleopatra, but really against Antony. For she had enslaved him so absolutely that she persuaded him to act as gymnasiarch[1] to the Alexandrians; and she was called "queen" and "mistress" by him, had Roman soldiers in her bodyguard, and all of these inscribed her name upon their shields. She used to frequent the market-place with him, joined him in the management of festivals and in the hearing of lawsuits, and rode with him even in the cities, or else was carried in a chair while Antony accompanied her on foot along with her eunuchs. He also termed his headquarters "the palace," sometimes wore an oriental dagger at his belt, dressed in a manner not in accordance with the customs of his native land, and let himself be seen even in public upon a gilded couch or a chair of that kind. He posed with her for portrait paintings and statues, he representing Osiris or Dionysus and she Selene or Isis. This more than all else made him seem to have been bewitched by her through some enchantment. For she so charmed and enthralled not only him but all the rest who had any influence with him that she conceived the hope of ruling even the Romans; and whenever she used an oath her strongest phrase in

B.C. 32

[1] A Greek official, who exercised complete supervision of the gymnasium, paying for training and incidentals, arranging the details of contests, etc. Plutarch (*Ant.* 33) states that in Athens also Antony on one occasion laid aside the insignia of a Roman general to assume the purple mantle, the white shoes, and the rods of this official.

τὴν μεγίστην, ὁπότε τι ὀμνύοι, ποιεῖσθαι τὸ ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ δικάσαι.

6 Τῇ μὲν οὖν Κλεοπάτρᾳ διὰ ταῦτα τὸν πόλεμον ἐψηφίσαντο, τῷ δ' Ἀντωνίῳ οὐδὲν δῆθεν τοιοῦτον ἐπήγγειλαν, εὖ γε εἰδότες ὅτι καὶ ἄλλως πολεμωθήσοιτο[1] (οὐ γάρ που προδοὺς ἐκείνην τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος πράξειν ἔμελλε) καὶ βουλόμενοι καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο προσεγκαλέσαι οἱ, ὅτι τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς Αἰγυπτίας πόλεμον ἑκὼν κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος, μηδενὸς αὐτῷ δεινοῦ οἴκοθεν ἰδίᾳ συμβάντος, ἀνείλετο.

2 Ἥ τε οὖν ἡλικία παρ' ἀμφοτέρων[2] σπουδῇ συνήγετο καὶ χρήματα ἁπανταχόθεν συνελέγετο, τά τε ἐμπολέμια πάντα κατὰ τάχος ἠθροίζετο. καὶ ἐγένετο ἡ πᾶσα παρασκευὴ πολὺ τῶν πρὸ αὐτῆς 3 μεγίστη. ἔθνη γὰρ τοσάδε ἑκατέρῳ τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον συνήρατο. Καίσαρι μὲν ἥ τε Ἰταλία (πάντας γὰρ καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ἀποικισθέντας, τὰ μὲν ἐκφοβήσας ἅτε ὀλίγους ὄντας, τὰ δὲ καὶ εὐεργετήσας, προσετέθειτο· τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ τοὺς τὴν Βονωνίαν ἐποικοῦντας αὐτὸς αὖθις, ἵνα δὴ καὶ ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἀπῳκίσθαι δοκῶσι, προσκατε-4 στήσατο)—ἥ τε οὖν Ἰταλία καὶ ἡ Γαλατία τό τε Ἰβηρικὸν καὶ τὸ Ἰλλυρικόν, καὶ Λίβυες οἵ τε ἐκ τοῦ πρὶν ῥωμαΐζοντες πλὴν τῶν περὶ τὴν Κυρήνην

[1] πολεμωθήσοιτο Reim., πολεμιωθήσοιτο LM.

[2] Here L ends; its copy V in a measure replaces it down to the end of Book LIV.

swearing was by her purpose to dispense justice on the Capitol.[1] B.C. 32

This was the reason they voted for war against Cleopatra, but they made no such declaration against Antony, forsooth, knowing full well that he would become an enemy in any event, since he certainly was not going to prove false to her and espouse Caesar's cause; and they wished to have this additional reproach to put upon him, that he had voluntarily taken up war on the side of the Egyptian woman against his native country, though no ill-treatment had been accorded him personally by the people at home.

Accordingly, the men of fighting age were being rapidly assembled on both sides, money was being collected from every quarter, and all the equipment of war was being speedily gathered together. The preparations as a whole far surpassed in size anything that had ever been before; for all these nations coöperated with one side or the other in the war: Caesar had, in the first place, Italy (he had even attached to his cause all those who had been placed in colonies by Antony, partly by frightening them, since they were few in number, and partly by conferring benefits upon them; for example, among his other acts, he personally gave a new charter to the colonists who had settled in Bononia, so that the impression might prevail that the colony had been sent out by him), and besides Italy he also had in alliance with him Gaul, Spain, Illyricum, the Africas (including not only those who long since had adopted the Latin tongue, with the exception of the people in Cy-

[1] *i.e.* she would say: "As surely as I shall one day dispense justice on the Capitol, so surely," etc.

καὶ οἱ τοῦ Βογούου τοῦ τε Βόκχου γεγονότες, Σαρδώ τε καὶ Σικελία καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι νῆσοι αἱ ταῖς
5 εἰρημέναις ἠπείροις προσεχεῖς συνεμάχησαν, τῷ δ' Ἀντωνίῳ τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ τῇ ἠπείρῳ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀκούοντα καὶ τὰ[1] ἐν τῇ Θρᾴκῃ, ἥ τε Ἑλλὰς καὶ ἡ Μακεδονία, καὶ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι οἵ τε Κυρηναῖοι μετὰ τῶν περιχώρων, καὶ οἱ νησιῶται οἱ προσοικοῦντές σφισιν, οἵ τε βασιλῆς καὶ οἱ δυνάσται πάντες ὡς εἰπεῖν οἱ τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ τῇ[2] τότε ὑπ' ἐκεῖνον[3] οὔσῃ γειτνιῶντες, οἱ
6 μὲν αὐτοὶ οἱ δὲ δι' ἑτέρων. καὶ τοσαύτῃ γε προθυμίᾳ ἀμφότεροι ὁμοίως ἐχρήσαντο ὥστε καὶ ἐνόρκους τὰς συμμαχίας σφῶν ἑκατέρῳ ποιήσασθαι.

7 Οὗτοί τε οὖν οὕτως ἔρρωντο, καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος τοῦτο μὲν ἀντώμοσε τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ στρατιώταις ἀκηρυκτὶ[4] πολεμήσειν, τοῦτο δὲ ὑπέσχετο τήν τε ἀρχὴν ἐντὸς δύο μηνῶν μετὰ τὴν νίκην ἀφήσειν καὶ τὸ πᾶν αὐτῆς κράτος τῇ τε γερουσίᾳ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ
2 ἀποδώσειν. μόλις τε δῆθέν τινες ἔπεισαν αὐτὸν ἕκτῳ μηνὶ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, ἵνα δὴ κατὰ σχολὴν τὰ πράγματα καταστήσηται. καὶ ὁ μέν, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα μὴ ἔμελλεν αὐτὸ πράξειν, ἀλλ' ὡς πάντῃ γε πάντως κρατήσων ἐπηγγέλλετο. τά τε γὰρ ἑαυτοῦ πολὺ τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἰσχυρότερα ἑώρα ὄντα, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων ἀσθενώσειν δωροδοκίαις
3 ἤλπιζε·[5] χρυσίον γὰρ ὡς ἑκασταχόσε, καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἔς τε τὴν ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐσπέμπων διεκίνει τε ὡς ἕκαστα καὶ σφε-

[1] τὰ Xiph., om. LM. [2] τῇ added by Rk.
[3] ἐκεῖνον H. Steph., ἐκείνων VM.
[4] ἀκηρυκτὶ V, ἀκηρυκτεὶ M.
[5] ἤλπιζε R. Steph., ἤλπισε VM.

renaica, but also those who had belonged to Bogud and Bocchus), Sardinia, Sicily, and the rest of the islands adjacent to the aforementioned divisions of the mainland. On Antony's side were the regions subject to Rome in continental Asia, the regions of Thrace, Greece, and Macedonia, the Egyptians, the people of Cyrene and the surrounding country, the islanders dwelling near them, and practically all the kings and potentates whose territories bordered upon that part of the Roman empire then under his control—some taking the field themselves and others represented by lieutenants. And such was the zeal of both sides alike that the alliances which they made with the two leaders were cemented by oaths of allegiance.

B.C. 32

Such was the strength of the contestants. As for Antony, he on his part swore to his own soldiers that he would admit no truce in the war he waged, and promised in addition that within two months after his victory he would relinquish his office and restore to the senate and the people all its authority; and it was with difficulty, forsooth, that certain persons prevailed upon him to postpone this act to the sixth month, so that he might be able to settle the public business at his leisure. And however far he was from intending to carry out this offer, he yet made the proposal as if he were certainly and without fail going to conquer. For he saw that his own forces were much the stronger by reason of their superior numbers, and hoped by means of bribes to weaken those of his opponents; indeed, he proceeded to send gold in every direction, and particularly to Italy in general and especially to Rome, and thus tried to shake the allegiance of each individual element and

τερίζεσθαι ἐπειρᾶτο. ὅθενπερ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ τά τε ἄλλα δι' ἀκριβεστέρας φυλακῆς ἐποιήσατο καὶ χρήματα τοῖς στρατιώταις ἔδωκε.

8 Τοιαύτης δ' οὖν τῆς τε ὁρμῆς καὶ τῆς παρασκευῆς αὐτῶν οὔσης πολλὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ποικίλα ἐθρυλεῖτο, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν καὶ ἐναργῆ προεδείκνυτο. πίθηκός τε γὰρ ἐς τὸ Δημήτριον ἐν ἱερουργίᾳ τινὶ ἐσελθὼν πάντα 2 τὰ ἔνδον συνέχεε, καὶ βύας πρῶτον μὲν ἐς τὸν τῆς Ὁμονοίας ναόν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας ὡς εἰπεῖν τοὺς ἁγιωτάτους ἐπέπτετο, καὶ τέλος, ἐπειδὴ πανταχόθεν ἀπηλαύνετο, ἐπί τε τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Γενίου τοῦ δήμου ἱδρύθη καὶ οὔτε ἑάλω οὔτ' ἐξανέστη πλὴν ὀψέ ποτε. ὅ τε ὀχὸς ὁ τοῦ Διὸς ἐν τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἱπποδρομίᾳ συνετρίβη, καὶ λαμπὰς ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς θαλάσσης αἰωρηθεῖσα ἐς τὸν αἰθέρα ἀνέδραμε. 3 καὶ συχνὰ μὲν ὑπὸ χειμῶνος ἐπόνησεν, ὥστε καὶ τρόπαιόν τι ἐν τῷ Ἀουεντίνῳ ἑστὸς καὶ νίκης ἄγαλμα ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ θεάτρου σκηνῆς πεσεῖν, τήν τε γέφυραν τὴν ξυλίνην πᾶσαν[1] καταρραγῆναι· συχνὰ δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ πυρὸς ἐφθάρη, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐκ τῆς Αἴτνης πλεῖστόν τε ἐρρύη καὶ πόλεσι καὶ 4 χώραις ἐλυμήνατο. ταῦτ' οὖν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ μὲν ὁρῶντες τὰ δ' ἀκούοντες, ἀνεμιμνήσκοντο καὶ τὸ τοῦ δράκοντος, ὅτι ἄρα καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἐς τὰ τότε παρόντα σφίσιν ἐσήμηνεν· ἐν γὰρ τῇ Τυρσηνίδι ὀλίγον πρὸ τούτων πρότερον δράκων δικέφαλος, μέγας ὥστε καὶ ἐς πέντε καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα πόδας ἐξικνεῖσθαι, αἰφνίδιον ἀνεφάνη καὶ πολλὰ κακώσας 5 ἐκεραυνώθη. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ πάντας αὐτοὺς

[1] πᾶσαν M, om. V.

to tempt them over to his side. For this reason Caesar on his part kept a more vigilant watch over everything else, and made donations of money to his soldiers.

B.C. 32

Such was the enthusiasm of the two sides and such were their preparations; meanwhile many and divers rumours were noised abroad by men, and many clear portents were shown by the gods. For example, an ape entered the temple of Ceres during a service and upset everything in it; an owl flew first into the temple of Concord and then to practically all the other most holy temples, and finally, when it had been driven away from every other place, it settled upon the temple of the Genius Populi, and it was not only not caught, but did not depart until late in the day. The chariot of Jupiter was demolished in the Circus at Rome, and for many days a torch would rise over the sea toward Greece and dart up into the sky. Much damage was also caused by storm; thus, a trophy which stood upon the Aventine fell, a statue of Victory fell from the back wall of the theatre, and the wooden bridge was utterly demolished. And many objects were destroyed by fire also, and moreover there was a huge flow of lava from Aetna which damaged cities and fields. Now when the Romans saw and heard about these things, they recalled also the incident of the serpent, realising that it too had given them a sign which bore upon the present situation. A little before this, it seems, a two-headed serpent, so huge that its length came to eighty-five feet, had suddenly appeared in Etruria, and after doing much damage had been killed by lightning. Now all these signs had significance for the whole people; for it was the

ἔφερε· Ῥωμαῖοί τε γὰρ τὸ προμαχόμενον ἀμφοτέρωθεν ὁμοίως ἦν, καὶ ἔμελλον[1] *ἔν τε τῷ τότε παρόντι πολλοὶ ἑκατέρωθεν φθαρήσεσθαι, καὶ ἔπειτα*[2] *τοῦ κρατήσαντος πάντες οἱ περιλειφθέν-*
6 *τες γενήσεσθαι. τῷ δὲ δὴ Ἀντωνίῳ τὴν μὲν ἧτταν οἱ παῖδες οἱ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ὄντες προεμαντεύσαντο (δίχα γὰρ γενόμενοι μηδενὸς κελεύσαντος, καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἀντωνιείους οἱ δὲ Καισαρείους*[3] *σφᾶς ἐπικαλέσαντες, συνέμιξαν ἀλλήλοις ἐπὶ δύο ἡμέρας, καὶ ἡττήθησαν οἱ τὸ ἐκείνου ὄνομα φέροντες), τὸν δ' ὄλεθρον εἰκών τις αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ Ἀλβανῷ παρὰ τῷ Διὶ ἀνακειμένη· λιθίνη γὰρ οὖσα αἷμα πολὺ ἀνῆκε.*

9 *Μετεώρων δ' οὖν πάντων ὁμοίως ἐπὶ τούτοις ὄντων ἐν μὲν τῷ ἔτει ἐκείνῳ πλέον οὐδὲν ἐγένετο. ὅ τε γὰρ Καῖσαρ τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὰ χρήματα παρὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου παρόντα ᾔσθετο, καθιστάμενος οὐκ ἠδυνήθη πρὸ τοῦ χει-*
2 *μῶνος ἀπαντῆσαι· καὶ ἐκεῖνος ὥρμησε μὲν ὡς καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ τὸν πόλεμον ἀδοκήτως σφίσι ποιησόμενος,*[4] *ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς Κέρκυραν, καὶ πυθόμενος τὰς ναῦς τὰς πρόπλους τὰς ἐς τὴν προσκοπὴν αὐτοῦ πεμφθείσας περὶ τὰ Κεραύνια ὄρη ναυλοχεῖν, ὑπετόπησεν αὐτὸν τὸν Καίσαρα μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ*
3 *ναυτικοῦ ἀφῖχθαι, καὶ οὐκέτι περαιτέρω προεχώρησεν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον (ἤδη γὰρ ἐκ μετοπώρου ἦν) ἀναπλεύσας αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν Πάτραις παρεχείμασεν, τοὺς δὲ δὴ στρατιώτας πανταχόσε*[5]

[1] *ἔμελλον* M, *ἔμελλεν* V. [2] *ἔπειτα* Xyl., *ἐπὶ τὰ* VM.
[3] *καισαρείους* Xiph. Zon., *καισαριείους* VM.
[4] *ποιησόμενος* V, *ποιησάμενος* M.
[5] *πανταχόσε* Zon., *πανταχόθεν* VM.

Romans on whom would fall the brunt of the fighting on both sides alike, and it was fated that many should perish in each army at this time and that afterward all the survivors should belong to the victor. In the case of Antony, an omen of his defeat was given beforehand by the children in Rome; for although nobody suggested it, they formed two parties, of which one called itself the Antonians and the other the Caesarians, and they fought with each other for two days, when those who bore Antony's name were defeated. And his death was portended by what happened to a statue of him that stood on the Alban Mount beside that of Jupiter; for in spite of its being of marble it sent forth streams of blood. B.C. 32

All alike were excited over these events, yet in that year nothing further took place. For Caesar, on his part, was busy settling matters in Italy, especially when he discovered the presence of money sent by Antony, and so could not go to the front before winter; and as for Antony, although he set out with the intention of carrying the war into Italy before they should suspect his movements, yet when he came to Corcyra and ascertained that the advance guard of ships sent to reconnoitre his position was lying off the Ceraunian mountains, he suspected that Caesar himself with all his fleet had arrived, and hence proceeded no farther. Instead, he sailed back to the Peloponnesus, the season being already late autumn, and passed the winter at Patrae, distributing his soldiers in every direction in order that they might keep guard over

διέπεμψεν, ἵνα τά τε χωρία φυλάττωσι καὶ τῶν
4 *ἐπιτηδείων ῥᾶον εὐπορῶσι. κἀν τούτῳ ἦλθον μὲν καὶ ἐθελονταὶ παρ᾽ ἀμφοτέρων αὐτῶν πρὸς ἑκατέρους καὶ βουλευταὶ καὶ ἄλλοι τινές, ἑάλω δὲ καὶ κατάσκοπος ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος Λούκιος Μέσσιος· καὶ αὐτὸν καίπερ τῶν ἐν τῇ Περουσίᾳ*[1] *πρότερον ἁλόντων ὄντα ἀφῆκε, πᾶσάν οἱ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν*
5 *προεπιδείξας. τῷ τε Ἀντωνίῳ ἐπέστειλεν ὅπως ἢ ἀναχωρήσῃ ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης ἵππου δρόμον ἡμερήσιον καὶ ἐφῇ*[2] *οἱ ἀδεῶς προσπλεῦσαι ἐπὶ τῷ ἐντὸς πέντε ἡμερῶν συμμῖξαί σφας, ἢ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ*
6 *τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν περαιωθῇ, οὐχ ὅτι τι*[3] *γενήσεσθαί σφωι ἐνόμιζεν (ὁ γοῦν*[4] *Ἀντώνιος πολλά τε αὐτοῦ κατεγέλασε, καὶ εἶπεν "καὶ τίς ἡμῖν δικάσει, ἄν τι παρὰ τὰ συγκείμενα πραχθῇ;") ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι τοῖς τε ἑαυτοῦ στρατιώταις θάρσος καὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἔκπληξιν ἐμβαλεῖν ἐκ τούτου προσεδόκησε.*

10 *Μετὰ δὲ δὴ ταῦτα ἦσαν μὲν ὕπατοι ἐς τὸ ἐχόμενον ἔτος ὅ τε Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος προαποδεδειγμένοι τότε ὅτε ἐς τὰ ὀκτὼ ἔτη τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐσάπαξ προκατεστήσαντο, καὶ τό γε τελευταῖον ἐκεῖνο ἦν· παραλυθέντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου, ὥσπερ εἶπον, ὁ Μεσσάλας ὁ*[5] *Οὐαλέριος ὁ προγραφείς*
2 *ποτε ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ὑπάτευσε μετὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος. κἀν τούτῳ ἀνθρωπίς τέ τις μανιώδης ἐς τὸ θέατρον ἐν πανηγύρει τινὶ ἐσπηδήσας τὸν στέφανον τὸν τοῦ προτέρου Καίσαρος ἀνείλετο καὶ περιέθετο, καὶ διεσπάσθη*[6] *ὑπὸ τῶν περιεστηκότων· καὶ λύκος τε*

[1] Περουσίᾳ Xyl., γερουσίαι VM.
[2] ἐφῇ Pflugk, ἔφη VM.
[3] τι M, om. V.
[4] γοῦν Bk., δ᾽ οὖν VM.
[5] ὁ supplied by Bk.
[6] διεσπάσθη M, περιεσπάσθη V.

the strategic points and secure more easily an abundance of provisions. Meanwhile men were going over voluntarily from each party to the other side, senators as well as others, and Caesar caught a spy, Lucius Messius; but he released him, in spite of his being one of the men who had previously been captured at Perusia, after having first showed him his entire force. And Caesar sent Antony a letter, bidding him either withdraw from the sea a day's journey on horseback and permit him to land in security, on condition that they should join battle within five days, or else cross over to Italy himself on the same understanding. He did not, of course, expect that anything would come of it, and indeed Antony made a great deal of fun of him, saying, "Who will be our arbitrator if the compact is transgressed in any way?" But he hoped to inspire his own soldiers with courage and his opponents with terror by making this demand. B.C. 32

As consuls for the next year after this Caesar and Antony had been appointed at the time when they settled the offices for eight years at once,[1] and this was the last year of the period; but as Antony had been deposed, as I have stated,[2] Valerius Messalla, who had once been proscribed by them,[3] became consul with Caesar. About this time a madman rushed into the theatre at one of the festivals and seized the crown of the former Caesar and put it on, whereupon he was torn to pieces by the bystanders. A B.C. 31

[1] Cf. xlviii. 35. [2] Cf. chap. 4. [3] Cf. xlvii. 11.

ἐς[1] τὸ Τυχαῖον ἐσπίπτων συνελήφθη καὶ κατε-
3 σφάγη, κύων τε κύνα ἐν τῷ ἱπποδρόμῳ παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἅμιλλαν τῶν ἵππων κατειργάσατο καὶ κατέφαγε. καὶ πῦρ ἄλλα τε οὐκ ὀλίγα καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἱπποδρόμου πολὺ τό τε Δημήτριον καὶ ἕτερον ναὸν
4 Ἐλπίδος ἔφθειρεν. ἔδοξαν μὲν γὰρ οἱ ἐξελεύθεροι αὐτὸ πεποιηκέναι· πᾶσι γὰρ τοῖς ἔν τε τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ αὐτῶν οὖσι καὶ πέντε μυριάδων οὐσίαν ἢ καὶ πλείω κεκτημένοις τὸ ὄγδοον αὐτῆς συντελέσαι ἐκελεύσθη, κἀκ τούτου καὶ ταραχαὶ καὶ φόνοι καὶ ἐμπρήσεις ὑπ'[2] αὐτῶν πολλαὶ ἐγένοντο, καὶ οὐ πρότερόν γε κατέστησαν πρὶν ἢ τοῖς ὅπλοις
5 καταδαμασθῆναι. ἀφ' οὗπερ καὶ οἱ ἐλεύθεροι οἵ τι χωρίον ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ κεκτημένοι φοβηθέντες ἡσύχασαν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνοις τὸ τέταρτον τῆς ἐπετησίας προσόδου δοῦναι προσετάχθη, μελλήσαντές τε ἐπὶ τούτῳ κινηθήσεσθαι οὐδὲν ἔτι νεοχμῶσαι ἐτόλμησαν, ἀλλ' ἀμαχεὶ καὶ ἄκοντες αὐτὸ
6 συνεσήνεγκαν. ἔδοξε μὲν οὖν διὰ ταῦθ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων τὸ πῦρ ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς γεγονέναι, οὐ μέντοι ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸ ἐς τὰ πάνυ τέρατα διὰ τὸ τῶν καυθέντων πλῆθος ἐσεγράφη.

11 Τοιούτων δὴ σημείων προφανέντων σφίσιν οὔτε ἐφοβήθησαν οὔθ' ἧττόν τι ἐπολέμησαν, ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν χειμῶνα κατασκοπαῖς τε χρώμενοι καὶ παραλυποῦντες ἀλλήλους διετέλεσαν (ὁ γὰρ Καῖσαρ ἐξανήχθη μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου καὶ ἔπλευσε μέχρι τῆς Κερκύρας ὡς καὶ ἀπροσδοκήτοις τοῖς πρὸς τῷ Ἀκτίῳ ὁρμοῦσιν ἐπιθησόμενος, χειμῶνι
2 δὲ περιπεσὼν καὶ πονηθεὶς ἀνεχώρησε), τοῦ δὲ δὴ

[1] τε ἐς Bk., ἔς τε VM.
[2] ὑπ' St., ἀπ' VM.

wolf was caught as it was running into the temple of Fortune and killed, and in the Circus at the very time of the horse-race a dog killed and devoured another dog. Fire also consumed a considerable portion of the Circus itself, along with the temple of Ceres, another shrine dedicated to Spes, and a large number of other structures. The freedmen were thought to have caused this; for all of them who were in Italy and possessed property worth two hundred thousand sesterces or more had been ordered to contribute an eighth of it. This resulted in numerous riots, murders, and the burning of many buildings on their part, and they were not brought to order until they were subdued by armed force. In consequence of this the freemen who held any land in Italy grew frightened and kept quiet; for they also had been ordered to give a quarter of their annual income, and though they were on the point of rebelling against this extortion, they were not bold enough after what had just happened to make any disturbance, but reluctantly brought in their contributions without resort to arms. Therefore it was believed that the fire was due to a plot originated by the freedmen; yet this did not prevent it from being recorded among the out-and-out portents, because of the number of buildings burned. B.C. 31

Although such omens had appeared to them, the two leaders neither were dismayed nor relaxed their preparations for war, but spent the winter in spying upon and annoying each other. For Caesar had set sail from Brundisium and had proceeded as far as Corcyra, intending to attack while off their guard the enemy forces lying off Actium, but he encountered a storm and received damage which caused him to withdraw.

ἦρος ὁ μὲν Ἀντώνιος οὐδαμῇ ἐκινήθη (οἵ τε γὰρ τριηρῖται, ἅτε καὶ σύμμικτοι ἐκ παντοδαπῶν ἐθνῶν ὄντες καὶ πόρρω ἀπ' αὐτοῦ χειμάζοντες, οὔτε τινὰ ἄσκησιν ἐπεποίηντο καὶ νόσῳ αὐτομολίαις 3 τε ἠλάττωντο·[1] καὶ ὁ Ἀγρίππας τήν τε Μεθώνην[2] ἐκ προσβολῆς λαβὼν καὶ τὸν Βογούαν ἐν αὐτῇ κτείνας, τάς τε κατάρσεις τῶν ὁλκάδων ἐπιτηρῶν καὶ ἀποβάσεις ἄλλοτε ἄλλῃ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ποιού- 4 μενος, ἰσχυρῶς αὐτὸν ἐτάραττεν), ὁ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ ἐπί τε τούτοις θαρσήσας καὶ βουληθεὶς ὅτι τάχιστα τῇ τοῦ στρατεύματος ὁρμῇ λαμπρῶς ἠσκημένου χρήσασθαι, τόν τε πόλεμον καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἐκείνου μᾶλλον ἢ ἔν τε τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ 5 καὶ πρὸς τῇ Ῥώμῃ ποιήσασθαι, πάντας μὲν τοὺς στρατιώτας ὧν τι ὄφελος ἦν, πάντας δὲ τούς τι δυναμένους καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον συνήγαγε, τοὺς μὲν ὅπως τι συμπράξωσιν αὐτῷ, τοὺς δ' ὅπως μηδὲν μονωθέντες νεοχμώσωσι, τό τε μέγιστον ὅπως ἐνδείξηται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὅτι καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον καὶ τὸ κράτιστον 6 τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὁμογνωμονοῦν ἔχοι. κἀντεῦθεν τακτόν τε τῶν οἰκετῶν ἀριθμὸν πᾶσιν ἐπαγαγέσθαι[3] καὶ τὴν τροφὴν αὐτοὺς ἑαυτοῖς, πλὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ἐπικομίσασθαι κελεύσας, ἀθρόᾳ τῇ παρα- 12 σκευῇ τὸν Ἰόνιον διέβαλεν. ἦγε δὲ αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον οὐδ' ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ Ἄκτιον, ἐν ᾧ τὸ πλεῖον αὐτῷ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ὥρμει, εἴ πώς σφας ἐθελοντὰς ἢ καὶ ἄκοντας προπαραστήσαιτο.[4]

[1] ἠλάττωντο Zon., ἠλαττοῦντο VM.
[2] μεθώνην V Zon., μοθώνην M.
[3] ἐπαγαγέσθαι Rk., ἐπαναγαγέσθαι VM.
[4] προπαραστήσαιτο Bk., προσπαραστήσαιτο VM.

BOOK L

When spring came, Antony made no move at any point; for the crews that manned his triremes were made up of all sorts of races, and as they had been wintering at a distance from him, they had had no practice and their numbers had been diminished by disease and desertions. Moreover Agrippa had captured Methone by storm and killed Bogud there, and was now watching for the merchant vessels that came to land and was making descents from time to time on various parts of Greece, all of which disturbed Antony greatly. But Caesar was encouraged by this and wished to bring into play as soon as possible the enthusiasm of his army, which was splendidly trained, and to wage the war in Greece near his rival's bases rather than in Italy near Rome. Therefore he assembled all his troops that were of any value, and likewise all the men of influence, both senators and knights, at Brundisium, wishing to make the first coöperate with him and to keep the others from beginning a rebellion as they might if left by themselves, but chiefly with the purpose of showing to all the world that he had the largest and strongest element among the Romans in sympathy with himself. From Brundisium he sent orders to all these that they should take along with them a stated number of servants and also, except in the case of the soldiers, should carry with them their own supplies. Thereupon he crossed the Ionian Gulf with the entire array. He was leading them, not to the Peloponnesus or against Antony, but toward Actium, where the greater part of his rival's fleet was at anchor, to see if he could forestall Antony by gaining possession of it, willing or unwilling.

B.C. 31

Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τόν τε πεζὸν ὑπὸ τὰ ὄρη τὰ 2 Κεραύνια ἐκβιβάσας ἐκεῖσε ἔπεμψε, καὶ αὐτὸς ταῖς ναυσὶ τὴν Κέρκυραν ἐκλειφθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμφρουρούντων λαβὼν ἐς τὸν λιμένα τὸν γλυκὺν ὠνομασμένον κατέσχε (καλεῖται δὲ οὕτως ὅτι πρὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ ἐς αὐτὸν ἐσβάλλοντος γλυκαίνεται), καὶ ναύσταθμόν τε ἐν αὐτῷ ἐποιήσατο καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ὁρμώμενος ἐπὶ τὸ Ἄκτιον 3 ἐπέπλει.[1] ὡς δ' οὐδείς οἱ οὔτ' ἀντανήγετο οὔτ' ἐς λόγους ᾔει, καίτοι δυοῖν αὐτοῦ θάτερον ἢ πρὸς ὁμολογίαν σφᾶς ἢ πρὸς μάχην προκαλουμένου (τὴν μὲν γὰρ τῇ πίστει τὴν δὲ τῷ δέει οὐκ ἐδέχοντο), κατέλαβε τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο ἐν ᾧ νῦν ἡ 4 Νικόπολίς ἐστι, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ μετεώρου, ὅθεν ἐπὶ πάντα ὁμοίως τῆς τε ἔξω τῆς πρὸς Πάξοις θαλάσσης καὶ τῆς εἴσω[2] τῆς Ἀμπρακικῆς τῆς τε ἐν τῷ μέσῳ αὐτῶν, ἐν ᾧ οἱ λιμένες οἱ πρὸς τῇ Νικοπόλει εἰσίν, ἄποπτόν ἐστιν, ἱδρύθη. καὶ αὐτό τε ἐκρατύνατο καὶ τείχη ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐς τὸν 5 λιμένα τὸν ἔξω τὸν Κόμαρον καθῆκε, κἀκ τούτου καὶ ἐφήδρευε καὶ ἐφώρμει τῷ Ἀκτίῳ καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν. ἤδη μὲν γὰρ ἤκουσα ὅτι καὶ τριήρεις ἐκ τῆς ἔξω θαλάσσης ἐς τὸν κόλπον διὰ τοῦ τειχίσματος ὑπερήνεγκε, βύρσαις νεοδάρτοις ἀντὶ ὁλκῶν ἐλαίῳ ἐπαληλιμμέναις 6 χρησάμενος· ἔχω δ' οὐδὲν ἔργον τῶν νεῶν τούτων ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ γενόμενον εἰπεῖν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ πιστεῦσαι τῷ μυθολογήματι δύναμαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ σμικρὸν τὸ πρᾶγμα ἦν, διὰ χωρίου οὕτως ὀλίγου καὶ ἀνωμάλου τριήρεις ἐπὶ βυρσῶν δια-

[1] ἐπέπλει Pflugk, ἀπέπλει VM.
[2] εἴσω Bs., ἔσω M, ἔξω V.

BOOK L

With this object in view Caesar disembarked the cavalry at the foot of the Ceraunian mountains and sent them to the point mentioned, while he himself with his ships seized Corcyra, which had been deserted by the garrisons there, and come to anchor in the Fresh Harbour, so named because it is made fresh by the river which empties into it. There he established a naval station, and with that as his base made excursions to Actium. But no one came out to meet him or would hold parley with him, though he challenged them to do one of two things—either come to terms or give battle. But the first alternative they would not accept because of their confidence, nor the second, because of their fear. He then occupied the site where Nicopolis now stands, and took up a position on high ground there from which there is a view over all the outer sea around the Paxos islands[1] and over the inner, or Ambracian, gulf, as well as over the intervening waters, in which are the harbours of Nicopolis. This spot he fortified, and he constructed walls from it down to Comarus, the outer harbour, and consequently commanded Actium by land and sea, watching it from above with his army and blockading it with his fleet. I have even heard the report that he actually transported triremes from the outer sea to the gulf by way of the fortifications, using newly flayed hides smeared with olive oil instead of runways, yet I am unable to name any exploit of these ships inside the gulf and therefore cannot believe the tradition; for it certainly would have been no small task to draw triremes over so narrow and uneven a tract

B.C. 31

[1] Paxos and Antipaxos.

7 γαγεῖν. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν οὕτω λέγεται γενέσθαι· τὸ δ' Ἄκτιον Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν ἐστι, καὶ πρὸ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ πορθμοῦ τοῦ κόλπου τοῦ Ἀμπρακικοῦ κατ' ἀντιπέρας τῶν πρὸς τῇ Νικοπόλει λιμένων κεῖται. ὅ τε πορθμὸς ἴσος[1] ἐπὶ πολὺ διὰ στενοῦ τείνει, καὶ ἔστι καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ τὰ πρὸ αὐτοῦ πάντα καὶ ἐνορμίσασθαι καὶ ἐνναυλοχή-
8 σασθαι.[2] ταῦτ' οὖν προκατασχόντες οἱ Ἀντωνίειοι ἐπί τε τοῦ στόματος πύργους ἑκατέρωθεν ἐπῳκοδόμησαν καὶ τὸ μέσον ναυσὶ διέλαβον, ὥστε σφίσι καὶ τοὺς ἔκπλους καὶ τὰς ἀναχωρήσεις ἀσφαλεῖς εἶναι· αὐτοί τε ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ[3] πορθμοῦ κατὰ τὸ ἱερόν, ἐν χωρίῳ ὁμαλῷ μὲν καὶ πλατεῖ, ἐμμαχέσασθαι δὲ ἢ ἐνστρατοπεδεύσασθαι ἐπιτηδειοτέρῳ, ἐνηυλίζοντο· ἐξ οὗπερ οὐχ ἥκιστα τῇ νόσῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι, καὶ ἐν τῷ θέρει πολὺ μᾶλλον, ἐπιέσθησαν.

13 Ὁ δ' οὖν Ἀντώνιος ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἄφιξιν ἐπύθετο, οὐκ ἐμέλλησεν ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ Ἄκτιον μετὰ τῶν συνόντων οἱ ἠπείχθη. καὶ ἦλθε μὲν οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐς
2 ἀγῶνα εὐθὺς κατέστη, καίτοι ἐκείνου τόν τε πεζὸν πρὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου σφῶν συνεχῶς προπαρατάσσοντος καὶ ταῖς ναυσὶ πολλάκις σφίσιν ἐπιπλέοντος, τάς τε ὁλκάδας αὐτῶν κατάγοντος, ὅπως πρὶν πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῷ συνελθεῖν, μό-
3 νοις τοῖς τότε παροῦσίν οἱ συμμίξῃ· ἐκ γὰρ αὐτοῦ τούτου οὐκ ἠθέλησεν ἐς ἅπαν[4] ἀναρρῖψαι, ἀλλὰ

[1] ἴσος R. Steph., ἴσως VM.
[2] Some adjective such as ἐπιτήδεια (R. Steph.), ἄριστα (Bk.), or πάνυ καλά (v. Herw.) has fallen out in the latter part of this sentence.
[3] θάτερα τοῦ Rk., θατέρου VM. [4] ἅπαν Bk., αὐτὸν VM.

of land on hides. Nevertheless, this feat is said to have been accomplished in the manner described. Now Actium is a place sacred to Apollo and is situated in front of the mouth of the strait leading into the Ambracian Gulf opposite the harbours of Nicopolis. This strait extends for a long distance in a narrow course of uniform breadth, and both it and all the waters in front of it furnish an excellent place in which to anchor and lie in wait. The forces of Antony had occupied these positions in advance, had built towers on each side of the mouth, and had stationed ships in the intervening waters at intervals so that they could both sail out and return in safety. The men were encamped on the farther side of the narrows, beside the sanctuary, in a level and broad space, which, however, was more suitable as a place for fighting than for encamping; it was because of this fact more than any other that they suffered severely from disease, not only during the winter, but much more during the summer.

B.C. 31

As soon as Antony learned of Caesar's arrival he did not delay, but hastened to Actium with his followers. And he arrived there not long afterwards, but did not at once risk an encounter, though Caesar constantly drew up his infantry in battle order in front of the enemy's camp, often sailed against them with his ships and carried off their transports, with the object of joining battle with only such as were then present, before Antony's entire command should assemble. For this very reason the latter was unwilling to stake his all on the cast, and he had

πείραις καὶ ἀκροβολισμοῖς ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἐχρήσατο, μέχρις οὗ τὰ στρατεύματα συνελέξατο. τούτοις δέ, ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος μηκέθ' ὁμοίως ἐγκειμένου, τόν τε πορθμὸν ἐπιδιέβη καὶ 4 οὐ πόρρω αὐτοῦ ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο, κἀκ τούτου καὶ ἱππικὸν περὶ τὸν κόλπον περιπέμψας ἀμφοτέρωθεν αὐτῷ προσήδρευεν. ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ αὐτὸς μὲν ἡσύχαζε καὶ οὐδένα ἔτι κίνδυνον αὐθαίρετον ἀνῃρεῖτο, ἐς δὲ δὴ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τήν τε Μακεδονίαν ἔπεμψέ τινας, ὅπως τὸν Ἀντώνιον πρὸς ἐκεῖνα 5 ἀπαγάγῃ. καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτ' ἔπραττον, Ἀγρίππας δὲ τότε μὲν τήν τε Λευκάδα καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ σκάφη αἰφνιδίως ἐπεσπλεύσας ἔλαβε, καὶ Πάτρας εἷλε Κύιντον Νασίδιον[1] ναυμαχίᾳ νικήσας, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ τὴν Κόρινθον παρεστήσατο. ὡς οὖν ταῦτά τε συνέβη, καὶ ὁ Τίτιος ὁ Μᾶρκος ὅ τε Ταῦρος ὁ Στατίλιος τό τε ἱππικὸν τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ἐξαίφνης ἐπεκδραμόντες ἐκράτησαν καὶ Φιλάδελφον βασι- 6 λέα Παφλαγονίας προσεποιήσαντο, κἀν τούτῳ καὶ ὁ Δομίτιος ὁ Γναῖος ἀχθεσθείς τι τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ μετέστη,—καὶ χρήσιμος μὲν οὐδὲν τῷ Καίσαρι ἐγένετο (νοσήσας γὰρ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἐτελεύτησεν), ἔδοξε δ' οὖν[2] ὡς καὶ κατεγνωκὼς τῶν πραγμάτων παρ' οἷς ἦν ηὐτομοληκέναι (καὶ 7 γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοι αὐτὸν συχνοὶ ἐμιμήσαντο),—οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐθάρσει, ἀλλ' ὑπετόπει τε πάντας καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν ἐκ τούτου ἄλλους τε καὶ Ἰάμβλιχον Ἀραβίων τινῶν βασιλέα βασανίσας, Κύιντόν τε Ποστούμιον βουλευτὴν διασπάσασθαί 8 τισιν ἐπιτρέψας. καὶ τέλος φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ ὁ Δέλλιος ὁ Κύιντος ὅ τε Ἀμύντας ὁ Γαλάτης

[1] Νασίδιον Reim., ἀσίδιον VM. [2] δ' οὖν Leuncl., γοῦν VM.

recourse for several days to feeling out his enemy and to skirmishes until he had gathered his legions. With these, especially since Caesar no longer kept assailing him as before, he crossed the narrows and encamped not far from him, after which he sent cavalry around the gulf and thus invested him on both sides. Caesar, accordingly, remained quiet himself, and no longer accepted any encounter which he could avoid, but sent some troops into Greece and Macedonia with the intention of drawing Antony off in that direction. While they were so engaged Agrippa made a sudden dash with his fleet and captured Leucas and the vessels which were there, took Patrae by conquering Quintus Nasidius in a sea-fight, and later reduced Corinth also. Accordingly, when all this had happened, and when Marcus Titius and Statilius Taurus made a sudden charge upon Antony's cavalry and defeated it and won over Philadelphus, king of Paphlagonia, and meanwhile Gnaeus Domitius, having some grievance against Cleopatra, transferred his allegiance also,—to be sure, he proved of no service to Caesar, since he fell sick and died not long after, yet he created the impression that it was because of his disapproval of the situation on the side on which he was that he had deserted to the other, for many others followed his example,—Antony no longer felt the same confidence, but was suspicious of everybody. For this reason he tortured and put to death, among others, Iamblichus, king of a tribe of the Arabians, and handed over Quintus Postumius, a senator, to be torn asunder. Finally he became afraid that Quintus Dellius and Amyntas, the Galatian, who, as it chanced,

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(ἔτυχον δὲ ἐπὶ μισθοφόρους ἔς τε τὴν Μακεδονίαν καὶ ἐς τὴν Θρᾴκην πεπεμμένοι) τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀνθέλωνται, ὥρμησε πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὡς καὶ ἐπικουρήσων σφίσιν, ἄν τι πολέμιον προσπέσῃ.

14 κἀν τούτῳ ναυμαχία τις ἐγένετο. ὁ γὰρ Σόσσιος Λουκίου Ταρρίου ναυσὶν ὀλίγαις ἐφορμοῦντός σφισιν ἐλπίσας ἄξιόν τι λόγου πράξειν, ἂν πρὶν τὸν Ἀγρίππαν, ᾧ πᾶν τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐπετέτραπτο, 2 ἐπελθεῖν, συμβάλῃ αὐτῷ, ἐξανήχθη τε ἐξαπιναίως ὑπὸ τὴν ἕω, ὁμίχλην βαθεῖαν τηρήσας ἵνα μὴ τὸ πλῆθός σφων προϊδὼν φύγῃ, καὶ παραχρῆμα τῇ πρώτῃ προσβολῇ τρεψάμενος αὐτὸν ἐπεδίωξε μέν, οὐχ εἷλε δέ· τοῦ γὰρ Ἀγρίππου κατὰ τύχην ἀπαντήσαντός οἱ οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν τῆς νίκης ἀπώνητο, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσδιεφθάρη μετά τε τοῦ Ταρκονδιμότου καὶ μετ' ἄλλων πολλῶν.

3 Ὁ οὖν Ἀντώνιος διά τε τοῦτο, καὶ ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπανελθὼν ἱππομαχίᾳ τινὶ πρὸς τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος προφυλακῆς ἡττήθη, οὐκέτ' ἔγνω δίχα στρατοπεδεύεσθαι,[1] ἀλλ' ἐκλιπὼν τῆς νυκτὸς τὸ πλησίον τῶν ἐναντίων τάφρευμα ἀνεχώρησεν ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ πορθμοῦ, ἔνθα αὐτῷ τὸ πλέον τοῦ 4 στρατοῦ ηὐλίζετο. καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια αὐτόν, ἅτε καὶ τῆς σιτοπομπίας εἰργόμενον, ἐπιλείπειν ἤρχετο, διαγνώμην ἐποιήσατο πότερον κατὰ χώραν μείναντες διακινδυνεύσωσιν ἢ μεταστάντες που χρόνῳ τὸν πόλεμον διενέγκωσιν.

[1] δίχα στρατοπεδεύεσθαι Bk., διαστρατοπεδεύεσθαι VM.

had been sent into Macedonia and Thrace to secure mercenaries, would espouse Caesar's cause, and he set out to overtake them, pretending that he wished to render them assistance in case any hostile force should attack them. And in the meantime a naval battle occurred. Lucius Tarius,[1] it seems, was anchored with a few ships opposite Sosius, who hoped to achieve a notable success by attacking him before the arrival of Agrippa, to whom the whole fleet had been entrusted. Accordingly, Sosius waited for a thick mist, so that Tarius should not beforehand become aware of his numbers and flee, and suddenly sailed out just before dawn and immediately at the first assault routed his opponent and pursued him, but failed to capture him; for Agrippa by chance met Sosius on the way, so that he not only gained nothing from the victory, but perished,[2] together with Tarcondimotus and many others.

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Now, because of this reverse and because Antony himself on his return had been defeated in a cavalry battle by Caesar's advance guard, he decided not to let his men encamp thereafter in two different places, and so during the night he left the intrenchments which were near his opponents and retired to the other side of the narrows, where the larger part of his army was encamped. And when provisions also began to fail him because he was shut off from bringing in grain, he held a council to deliberate whether they should remain where they were and hazard an encounter or should move somewhere else

[1] L. Tarius Rufus.

[2] If the text is correct, Dio here is guilty of a singular error, inasmuch as he later in two different places (li. 2, 4, and lvi. 38, 2) agrees with our other authorities in naming Sosius as one of those later pardoned by Octavian.

15 εἰπόντων δὲ ἄλλων ἄλλα ἐνίκησεν ἡ Κλεοπάτρα, τά τε ἐπικαιρότατα τῶν χωρίων φρουραῖς παραδοθῆναι καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον μεθ' ἑαυτῶν ἀπᾶραι συμβουλεύσασα. ταύτην γὰρ τὴν γνώμην ἔσχεν, ἐπειδὴ ὑπὸ σημείων ἐταράχθη. 2 χελιδόνες τε γὰρ περί τε τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτῆς καὶ ἐν τῇ νηὶ τῇ στρατηγίδι, ἐφ' ἧς ἐπέπλει, ἐνεόττευσαν, καὶ γάλα αἷμά τε ἐκ κηροῦ[1] ἐρρύη· τάς τε εἰκόνας αὐτῶν, ἃς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει τὸ τῶν θεῶν σχῆμα ἐχούσας ἔστησαν, κεραυνοὶ 3 ἐς τὸ θέατρον κατήραξαν. ἔκ τε οὖν τούτων καὶ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ στρατεύματος καὶ ἀθυμίας ἐπ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀρρωστίας ἡ Κλεοπάτρα αὐτή τε ἔδεισε καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐξεφόβησεν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ κρύφα, ἢ καὶ φανερῶς ὡς καὶ φεύγοντες, ἐκπλεῦσαι, μὴ καὶ ἐς δέος τοὺς συμμάχους ἐμβάλωσιν, ἠθέλησαν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν παρασκευαζόμενοι,[2] ἵνα ἅμα, ἄν τι ἀνθίστηται, βιάσωνται τὸν ἔκ-4 πλουν. κἀκ τούτου πρῶτον μὲν τὰ ἄριστα τῶν σκαφῶν, ἐπειδὴ ἐλάττους οἱ ναῦται ἔκ τε τῆς φθορᾶς καὶ ἐκ τῆς αὐτομολίας ἐγεγόνεσαν, ἐπιλεξάμενοι τὰ λοιπὰ κατέπρησαν, ἔπειτα δὲ νύκτωρ πάντα τὰ τιμιώτατα λαθραίως[3] ἐς αὐτὰς ἐσεφόρησαν. ἐπειδή τε ἕτοιμα ἦν, συνεκάλεσεν ὁ Ἀντώνιος τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ εἶπε τοιάδε·

16 "Ὅσα μὲν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ προσῆκον ἦν ἐκπορισθῆναι πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, πάνθ' ἱκανῶς, ὦ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, προπαρεσκεύασται. καὶ γὰρ πλῆθος πολὺ ὑμῶν ἐστι, πᾶν ὅ τι περ ἄνθος καὶ παρὰ τῶν

[1] κηροῦ R. Steph., κηροὺς VM.
[2] παρασκευαζόμενοι Zon., παρασκευασόμενοι VM.
[3] λαθραίως Reim., λάθραι ὡς M, λάθρα ὡς V.

and protract the war. After various opinions had been expressed by different men, Cleopatra prevailed with her advice that they should entrust the best strategic positions to garrisons, and that the rest should depart with herself and Antony to Egypt. She had reached this opinion as the result of being disturbed by omens. For swallows had built their nests about her tent and on the flagship, on which she was sailing, and milk and blood together had dripped from beeswax; also the statues of herself and Antony in the guise of gods, which the Athenians had placed on their Acropolis, had been hurled down by thunderbolts into the theatre. In consequence of these portents and of the resulting dejection of the army, and of the sickness prevalent among them,[1] Cleopatra herself became alarmed and filled Antony with fears. They did not wish, however, to sail out secretly, nor yet openly, as if they were in flight, lest they should inspire their allies also with fear, but rather as if they were making preparations for a naval battle, and incidentally in order that they might force their way through in case there should be any resistance. Therefore they first chose out the best of the vessels and burned the rest, since the sailors had become fewer by death and desertion; next they secretly put all their most valuable possessions on board by night. Then when the ships were ready, Antony called his soldiers together and spoke as follows:

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"The preparations for the war which it was my duty to attend to have all been adequately made, soldiers, in advance. First, there is your immense throng, all the chosen flower of our dependents and

[1] Cf. chap. 12 (end).

ὑπηκόων καὶ παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων ἐξειλεγμένον· καὶ παντὸς εἴδους μάχης, ὅσα γε καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν νομίζεται, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον[1] χειροτέχναι ἐστὲ ὥστε καὶ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἕκαστοι φοβεροὶ τοῖς ἀντιπάλοις 2 εἶναι. ὁρᾶτε[2] δέ που καὶ αὐτοὶ ὅσον μὲν καὶ οἷον ναυτικὸν ἔχομεν, ὅσους δὲ καὶ οἵους ὁπλίτας ἱππέας σφενδονήτας πελταστὰς τοξότας ἱπποτοξότας· ὧν τὰ μὲν πλείω οὐδ' ὑπάρχει ἀρχὴν τοῖς ἐναντίοις, ὅσα δὲ κέκτηνται, πολὺ ἐλάττονα 3 καὶ ἀσθενέστερα τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐστί. καὶ μὴν καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐκείνοις μὲν ὀλίγα καὶ ταῦτα ἐκ συντελείας βιαίου πεπορισμένα οὔτ' ἂν ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐξαρκέσειεν ἄν, καὶ τοὺς συνεσενηνοχότας αὐτὰ οἰκειοτέρους ἡμῖν ἢ τοῖς λαβοῦσι πεποίηκεν εἶναι, ὥστε μήτ' ἄλλως εὐνοϊκῶς σφας αὐτοῖς[3] ἔχειν καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ στασιάζειν· ἡμῖν δὲ ἐκ περιουσίας παρεσκευασμένα οὔτε λελύπηκέ τινα καὶ πάντας ἡμᾶς ὠφελήσει.

17 "Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τοσούτοις τε καὶ τοιούτοις οὖσιν ὤκνησα μὲν ἄλλως αὐτὸς περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ σεμνόν τι εἰπεῖν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ τοῦθ' ἓν τῶν πρὸς τὸ τοῦ πολέμου κράτος φερόντων ἐστὶ καὶ μέγιστόν γε παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις εἶναι πεπίστευται, λέγω δὲ τὸ καὶ[4] στρατηγοῦ τινος ἀρίστου τοὺς καλῶς 2 πολεμήσοντας τυχεῖν, ἀναγκαιότατόν μοι τὸν περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ λόγον αὐτὴ[5] ἡ χρεία πεποίηκεν, ἵν' ἔτι μᾶλλον εἰδῆτε τοῦθ', ὅτι αὐτοί τε τοιοῦτοί ἐστε οἷοι καὶ ἄνευ ἄρχοντος ἀγαθοῦ νικᾶν, καὶ ἐγὼ τοιοῦτος

[1] ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον Bk., καὶ τοσοῦτοι VM.
[2] ὁρᾶτε R. Steph., ὁρᾶται VM.
[3] αὐτοῖς Oddey, αὐτοὺς VM.
[4] τὸ καὶ Bk., καὶ τὸ VM.
[5] αὐτὴ Bk., αὕτη VM.

allies; and to such a degree are you masters of every form of combat that is in vogue among us that each of you, unsupported, is formidable to your adversaries. Again, you yourselves surely see how large and how fine a fleet we have, and how many fine hoplites, cavalry, slingers, peltasts, archers, and mounted archers. Most of these arms are not found at all on the other side, and those that they have are much fewer and far less powerful than ours. Moreover, their funds are scanty, and that, too, though they have been raised by forced contributions and cannot last long, and at the same time they have rendered the contributors better disposed toward us than toward the men who took their money; hence the population is in no way favourable to them, and is on the point of open revolt besides. Our resources, on the other hand, drawn as they have been from our accumulations, have caused no one person to feel aggrieved, and will aid us all collectively.

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"In addition to these considerations, numerous and important as they are, I hesitate on general principles to add anything personal concerning myself by way of boasting; yet since this, too, is one of the factors which contribute to victory in war, and in the opinion of all men is of supreme importance,—I mean that men who are to wage war successfully must also have an excellent general,—necessity itself has rendered quite inevitable what I shall say about myself, in order that you may realize even better than you do this truth, that you yourselves are the kind of soldiers that could win even without a good leader, and

οἷος καὶ μετὰ κακῶν στρατιωτῶν κρατεῖν δύνασθαι.
3 τήν τε γὰρ ἡλικίαν ταύτην ἄγω ἐν ᾗ καὶ μάλιστα ἄνθρωποι καὶ τῷ σώματι καὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ ἀκμάζουσι, καὶ μήτε τῇ τῆς νεότητος προπετείᾳ μήτε τῇ τοῦ γήρως ἐκλύσει κακύνονται, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τὸ μέσον ἑκατέρου ἔχοντες ἔρρωνται τὰ μάλιστα·
4 καὶ προσέτι τοιαύτῃ μὲν φύσει τοιαύτῃ δὲ καὶ παιδείᾳ κέχρημαι ὥστε καὶ γνῶναι πάντα τὰ προσήκοντα καὶ εἰπεῖν ῥᾷστα δύνασθαι. τήν τε ἐμπειρίαν, ἥπερ που καὶ τοὺς ἀνοήτους καὶ τοὺς ἀπαιδεύτους λόγου τινὸς ἀξίους δοκεῖν εἶναι ποιεῖ, διὰ πάντων μὲν τῶν πολιτικῶν πάντων δὲ τῶν
5 στρατιωτικῶν προσείληφα· ἔκ τε γὰρ μειρακίου δεῦρο ἀεὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐξήτασμαι, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἤρχθην πολλὰ δὲ ἦρξα, ἀφ' ὧν τοῦτο μὲν ὅσα τε καὶ οἷα χρὴ προστάσσειν, τοῦτο δ' ὅσα καὶ οἷα χρὴ πειθαρχοῦντα πράττειν, μεμάθηκα. ἐφοβή-
6 θην, ἐθάρσησα· ἐξ ὧν τοῦ μὲν τὸ μὴ ῥᾳδίως τι δεδιέναι, τοῦ δὲ τὸ μὴ προχείρως ἀποτολμᾶν εἴθισμαι. εὐτύχησα, ἔπταισα· παρ' ὧν τὸ μήτ' ἀπογιγνώσκειν τι μήθ' ὑπερφρονεῖν ἔχω.

18 "Λέγω δὲ ταῦτα ἐν εἰδόσι, μάρτυρας ὑμᾶς τοὺς ἀκούοντας αὐτῶν ποιούμενος, οὐχ ἵν' ἄλλως τι περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ κομπάσαιμι (ἱκανὸν γάρ μοι πρὸς εὔκλειαν τὸ συνειδὸς ὑμῶν ὑπάρχει) ἀλλ' ἵνα καὶ ἐκ τούτων καταμάθητε ὅσῳ βέλτιον τῶν ἐναντίων
2 παρεσκευάσμεθα. ἐλαττούμενοι γὰρ ἡμῶν καὶ τῷ

that I am the kind of leader that could prevail even with poor soldiers. For I am at that age when men are at their very prime, both in body and in mind, and are hampered neither by the rashness of youth nor by the slackness of old age, but are at their strongest, because they occupy the mean between these two extremes. Moreover, I have the advantage of such natural gifts and of such a training that I can with the greatest ease make the right decision in every case and give it utterance. As regards experience, which, as you know, causes even the ignorant and the uneducated to appear to be of some value, I have been acquiring that through my whole political and my whole military career. For from boyhood down to the present moment I have continually trained myself in these matters; I have been ruled much and have ruled much, and thereby I have learned, on the one hand, all the tasks of whatever kind the leader must impose, and, on the other, all the duties of whatever kind the subordinate must obediently perform. I have known fear, I have known confidence; thereby I have schooled myself, through the one, not to be afraid of anything too readily, and, through the other, not to venture on any hazard too heedlessly. I have known good fortune, I have known failure; consequently I am able to avoid both despair and excess of pride. B.C. 31

"I speak to you who know that what I say is true, and make you who hear it my witnesses to its truth, not with the intention of uttering idle boasts about myself,—enough for me, so far as fame is concerned, is your consciousness of it,—but to the end that you may in this way bring home to yourselves how much better we are equipped than our opponents. For

πλήθει τῶν τε στρατιωτῶν ἅμα καὶ τῶν χρημάτων καὶ τῷ πολυειδεῖ τῆς παρασκευῆς, οὐδενὶ τῶν πάντων τοσοῦτον ἐλλείπουσιν ὅσον τῇ τε ἡλικίᾳ καὶ τῇ ἀπειρίᾳ τοῦ στρατηγοῦντος αὐτῶν. περὶ οὗ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οὐδὲν δέομαι καθ' ἕκαστον ἀκριβῶς 3 εἰπεῖν, κεφαλαιώσας δὲ ἐρῶ τοῦτο ὃ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε, ὅτι τε ἀρρωστότατος τῷ σώματί ἐστι, καὶ ὅτι οὐδεμίαν πώποτε ἐπιφανῆ μάχην οὔτε ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ οὔτε ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ αὐτὸς νενίκηκεν. ἀμέλει καὶ ἐν τοῖς Φιλίπποις ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἀγῶνι ἐγὼ μὲν ἐκράτησα ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἡττήθη.[1]

4 "Τοσοῦτον μὲν ἀλλήλων διαφέρομεν, τὰ δὲ δὴ πολλὰ τῶν ἄμεινον παρεσκευασμένων καὶ αἱ νῖκαι γίγνονται. εἰ δ' οὖν τινα καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἰσχὺν ἔχουσιν, ἀλλ' ἔν τε τῷ ὁπλιτικῷ καὶ κατὰ τὴν γῆν εὕροιτ' ἂν αὐτὴν οὖσαν, ταῖς δὲ δὴ ναυσὶν οὐδ' ἀνταραι 5 τὸ παράπαν ἡμῖν δυνήσονται. ὁρᾶτε γάρ που καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ πάχος τῶν ἡμετέρων σκαφῶν, ὥστε εἰ καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἰσοπαλεῖς αὐταῖς ἐκεῖναι ἦσαν, ἀλλ' ὑπό γε τούτων οὐδὲν ἂν οὔτε ταῖς ἐμβολαῖς οὔτε ταῖς προσβολαῖς[2] ἐκακούργησαν· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἡ παχύτης τῶν ξύλων, τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ τὸ ὕψος τῶν νεῶν, καὶ εἰ μηδεὶς ἀπ' αὐτῶν 6 ἠμύνετο, πάντως ἂν ἐπέσχε. ποῦ δὴ καὶ τοξοτῶν καὶ σφενδονητῶν τοσούτων ἐπιπλεόντων, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων ἄνωθεν αὐτῶν ἐφικνουμένων, δυνήσεταί τίς σφισι προσμῖξαι; εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ πλησιάσειέ τις, πῶς μὲν οὐκ ἂν[3] ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν κωπῶν βαπτισθείη, πῶς δ' οὐκ

[1] ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἡττήθη M, αὐτὸς δὲ ἡττήθην V.
[2] προσβολαῖς Rk., προβολαῖς VM.
[3] οὐκ ἂν Bk., ἂν οὐχ M, οὐχ V.

while they are inferior to us not only in number of troops and in abundance of money, but also in diversity of equipment, yet in no one respect are they so lacking as in the youth and inexperience of their commander. About his deficiencies in general I do not need to speak precisely or in detail, but I will sum up the whole matter and say, what you also know, that he is a veritable weakling in body and has never by himself been victor in any important battle either on the land or on the sea. Indeed, at Philippi, in one and the same conflict, it was I that conquered and he that was defeated.

B.C. 31

"So great is the difference between us two; but, as a rule, it is those who have the better equipment that secure the victories. Now if our opponents have any strength at all, you will find it to exist in their heavy-armed force and on land; as for their ships, they will not even be able to sail out against us at all. For you yourselves, of course, see the length and beam of our vessels, which are such that even if the enemy's were a match for them in number, yet because of these advantages on our side they could do no damage either by charging bows-on or by ramming our sides. For in the one case the thickness of our timbers, and in the other the very height of our ships, would certainly check them, even if there were no one on board to ward them off. Where, indeed, will anyone find a chance to assail ships which carry so many archers and slingers, who have the further advantage of striking their assailants from the towers aloft? But if anyone should manage to come up close, how could he fail to get sunk by the very number of our oars, or how could he fail to

ἂν ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν τε ἀπὸ τῶν καταστρωμάτων καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων βαλλόμενος καταποντωθείη; μὴ γάρ, ὅτι περὶ Σικελίαν Ἀγρίππας ἐναυκράτησε, παρὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀρετὴν αὐτοὺς ναυτικὴν ἔχειν ἡγεῖσθε· οὔτε γὰρ πρὸς τὸν Σέξτον ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς δούλους αὐτοῦ, οὔτε πρὸς ὁμοίαν ἡμῖν ἀντιπαρασκευὴν ἀλλὰ πρὸς πολὺ διάφορον ἠγωνίσαντο. εἴ τέ τις τὴν εὐτυχίαν αὐτῶν ἐκείνην ἐν μεγάλῳ τιθείη, δίκαιός ἐστι καὶ τὴν ἧτταν τὴν αὐτοῦ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἣν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ[1] Σέξτου ἐνικήθη, ἀντιλογίσασθαι· καὶ οὕτως οὐχ ὅπως ἴσα πρὸς ἴσα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολὺ πλείω καὶ κρείττω πάντα τὰ ἡμέτερα τῶν ἐκείνοις ὑπαρχόντων εὑρήσει. τὸ δ' ὅλον, πόστην μὲν ἡ Σικελία μερίδα τῆς ἄλλης ἀρχῆς, πόστην δὲ ἡ τοῦ Σέξτου δύναμις τῆς ἡμετέρας παρασκευῆς εἶχεν, ὥστε τινὰ εἰκότως ἂν τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος, τὰ αὐτὰ ἐκεῖνα ὄντα καὶ μήτε πλείω μήτ' ἀμείνω γεγονότα, καταδεῖσαι μᾶλλον ἐξ ὧν ηὐτύχησεν ἢ θαρσῆσαι ἐξ ὧν ἔπταισεν. ὅθεν που καὶ ἐγὼ ταῦτα λογιζόμενος οὐκ ἠθέλησα τῷ πεζῷ προαποκινδυνεῦσαι, ἐν ᾧ δὴ δοκοῦσι τρόπον τινὰ ἰσχύειν, ἵνα μηδεὶς ὑμῶν πταίσματός τινος ἐν ἐκείνῳ γενομένου ἀθυμήσῃ, ἀλλὰ ταῖς ναυσίν, αἷς κράτιστοί τε ἐσμὲν καὶ παμπληθὲς αὐτῶν περίεσμεν, ἵν' ἐν ταύταις κρατήσαντες καὶ τοῦ πεζοῦ σφων καταφρονήσωμεν. εὖ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο ἴστε, ὅτι πᾶσα ἡ τοῦ πολέμου ῥοπὴ ἐντεῦθεν ἐκ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ἀμφοτέροις ἡμῖν ἤρτηται· κἂν τούτῳ περιγενώμεθα, οὐδὲν ἔτι δεινὸν οὐδ'[2]

[1] τοῦ supplied by Bk.
[2] οὐδ' Bk., οὔθ' VM.

be sent to the bottom when shot at by all the warriors on our decks and in our towers? Do not imagine, now, that they possess any particular seamanship just because Agrippa won a naval battle off Sicily; for they contended, not against Sextus, but against his slaves, not against a like equipment with ours, but against one far inferior. And if anyone is inclined to make much of their good fortune in that combat, he is bound to reckon on the other side the defeat which Caesar himself suffered at the hands of Sextus himself; in this way he will find, not merely that our chances are equal, but that all the considerations on our side are far more numerous and far better than on theirs. In a word, how large a part does Sicily form of the whole empire, and how large a fraction of our force did the troops of Sextus possess, that anyone should reasonably fear Caesar's armament, which is precisely the same as before and has grown neither larger nor better, merely because of his good luck, rather than take courage because of his defeat? It is precisely in view of these considerations, therefore, that I have not cared to risk a first engagement with the infantry, where they appear to have strength in a way, in order that no one of you should become disheartened as the result of a reverse in that arm; instead, I have chosen to begin with the ships, where we are strongest and have a vast superiority over our antagonists, in order that after a victory with these we may scorn their infantry also. For you know well that the turn of the scale in this war depends for both sides entirely upon just this—I mean our fleets; for if we come out victorious with this arm we shall thenceforth suffer no harm from any of their

B.C. 31

ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων πεισόμεθα, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν νησιδίῳ τινὶ αὐτούς, ἅτε πάντων τῶν πέριξ ἡμετέρων ὄντων, ἀπειληφότες ἀκονιτί, κἂν μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ, τῷ γε λιμῷ χειρωσόμεθα.

20 "Καὶ μὴν ὅτι οὐχ[1] ὑπὲρ μικρῶν οὐδ'[2] ὑπὲρ φαύλων τινῶν ἀγωνιούμεθα, ἀλλ' ὥστε προθυμηθέντες μὲν τῶν μεγίστων τυχεῖν ἀμελήσαντες δὲ τὰ δεινότατα παθεῖν, οὐδὲ λόγου προσδεῖν 2 ἡγοῦμαι. τί γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἡμᾶς, ἄν γε καὶ κρατήσωσιν, ἐργάσαιντο, πάντας μὲν ὡς εἰπεῖν τοὺς μετὰ τοῦ Σέξτου τῶν ἐλλογίμων γενομένους ἀπεκτονότες, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν μετὰ τοῦ Λεπίδου 3 συναραμένων σφίσιν ἀπολωλεκότες; καὶ τί λέγω ταῦτα, ὁπότε καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Λέπιδον, μήτε τι ἀδικήσαντα καὶ προσέτι καὶ συμμαχήσαντα αὐτοῖς, τῆς τε ἡγεμονίας ἁπάσης παραλελύκασι καὶ ὥσπερ τινὰ αἰχμάλωτον ἐν φρουρᾷ ἔχουσι, καὶ τούς τε ἐξελευθέρους πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ προσέτι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς τὰ χωρία κεκτημένους ἠργυρολογήκασιν οὕτως ὥστε καὶ ἐς ὅπλα τινὰς αὐτῶν ἐλθεῖν ἀναγκάσαι, κἀκ τούτου 4 συχνοὺς φθεῖραι; ἀλλ' ἔστιν ὅπως φείσονται[3] ἡμῶν οἱ τῶν συμμάχων μὴ πεφεισμένοι; ἀφέξονται τῶν ἡμετέρων οἱ τὰ τῶν οἰκείων δεδασμολογηκότες; φιλανθρωπεύσονταί τι νικήσαντες οἱ καὶ πρὶν κρατῆσαι τί[4] πεποιηκότες; καὶ ἵνα γε μὴ πάντα τὰ τῶν ἄλλων λέγων διατρίβω, ἀλλ' αὐτὰ 5 τὰ ἐς ἡμᾶς αὐτοῖς τετολμημένα καταλέξω, τίς μὲν οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι κοινωνὸς ἐγὼ καὶ συνάρχων τοῦ

[1] ὅτι οὐχ Reim., οὐχ ὅτι VM. [2] οὐδ' Bk., οὔθ' VM.
[3] φείσονται R. Steph., φείσωνται VM.
[4] κρατῆσαι τί Xyl., κρατῆσαί τι VM.

other forces either, but shall cut them off on an islet, as it were, since all the regions round about are in our possession, and shall subdue them without trouble, if in no other way, at least by hunger. B.C. 31

"Now I think that there is no further need even of words to show you that we shall be struggling, not for small or insignificant ends, but in a contest such that, if we are zealous, we shall obtain the greatest rewards, and if careless, we shall suffer the most grievous misfortunes. Why, what would they not do to us, if they should prevail, when they have put to death practically all the followers of Sextus who were of any prominence, and have even destroyed many followers of Lepidus though they coöperated with Caesar's party? But why do I mention this, seeing that they have removed from his command altogether Lepidus himself, who was guilty of no wrong and furthermore had been their ally, and keep him under guard as if he were a prisoner of war, and when they have also exacted contributions of money from all the freedmen in Italy and from all the rest likewise who possess any land, going so far as to force some of them actually to resort to arms, and then for that act put large numbers to death? Is it possible that those who have not spared their allies will spare us? Will those who levied tribute upon the property of their own adherents keep their hands from ours? Will they show humanity as victors who, even before gaining supremacy, have committed every conceivable outrage? Not to spend time in speaking of the experience of other people, I will enumerate their acts of insolence toward ourselves. Who does not know that, although I was

Καίσαρος ἀποδειχθείς, καὶ τήν τε προστασίαν τῶν κοινῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου αὐτῷ λαβὼν καὶ τιμῶν καὶ ἀρχῶν τῶν ὁμοίων τυχών, καὶ τοσοῦτον ἤδη χρόνον ἐν αὐταῖς ὤν, πάντων αὐτῶν ὅσον ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ ἐστίν, ἀπεστέρημαι, καὶ ἰδιώτης μὲν ἐξ 6 ἡγεμόνος ἄτιμος δὲ ἐξ ὑπάτου γέγονα, οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου οὐδ' ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς (πῶς γάρ, ὁπότε καὶ ἔφυγον ἄντικρυς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ οἱ ὕπατοι καὶ ἄλλοι τινές, ἵνα μηδὲν τοιοῦτο ψηφίσωνται;) ἀλλ' ὑπό τε αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ὄντων, οἵτινες οὐκ αἰσθάνονται μόναρχον αὐτὸν 7 ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς πρώτους[1] ἀσκοῦντες; ὁ γὰρ τολμήσας τὰς διαθήκας μου ζῶντος, δύναμιν τοσαύτην ἔχοντος, Ἀρμενίους νικῶντος, καὶ ζητῆσαι καὶ βίᾳ τοὺς λαβόντας αὐτὰς ἀφελέσθαι καὶ ἀνοῖξαι καὶ δημοσίᾳ ἀναγνῶναι πῶς ἂν ἢ ὑμῶν ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς 8 φείσαιτο; καὶ ὅ γε τοιοῦτος ἐς ἐμὲ τὸν φίλον τὸν ὁμοτράπεζον τὸν συγγενῆ γεγονὼς πῶς ἂν φιλάνθρωπόν τι πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους, πρὸς οὓς οὐδὲν αὐτῷ συμβόλαιόν ἐστι, ποιήσειεν;

21 "Καὶ μὴν εἰ δεῖ τι τοῖς ἐψηφισμένοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τεκμαίρεσθαι, ὑμῖν μὲν καὶ φανερῶς ἀπειλεῖ (πολεμίους γοῦν ἄντικρυς τοὺς πλείονας ὑμῶν πεποίηται), ἐμοὶ δ' οὐδὲν αὐτῷ τοιοῦτον ἐπήγγελκε, καίτοι καὶ πολεμῶν μοι καὶ πάντα οὐχ ὅπως τὰ τοῦ κεκρατηκότος ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ τοῦ πεφονευκότος με ἤδη ποιῶν. 2 ὥσθ' ὁπότε ἐμέ, ὃν μηδέπω καὶ νῦν πολέμιον ἔχειν προσποιεῖται, τοιαῦτα δέδρακεν, ἥκιστα ἂν ὑμῶν

[1] πρώτους M, πρώτου V.

chosen a partner and colleague of Caesar, and was given the management of public affairs on equal terms with him, and received like honours and offices, in possession of which I have continued for so long a time, yet I have been deprived of them all, so far as lay in his power; I have become a private citizen instead of a commander, disfranchised instead of consul, and this not by the action of the people nor yet of the senate (for how could that be, when the consuls and some other senators went so far as to flee at once from the city in order to escape casting any such vote?), but by the act of this one man and of his adherents, who do not perceive that they are training a sovereign to rule over themselves first of all? Why, the man who dared while I was still alive and in possession of so great power and was conquering the Armenians, to hunt out my will, to take it forcibly from those who had received it, to open it and read it publicly—how, I say, should a man like that spare either you or anybody else? And how will he show any kindness to others to whom he is bound by no tie, when he has shown himself such a man toward me—his friend, his table-companion, his kinsman? B.C. 31

"Now in case we are to draw any inferences from his decrees, he threatens you openly,—at any rate he has made the majority of you enemies outright,—but against me personally no such declaration has been made, though he is at war with me and is already acting in every way like one who has not only conquered me but also murdered me. Hence, when he has treated me in such a way,—me, whom he pretends not even yet at this day to regard as an enemy,—he

ἀπόσχοιτο, οἷς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκπεπολεμῶσθαι σαφῶς
3 ὁμολογεῖ. τί ποτ' οὖν αὐτῷ βούλεται τὸ τὰ μὲν ὅπλα πᾶσιν ὁμοίως ἡμῖν ἐπιφέρειν, ἐν δὲ δὴ τῷ ψηφίσματι τοῖς μὲν πολεμεῖν τοῖς δὲ μὴ φάσκειν; οὐ μὰ Δί' οὐχ ἵνα διαφορότητά τινα ἐν ἡμῖν ἐργάσηται, οὐδ' ἵνα τοῖς μὲν ἄλλως τοῖς δὲ ἄλλως, ἄν γε καὶ κρατήσῃ, χρήσηται, ἀλλ' ἵν' ἡμᾶς στασιάσας συγκρούσῃ καὶ κατὰ τοῦτ' ἀσθενεστέρους
4 ποιήσῃ. οὐ γὰρ ἀγνοεῖ γε[1] ὅτι ὁμοφρονούντων μὲν ἡμῶν καὶ καθ' ἓν πάντα πραττόντων οὐδαμῇ οὐδαμῶς κρείττων ἂν γένοιτο, διενεχθέντων δέ, καὶ τῶν μὲν ταῦτα τῶν δὲ ἐκεῖνα ἑλομένων, τάχ' ἂν κρατήσειε· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοῦτον ἡμῖν τὸν τρόπον προσφέρεται.

22 "Ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ ἐγὼ καὶ οἱ συνόντες μοι Ῥωμαῖοι τόν τε κίνδυνον, καίπερ ἄδειάν τινα τῶν ἐψηφισμένων ἕνεκα ἔχοντες, προορώμεθα καὶ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν αὐτοῦ συνίεμεν, καὶ οὔτε προϊέμεθα ὑμᾶς οὔτ' αὖ ἰδίᾳ τὸ συμφέρον ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς προ-
2 σκοποῦμεν, οὕτω που καὶ ὑμᾶς, οὓς οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἀρνεῖται μὴ οὐκ ἐχθροὺς καὶ ἐχθίστους γε ἡγεῖσθαι, χρὴ πάντα ταῦτ' ἐνθυμηθέντας, καὶ κοινοὺς μὲν τοὺς κινδύνους κοινὰς δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας ποιησαμένους, καὶ συνάρασθαι τὰ πράγματα παντοίως καὶ συσπουδάσαι προθύμως, θέντας[2] παρ' ἄλληλα καὶ ἃ πεισόμεθα, ὥσπερ εἶπον, ἡττηθέν-
3 τες, καὶ ὧν τευξόμεθα κρατήσαντες. μέγα μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὸ μηδὲν μήθ' ὑβριστικὸν μήτε πλεονεκτικὸν ἐλαττωθέντας πῃ ἡμᾶς παθεῖν, μέγιστον δὲ τὸ νικήσαντας πάνθ' ὅσα τις ἂν εὔξαιτο πρᾶξαι.

[1] γε Rk., τε VM.
[2] θέντας Bk., ἐνθυμηθέντας VM.

surely will not keep his hands off you, with whom even he clearly admits that he is at war. What in the world does he mean, then, by threatening us all alike with arms, but in the decree declaring that he is at war with some and not with others? It is not, by Jupiter, with the intention of making any distinction among us, or of treating one class in one way and another in another, if he prevails, but it is in order to set us at variance and bring us in collision, and thus render us weaker. For of course he is not unaware that while we are in accord, and acting as one in everything, he can never in any way get the upper hand, but that if we quarrel, and some choose one policy and the rest another, he may perhaps prevail; and it is for this reason that he acts as he does toward us. B.C. 31

"Just as I, therefore, and the Romans associated with me foresee the danger, in spite of our enjoying a kind of immunity so far as the decrees are concerned, and as we comprehend his plot, and yet neither abandon you nor look privately to our own advantage, in like manner you, too, whom even he himself does not deny that he regards as hostile, yes, most hostile, ought to bear in mind all these facts, and counting both our dangers and our hopes as common to us all, you should coöperate in every way in what we have to do and eagerly share in our zeal, balancing against each other what we shall suffer (as I have explained) if defeated, and what we shall gain if victorious. For while it is a great thing for us just to escape being the victims of insult and greed, if by any chance we are defeated, yet it is greatest of all to conquer and thus to be able to accomplish all

αἴσχιστον δὲ τοσούτους καὶ τοιούτους ὄντας, καὶ ὅπλα καὶ χρήματα καὶ ναῦς καὶ ἵππους ἔχοντας, τὰ χείρονα ἀντὶ τῶν ἀμεινόνων ἑλέσθαι, καὶ παρὸν καὶ ἐκείνοις τὴν ἐλευθερίαν παρασχεῖν, συνδου- 4 *λεῦσαι μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς ἐθελῆσαι. τοσοῦτον γάρ που διαφέρομεν ἀλλήλων ὥσθ' ὁ μὲν καὶ ὑμῶν μοναρχῆσαι ἐπιθυμεῖ, ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ἐκείνους ἐλευθερῶσαι βούλομαι, καθάπερ που καὶ τοῖς ὅρκοις πεπίστωμαι. ὡς οὖν ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων ὁμοίως ἀγωνιούμενοι, καὶ κοινὰ τὰ ἀγαθὰ πᾶσι κατακτησόμενοι, σπουδάσωμεν, ὦ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, ἔν τε τῷ παραχρῆμα κρατῆσαι καὶ διὰ παντὸς εὐδαιμονῆσαι."*

23 Τοιαῦτά τινα ὁ Ἀντώνιος εἰπὼν πάντας μὲν τοὺς πρώτους τῶν συνόντων οἱ ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἐσεβίβασε, μή τι νεωτερίσωσι καθ' ἑαυτοὺς γενόμενοι, ὥσπερ ὅ τε Δέλλιος καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς αὐτομολήσαντες, παμπληθεῖς δὲ καὶ τοξότας καὶ σφενδονήτας 2 καὶ ὁπλίτας ἀνεβιβάσατο· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τῷ τε μεγέθει τῶν τοῦ Καίσαρος νεῶν καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἐπιβατῶν αὐτοῦ ὁ Σέξτος οὐχ ἥκιστα ἥττητο, τά τε σκάφη κατεσκεύασε πολὺ τῶν ἐναντίων ὑπερέχοντα (τριήρεις μὲν γὰρ ὀλίγας, τετρήρεις δὲ καὶ δεκήρεις καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τὰ διὰ μέσου πάντα ἐξε-3 ποίησε) καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὰ πύργους τε ὑψηλοὺς ἐπικατεσκεύασε καὶ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἐπανεβίβασεν, ὥστε καθάπερ ἀπὸ τειχῶν αὐτοὺς μάχεσθαι. Καῖσαρ δὲ καθεώρα μὲν τὴν παρασκευὴν αὐτῶν και εὐτρεπίζετο, μαθὼν δὲ δὴ καὶ τὴν διάνοιάν σφων παρά τε ἄλλων καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Δελλίου συνήγαγε καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ στράτευμα καὶ ἔλεξεν ὧδε·

we have prayed for. On the other hand, it is most disgraceful for us, who are so many and so valiant, who have weapons, money, ships, and horses, to choose the worse instead of the better course, and when it is in our power to confer liberty upon the other side as well as upon ourselves, to prefer to share their slavery with them. Our aims, you must know, are so opposed that, whereas he desires to reign as a sovereign over you, I wish to free them as well as you, and this indeed I have confirmed by oath. Therefore, as men who are to struggle for both sides alike and to win blessings in which all will share, let us earnestly strive, soldiers, to prevail at the present moment and to gain happiness for all time." B.C. 31

After speaking to this effect Antony put all his most prominent associates on board the ships, to prevent them from beginning any mutiny if left by themselves, as Dellius and some other deserters had done; he also embarked great numbers of archers, slingers, and heavy-armed troops. For seeing that the size of Caesar's ships and the number of his marines were chiefly responsible for the defeat of Sextus, Antony had built his vessels much higher in the water than those of his opponents, constructing only a few triremes, but instead some ships with four and some with ten banks of oars, and all the remainder in between these two; upon these he had built lofty towers, and he had put aboard a large number of men, who could thus fight from walls, as it were. Caesar, for his part, was observing their equipment and making his preparations, and when he learned from Dellius and others their intention, he also assembled his army and spoke to this effect:

24 "'Ορῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, καὶ ἐξ ὧν ἀκοῇ μεμάθηκα καὶ ἐξ ὧν ἔργῳ πεπείραμαι, τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ μέγιστα τῶν πολεμικῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ πάντων τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις πραγμάτων, τοῖς τά τε δικαιότερα καὶ τὰ εὐσεβέστερα καὶ φρονοῦσι καὶ πράττουσι κατορθούμενα, τοῦτό που καὶ αὐτὸς οὐχ 2 ἥκιστα ἐννοῶ καὶ ὑμῖν παραινῶ προσκοπεῖν. καὶ γὰρ εἰ τὰ[1] μάλιστα καὶ πολλὴν καὶ μεγάλην ἰσχύν, ἀφ' ἧς ἄν τις καὶ τὰ ἧττον δίκαια προελόμενος κρατήσειν ἐλπίσειεν, ἔχομεν, ὅμως πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ πολέμου ὑποθέσει ἢ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ 3 θαρσῶ. τὸ γάρ τοι Ῥωμαίους τε ὄντας καὶ τῆς πλείστης καὶ ἀρίστης οἰκουμένης ἄρχοντας καταφρονεῖσθαι καὶ καταπατεῖσθαι πρὸς γυναικὸς Αἰγυπτίας ἀνάξιον μὲν τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν τῶν τὸν Πύρρον τὸν Φίλιππον τὸν Περσέα τὸν Ἀντίοχον καθελόντων, τῶν τοὺς Νουμαντίνους τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἀναστησάντων, τῶν τοὺς Κίμβρους[2] 4 τοὺς Ἄμβρωνας κατακοψάντων, ἀνάξιον δὲ καὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν τῶν τοὺς Γαλάτας κατεστραμμένων, τῶν τοὺς Παννονίους κεχειρωμένων, τῶν μέχρι τοῦ Ἴστρου προκεχωρηκότων, τὸν Ῥῆνον διαβεβηκό5 των, ἐς Βρεττανίαν πεπεραιωμένων. πῶς μὲν γὰρ οὐ μέγα ἂν ἀλγήσειαν πάντες ἐκεῖνοι οἱ τὰ προειρημένα κατειργασμένοι,[3] εἰ αἴσθοιντο ἡμᾶς ὀλέθρῳ γυναικὶ[4] ὑποπεπτωκότας; πῶς δ' οὐκ ἂν ἡμεῖς μεγάλως ἀσχημονήσαιμεν, εἰ πάντων ἀρετῇ πανταχοῦ περιόντες ἔπειτα τὰς τούτων ὕβρεις

[1] εἰ τὰ Bk., ὅτι VM.
[2] κίμβρους M, κίμβρους τῶν V.
[3] κατειργασμένοι R. Steph., κατεργασμένοι VM.
[4] γυναικὶ M, om. V.

"Observing, soldiers, both from what I have learned by hearsay and from what I have proved by experience, that almost all and the greatest undertakings of warfare, or rather, I may say, the undertakings of men without exception, turn out in favour of those whose thoughts and acts are upon the higher level of justice and reverence for the gods, I have myself taken to heart this truth above all others, and I advise you also to have regard for it. For even if we possess ever so vast and mighty a force, such that even a man who chose the less just of two courses might expect to win with its aid, nevertheless I base my confidence far more upon the causes underlying the war than upon such a force. For that we who are Romans and lords of the greatest and best portion of the world should be despised and trodden under foot by an Egyptian woman is unworthy of our fathers, who overthrew Pyrrhus, Philip, Perseus, and Antiochus, who drove the Numantians and the Carthaginians from their homes, who cut down the Cimbri and the Ambrones; it is unworthy also of ourselves, who have subjugated the Gauls, subdued the Pannonians, advanced as far as the Ister, crossed the Rhine, and passed over the sea into Britain. Would not all those who have performed the exploits I have named grieve mightily if they should learn that we had succumbed to an accursed woman? Should we not be acting most disgracefully if, after surpassing all men everywhere in valour, we should then meekly bear the

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6 πρᾴως φέροιμεν, οἵτινες, ὦ Ἡράκλεις, Ἀλεξανδρεῖς τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι ὄντες (τί γὰρ ἂν ἄλλο τις αὐτοὺς χεῖρον ἢ ἀληθέστερον εἰπεῖν ἔχοι;) καὶ τὰ μὲν ἑρπετὰ καὶ τἆλλα θηρία ὥσπερ τινὰς θεοὺς θεραπεύοντες, τὰ δὲ σώματα τὰ σφέτερα ἐς δόξαν 7 ἀθανασίας ταριχεύοντες, καὶ θρασύνασθαι μὲν προπετέστατοι ἀνδρίσασθαι δὲ ἀσθενέστατοι ὄντες, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον γυναικὶ ἀντ' ἀνδρὸς δουλεύοντες, ἐτόλμησαν τῶν τε ἡμετέρων ἀγαθῶν ἀντιποιήσασθαι καὶ δι' ἡμῶν αὐτὰ κατακτήσασθαι, ὥστε σφίσιν ἑκουσίους ἡμᾶς τῆς ὑπαρχούσης ἡμῖν 25 εὐδαιμονίας παραχωρῆσαι; τίς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ὀδύραιτο ὁρῶν στρατιώτας Ῥωμαίους δορυφοροῦντας τὴν βασιλίδα αὐτῶν; τίς δ' οὐκ ἂν στενάξειεν ἀκούων ἱππέας καὶ βουλευτὰς Ῥωμαίων κολα-2 κεύοντας αὐτὴν ὥσπερ εὐνούχους; τίς δ' οὐκ ἂν θρηνήσειε καὶ ἀκούων καὶ ὁρῶν αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀντώνιον τὸν δὶς ὕπατον, τὸν πολλάκις αὐτοκράτορα, τὸν τὴν προστασίαν μετ' ἐμοῦ τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιτραπέντα, τὸν τοσαύτας μὲν πόλεις τοσαῦτα δὲ στρα-3 τόπεδα ἐγχειρισθέντα, νῦν πάντα μὲν τὰ πάτρια τοῦ βίου ἤθη ἐκλελοιπότα, πάντα δὲ τἀλλότρια καὶ βαρβαρικὰ ἐζηλωκότα, καὶ ἡμῶν μὲν ἢ τῶν νόμων ἢ τῶν θεῶν τῶν προγονικῶν μηδὲν προτιμῶντα, τὴν δ' ἄνθρωπον ἐκείνην καθάπερ τινὰ Ἶσιν ἢ Σελήνην προσκυνοῦντα, καὶ τούς τε παῖδας 4 αὐτῆς Ἥλιον καὶ Σελήνην ὀνομάζοντα, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον καὶ ἑαυτὸν Ὄσιριν καὶ Διόνυσον ἐπικεκληκότα, κἀκ τούτων, καθάπερ πάσης μὲν τῆς γῆς πάσης δὲ τῆς θαλάσσης κυριεύοντα, καὶ νήσους ὅλας καὶ τῶν ἠπείρων τινὰ κεχαρισμένον; 5 ἄπιστα μὲν εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι καὶ θαυμαστὰ ταῦθ' ὑμῖν,

insults of this throng, who, oh heavens! are Alexandrians and Egyptians (what worse or what truer name could one apply to them?), who worship reptiles and beasts as gods, who embalm their own bodies to give them the semblance of immortality, who are most reckless in effrontery but most feeble in courage, and who, worst of all, are slaves to a woman and not to a man, and yet have dared to lay claim to our possessions and to use us to help them acquire them, expecting that we will voluntarily give up to them the prosperity which we possess? Who would not lament at seeing Roman soldiers acting as bodyguards of their queen? Who would not groan at hearing that Roman knights and senators fawn upon her like eunuchs? Who would not weep when he both hears and sees Antony himself, the man twice consul, often *imperator*, to whom was committed in common with me the management of the public business, who was entrusted with so many cities, so many legions—when he sees that this man has now abandoned all his ancestors' habits of life, has emulated all alien and barbaric customs, that he pays no honour to us or to the laws or to his fathers' gods, but pays homage to that wench as if she were some Isis or Selene, calling her children Helios and Selene, and finally taking for himself the title of Osiris or Dionysus, and, after all this, making presents of whole islands and parts of the continents, as though he were master of the whole earth and the whole sea? All these things seem marvellous and incredible to you,

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ὦ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, φαίνεται· διὰ τοῦτο δὲ δὴ μᾶλλον ἀγανακτεῖν ὀφείλετε. εἰ γὰρ ἃ μηδ' ἀκούσαντες πιστεύετε, ταῦτ' ὄντως γίγνεται, καὶ ἐφ' οἷς οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις οὐκ ἂν ἀλγήσειε μαθών, ταῦτ' ἐκεῖνος ποιεῖ τρυφῶν, πῶς οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως ὑπεροργισθείητε;

26 "Καίτοι ἔγωγε καὶ τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς οὕτω περὶ αὐτὸν ἐσπούδασα ὥστ' αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας [1] ἡγεμονίας μεταδοῦναι καὶ τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ ἀδελφὴν συνοικίσαι καὶ στρατεύματα χαρίσασθαι· καὶ 2 μετὰ τοῦθ' οὕτως ἐπιεικῶς, οὕτω φιλικῶς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔσχον ὥστε μήθ' ὅτι [2] τὴν ἀδελφήν μου ὕβρισε, μήθ' ὅτι τῶν γεννηθέντων οἱ ἐξ αὐτῆς τέκνων ἠμέλησε, μήθ' ὅτι τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν αὐτῆς προετίμησε, μήθ' ὅτι τοῖς ἐκείνης παισὶ πάνθ' ὡς εἰπεῖν τὰ ὑμέτερα ἐδωρήσατο, μήτε δι' ἄλλο 3 μηδὲν ἐθελῆσαι αὐτῷ πολεμῆσαι. αἴτιον δὲ ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν ἐνόμιζον οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν δεῖν τρόπον πρός τε τὴν Κλεοπάτραν καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον προσφέρεσθαι· ἐκείνην μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀλλοφύλου πολεμίαν εὐθὺς οἷς ἔπραττεν εἶναι, τοῦτον δέ, ἅτε καὶ πολίτην, ἐνδέχεσθαι σω- 4 φρονισθῆναι. ἔπειτα δὲ ἤλπιζον ὅτι εἰ καὶ μὴ ἐθελούσιος, ἀλλ' ἄκων γε ἐκ τῶν ἐπ' ἐκείνῃ ψηφισθέντων μεταγνώσεται. διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα οὐδένα αὐτῷ πόλεμον ἐπήγγειλα· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὑπεριδὼν αὐτὰ καὶ καταφρονήσας οὔτ' ἀφιέντων αὐτῶν ἡμῶν ἀφεθῆναι οὔτ' ἐλεούντων ἐλεηθῆναι βούλεται, ἀλλ' εἴτε ὡς ἀλόγιστος εἴθ' ὡς μαινόμενος 5 (καὶ γὰρ τοῦτ' ἐγὼ ἀκηκοὼς πεπίστευκα, ὅτι

[1] ἡμετέρας R. Steph., ὑμετέρας VM.
[2] ὥστε μήθ' ὅτι Xyl., ὥσθ' ὅτε μήτε VM.

soldiers, as I am well aware, but you ought therefore to be the more indignant. For if that is actually true which you do not believe even when you hear it, and if that man in his luxurious indulgence does commit acts at which anyone would grieve who learns of them, would it not be reasonable that you should go past all bounds in your rage? B.C. 31

"Yet I myself was so devoted to him at the beginning that I gave him a share in our command, married my sister to him, and granted him legions. After that I felt so kindly, so affectionately, towards him, that I was unwilling to wage war on him merely because he had insulted my sister, or because he neglected the children she had borne him, or because he preferred the Egyptian woman to her, or because he bestowed upon that woman's children practically all your possessions, or for any other cause. My reason was, first of all, that I did not think it proper to assume the same attitude toward Antony as toward Cleopatra; for I adjudged her, if only on account of her foreign birth, to be an enemy by reason of her very conduct, but I believed that he, as a citizen, might still be brought to reason. Later I entertained the hope that he might, if not voluntarily, at least reluctantly, change his course as a result of the decrees passed against her. Consequently I did not declare war upon him at all. He, however, has looked haughtily and disdainfully upon my efforts, and will neither be pardoned though we would fain pardon him, nor be pitied though we try to pity him. He is either heedless or mad—for, indeed, I have heard and believed that he has been

ὑπ' ἐκείνης τῆς καταράτου μεμάγευται) τῆς μὲν ἡμετέρας εὐεργεσίας καὶ τῆς παρ' ἡμῶν φιλανθρωπίας οὐδὲν προτιμᾷ, τῇ δὲ γυναικὶ δουλεύων τόν τε πόλεμον καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς αὐθαιρέτους καὶ καθ' ἡμῶν καὶ κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος ἀναιρεῖται, τί λοιπὸν ἄλλο πλὴν ἀμύνασθαι καὶ τοῦτον μετὰ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας *ἡμῖν προσήκει;*

27 "*Μήτ' οὖν* Ῥωμαῖον *εἶναί τις αὐτὸν νομιζέτω, ἀλλά τινα* Αἰγύπτιον, *μήτ'* Ἀντώνιον *ὀνομαζέτω, ἀλλά τινα* Σαραπίωνα· *μὴ ὕπατον, μὴ αὐτοκράτορα γεγονέναι ποτὲ ἡγείσθω, ἀλλὰ γυμνασίαρχον.* 2 *ταῦτα γὰρ ἀντ' ἐκείνων αὐτὸς ἐθελοντὴς ἀνθείλετο, καὶ πάντα τὰ πάτρια σεμνολογήματα ἀπορρίψας εἷς τῶν ἀπὸ* Κανώβου *κυμβαλιστῶν γέγονε. μὴ μέντοι μηδὲ δείσῃ τις αὐτὸν ὡς καὶ ῥοπὴν τῷ* 3 *πολέμῳ παρέξοντα. ἦν μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ πρὶν ἄξιός τινος, ὥς που σαφῶς ἴστε οἱ περὶ* Μούτιναν *αὐτοῦ κεκρατηκότες· εἰ δ' οὖν ποτε καὶ ἐκ τῆς σὺν ἡμῖν*[1] *στρατείας ἀρετήν τινα ἔσχεν, ἀλλ' εὖ ἴσθ' ὅτι νῦν πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ τοῦ βίου μετα-* 4 *βολῇ διέφθαρκεν. ἀδύνατον γάρ ἐστι βασιλικῶς τέ τινα τρυφῶντα καὶ γυναικείως θρυπτόμενον ἀνδρῶδές τι φρονῆσαι καὶ πρᾶξαι, διὰ τὸ πᾶσαν ἀνάγκην εἶναι, οἵοις ἄν τις ἐπιτηδεύμασι συνῇ,* 5 *τούτοις αὐτὸν ἐξομοιοῦσθαι. τεκμήριον δέ, ἕνα πόλεμον ἐν παντὶ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ πεπολεμηκὼς καὶ μίαν στρατείαν πεποιημένος παμπόλλους μὲν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις πολίτας ἀπολώλεκεν, αἴσχιστα δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν* Πραάσπων *ἀποκεχώρηκε, πλείστους*

[1] ἡμῖν V, ὑμῖν M.

bewitched by that accursed woman—and therefore pays no heed to our generosity or kindness, but being a slave to that woman, he undertakes the war and its self-chosen dangers on her behalf against us and against his country. In view of all this, what is left to us but the duty of fighting him, together with Cleopatra, and repelling him? B.C. 31

"Therefore let no one count him a Roman, but rather an Egyptian, nor call him Antony, but rather Serapion; let no one think he was ever consul or *imperator*, but only gymnasiarch. For he has himself, of his own free will, chosen the latter names instead of the former, and casting aside all the august titles of his own land, has become one of the cymbal players from Canopus. Again, let no one fear him on the ground that he will turn the scale of the war. For even in the past he was of no account, as you who conquered him at Mutina know clearly enough. And even if he did at one time attain to some valour through campaigning with us, be well assured that he has now spoiled it utterly by his changed manner of life. For it is impossible for one who leads a life of royal luxury, and coddles himself like a woman, to have a manly thought or do a manly deed, since it is an inevitable law that a man assimilates himself to the practices of his daily life. A proof of this is that in the one war which he has waged in all this long time, and the one campaign that he has made, he caused the death of vast numbers of citizens in the battles, returned in utter disgrace from Praaspa, and lost

6 δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ φυγῇ προσαποβέβληκεν. ὥστ' εἰ μὲν γελοίως πως ὀρχεῖσθαι καὶ κορδακίζειν τινὰ ἡμῶν ἐχρῆν, πάντως ἂν ἔλαττον αὐτοῦ ἠνέγκατο (ταῦτα γὰρ μεμελέτηκεν)· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὅπλων καὶ μάχης δεῖ, τί τις ἂν αὐτοῦ φοβηθείη; τὴν ἀκμὴν τοῦ σώματος; ἀλλὰ παρήβηκε καὶ ἐκτεθήλυνται.[1] τὴν ῥώμην τῆς γνώμης; ἀλλὰ γυναικίζει
7 καὶ ἐκκεκιναίδισται. τὴν εὐσέβειαν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἡμῶν; ἀλλὰ πολεμεῖ καὶ ἐκείνοις καὶ τῇ πατρίδι. τὴν πιστότητα[2] τὴν πρὸς τοὺς συμμάχους; καὶ τίς οὐκ οἶδεν ὅπως τὸν Ἀρμένιον ἐξαπατήσας ἔδησε; τὴν[3] ἐπιείκειαν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς φίλους; καὶ τίς οὐχ ἑόρακε τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κακῶς ἀπολωλότας; τὴν εὐδοξίαν τὴν παρὰ τοῖς στρατιώταις; καὶ τίς οὐχὶ καὶ ἐκείνων αὐτοῦ
8 κατέγνωκε; σημεῖον δὲ ὅτι συχνοὶ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν πρὸς ἡμᾶς μεθίστανται. νομίζω δὲ ἔγωγε ὅτι καὶ πάντες οἱ πολῖται ἡμῶν τοῦτο ποιήσουσιν, ὥσπερ ποτὲ καὶ πρότερον, ὅτε ἐκ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου
9 πρὸς τὴν Γαλατίαν ᾔει. μέχρι μὲν γὰρ πλουτήσειν ἀκινδύνως ἤλπιζον, καὶ μάλα ἄσμενοί τινες αὐτῷ συνῆσαν· μάχεσθαι δὲ δὴ πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοὺς ὁμοφύλους ὑπὲρ τῶν μηδέν σφισι προσηκόντων, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς ἀδεῶς σὺν ἡμῖν[4] καὶ σώζεσθαι καὶ εὐδαιμονεῖν, οὐκ ἐθελήσουσιν.

28 "Ἀλλ' ἐρεῖ τις ὅτι καὶ συμμάχους πολλοὺς καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ ἔχει. οὐκοῦν ὅπως μὲν τοὺς τὴν Ἀσίαν τὴν ἤπειρον οἰκοῦντας νικᾶν εἰώθαμεν, οἶδε μὲν ὁ Σκιπίων ἐκεῖνος ὁ Ἀσιατικός,[5] οἶδε δὲ

[1] ἐκτεθήλυνται Bk., ἐκτεθήλυται VM.
[2] πιστότητα M, πιστοτάτην V.
[3] τὴν Pflugk, τὴν δὲ VM.
[4] ἡμῖν R. Steph., ὑμῖν VM.
[5] ἀσιατικός M, ἀσιανὸς V.

ever so many men besides in his flight. So, then, B.C. 81 if any one of us were called upon to execute a ridiculous dance or to cut a lascivious fling, such a person would surely have to yield the honours to him, since these are the specialities he has practised, but now that the occasion calls for arms and battle, what is there about him that anyone should dread? His physical fitness? But he has passed his prime and become effeminate. His strength of mind? But he plays the woman and has worn himself out with unnatural lust. His piety toward our gods? But he is at war with them as well as with his country. His faithfulness to his allies? But who does not know how he deceived and imprisoned the Armenian? His kindness to his friends? But who has not seen the men who have miserably perished at his hands? His reputation with the soldiers? But who even of them has not condemned him? A sign of this is that numbers daily come over to our side. For my part I think that all our citizens will do this, as on a former occasion when he was on his way from Brundisium to Gaul. So long, to be sure, as they expected to get rich without danger, some were very glad to cleave to him; but they will not care to fight against us, their own countrymen, on behalf of what does not belong to them at all, especially when they may without risk gain both their lives and their happiness by joining us.

"Some one may say, however, that he has many allies and much wealth. But how have we been wont to conquer the inhabitants of the continent of Asia? The famous Scipio Asiaticus can bear witness, or

καὶ ὁ Σύλλας ὁ εὐτυχής, ὁ Λούκουλλος, ὁ Πομπήιος, ὁ Καῖσαρ ὁ πατὴρ ὁ ἐμός, ὑμεῖς[1] αὐτοὶ οἱ τοὺς μετά τε τοῦ Βρούτου καὶ τοῦ Κασσίου
2 στρατευσαμένους κεκρατηκότες. τούτου δὲ δὴ οὕτως ἔχοντος, καὶ τὸν πλοῦτόν σφων ὅσῳ πλείονα ἑτέρων νομίζετε εἶναι, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον σπουδάσατε σφετερίσασθαι· ὑπὲρ γὰρ τῶν μεγίστων ἄθλων μεγίστους καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἄξιόν
3 ἐστι ποιεῖσθαι. καίτοι μεῖζον οὐδὲν ἂν[2] ἄλλο φήσαιμι ὑμῖν προκεῖσθαι τοῦ τὸ ἀξίωμα τὸ τῶν προγόνων διασῶσαι, τοῦ τὸ φρόνημα τὸ οἰκεῖον φυλάξαι, τοῦ τοὺς ἀφεστηκότας ἀφ' ἡμῶν τιμωρήσασθαι, τοῦ τοὺς ὑβρίζοντας ὑμᾶς ἀμύνασθαι, τοῦ πάντων ἀνθρώπων νικήσαντας ἄρχειν, τοῦ μηδεμίαν γυναῖκα περιορᾶν μηδενὶ ἀνδρὶ παρισου-
4 μένην. ἢ πρὸς μὲν Ταυρίσκους καὶ Ἰάπυδας[3] καὶ Δελμάτας καὶ Παννονίους προθυμότατα αὐτοὶ ὑμεῖς οἱ νῦν παρόντες ὑπὲρ ὀλίγων τινῶν τειχῶν καὶ γῆς ἐρήμου πολλάκις ἐμαχέσασθε, καὶ πάντας αὐτοὺς καίτοι πολεμικωτάτους ὁμολογουμένως ὄντας ἐχειρώσασθε, καὶ νὴ Δία καὶ πρὸς Σέξτον ὑπὲρ Σικελίας μόνης καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν τοῦτον τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὑπὲρ Μουτίνης μόνης ὁμοίως ἠγωνί-
5 σασθε, ὥστ' ἀμφοτέρων αὐτῶν κρατῆσαι· πρὸς δὲ δὴ γυναῖκα πᾶσι τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἐπιβουλεύουσαν, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς τὸν τὰ ὑμέτερα τοῖς ἐκείνης παισὶ διαδεδωκότα, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς καλοὺς αὐτῶν ἑταίρους καὶ τραπεζεῖς, οὓς καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκεῖνοι κοπρίας ἀποκαλοῦσιν, ἧττόν τι
6 προθυμηθήσεσθε; διὰ τί; διὰ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν;

[1] ὑμεῖς H. Steph., ἡμεῖς VM. [2] ἂν supplied by St.
[3] Ἰάπυδας Xyl., ἰάπυγας VM.

the fortunate Sulla, or Lucullus, or Pompey, or my father Caesar, or you yourselves, who vanquished the supporters of Brutus and Cassius. This being so, in proportion as you think the wealth of Antony and his allies is so much greater than that of others, you ought to be all the more eager to make it your own; for it is worth while, in order to win the greatest prizes, to wage the greatest contests. And yet I can tell you of no greater prize that is set before you than to maintain the renown of your forefathers, to preserve your own proud traditions, to take vengeance on those who are in revolt against us, to repel those who insult you, to conquer and rule all mankind, to allow no woman to make herself equal to a man. Against the Taurisci and Iapydes and Dalmatians and Pannonians you yourselves who are now present battled most zealously, often to win a few walls and a barren land; and you subdued all these people, though they are admittedly most warlike; yes, by Jupiter, against Sextus also, to win Sicily only, and against this very Antony, to win Mutina only, you carried on similar struggles, and so zealously that you came out victorious over both. And now will you show any less zeal against a woman who has designs upon all your possessions, and against her husband who has distributed to her children all your property, and against their noble associates and table companions whom they themselves stigmatize as 'privy' councillors? Why should you? Because of their number? But

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ἀλλ' οὐδὲν πλῆθος σωμάτων ἀρετῆς κρατεῖ. διὰ τὸ γένος; ἀλλ' ἀχθοφορεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ πολεμεῖν μεμελετήκασι. διὰ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν; ἀλλ' ἐρέττειν μᾶλλον ἢ ναυμαχεῖν ἴσασιν. ἐγὼ μὲν καὶ αἰσχύνομαι ὅτι πρὸς τοιούτους ἀνθρώπους ἀγωνίζεσθαι μέλλομεν, ὧν καὶ κρατήσαντες οὐκ εὐδοκιμήσομεν καὶ ἡττηθέντες ἀσχημονήσομεν.

29 "Μὴ γάρ που τὸ μέγεθος τῶν σκαφῶν αὐτῶν ἢ τὸ πάχος τῶν ξύλων ἀντίπαλον ταῖς ἀρεταῖς ἡμῶν[1] εἶναι νομίζετε. ποία μὲν γὰρ ναῦς αὐτὴ καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἢ ἔτρωσέ τινα ἢ ἀπέκτεινε; πῶς δ' οὐ καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ τε ὕψους καὶ τοῦ πάχους καὶ δυσκινητότεραι ἔσονται τοῖς ἐλαύνουσιν αὐτὰς 2 καὶ ἀπειθέστεραι τοῖς κυβερνῶσι; τί δ' ἂν ὄφελος τοῖς ἀπ' αὐτῶν μαχομένοις γένοιτο μήτε διεκπλεῖν μήτε περιπλεῖν, ἅπερ που ναυμαχίας ἔργα ἐστί, δυναμένοις; οὐ γάρ που πεζομαχεῖν ἡμῖν[2] ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ μέλλουσιν, οὐδ' αὖ ὥσπερ ἐν τείχεσί τισι κατακεκλειμένοι[3] πολιορκηθῆναι παρεσκευάδαται,[4] 3 ἐπεὶ τοῦτό γε καὶ πάνυ πρὸς ἡμῶν[5] ἂν εἴη, λέγω δὲ τὸ πρὸς ξύλινα παραφράγματα προσμῖξαι. ἄν τε γὰρ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καθάπερ ἐμπεπηγυῖαι αἱ νῆες αὐτῶν μένωσιν, ἐξέσται μὲν ἡμῖν τοῖς[6] ἐμβόλοις αὐτὰς[7] ἀναρρηγνύναι, ἐξέσται δὲ καὶ μηχαναῖς πόρρωθεν τιτρώσκειν, ἐξέσται δὲ καὶ 4 πυρφόροις βέλεσι καταπιμπράναι· ἄν τε καὶ κινηθῆναί πῃ τολμήσωσιν, οὔτ' ἂν διώκουσαί τινα καταλάβοιεν οὔτ' ἂν τραπεῖσαι ἐκφύγοιεν, ἀργό-

[1] ἡμῶν Bk., ὑμῶν VM. [2] ἡμῖν H. Steph., ὑμῖν VM.
[3] κατακεκλειμένοι Dind., κατακεκλεισμένοι VM.
[4] παρεσκευάδαται M, παρασκευάδαται V.
[5] πρὸς ἡμῶν Rk., προσῆκον VM. [6] τοῖς M, ταῖς V.
[7] αὐτὰς R. Steph., αὐταῖς VM.

no number of persons can conquer valour. Because of their race? But they have practised carrying burdens rather than warfare. Because of their experience? But they know better how to row than how to fight at sea. I, for my part, am really ashamed that we are going to contend with such creatures, by vanquishing whom we shall gain no glory, whereas if we are defeated we shall be disgraced. B.C. 31

"And surely you must not think that the size of their vessels or the thickness of the timbers of their ships is a match for our valour. What ship ever by itself either wounded or killed anybody? Will they not by their very height and staunchness be more difficult for their rowers to move and less obedient to their pilots? Of what use can they possibly be to the fighting men on board of them, when these men can employ neither frontal assault nor flank attack, manœuvres which you know are essential in naval contests? For surely they do not intend to employ infantry tactics against us on the sea, nor on the other hand are they prepared to shut themselves up as it were in wooden walls and undergo a siege, since that would be decidedly to our advantage—I mean assaulting wooden barriers. For if their ships remain in the same place, as if fastened there, it will be possible for us to rip them open with our beaks, it will be possible, too, to damage them with our engines from a distance, and also possible to burn them to the water's edge with incendiary missiles; and if they do venture to stir from their place, they will not overtake anyone by pursuing nor escape

ται μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς βαρύτητος ἐς τὸ δρᾶσαί τι, ἑτοιμόταται δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγέθους ἐς τὸ παθεῖν οὖσαι.

30 "*Καὶ τί δεῖ πλείω λέγοντα περὶ αὐτῶν διατρίβειν, ὁπότε πολλάκις ἤδη πειραθέντες σφῶν, καὶ περὶ Λευκάδα καὶ ἐνταῦθα πρῴην, οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ἠλαττώθημεν αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πανταχοῦ κρείττους ἐγενόμεθα; ὥστε μὴ τοῖς ἐμοῖς*[1] *λόγοις μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ὑμετέροις αὐτῶν ἔργοις ἐπιρρωσθέντες ἐπιθυμήσατε παντὶ ἤδη τῷ πολέμῳ τέλος ἐπι-* 2 *θεῖναι. εὖ γὰρ ἴστε τοῦθ', ὅτι ἂν καὶ τήμερον αὐτοὺς νικήσωμεν, οὐδὲν ἔτι πρᾶγμα ἕξομεν. ἄλλως τε γὰρ φύσει πᾶν τὸ ἀνθρώπειον, ὅταν ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ἀγῶσι σφαλῇ, καὶ πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ ἀθυμότερον γίγνεται· καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀναμφιλόγως ἐν τῇ γῇ ἀμείνους αὐτῶν ἐσμεν, ὥστε κἂν ἀκεραίων σφῶν* 3 *ὄντων κρατῆσαι. καὶ ταῦθ' οὕτω καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἴσασιν ὥστε (οὐ γὰρ ἀποκρύψομαι ὑμᾶς ὅσα ἀκήκοα) ἀθυμεῖν τε ἐπὶ τοῖς ἤδη γεγονόσι καὶ ἀπογιγνώσκειν κατὰ χώραν μένοντας σωθήσεσθαι, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα διαδρᾶναί τέ πῃ ἐπιχειρεῖν, καὶ τὸν ἔκπλουν τοῦτον οὐχ ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν ἀλλ' ὡς ἐς* 4 *φυγὴν ποιεῖσθαι. καὶ τά γε ἄριστα καὶ τιμιώτατα τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοῖς κτημάτων ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἐντέθειντι, ἵνα, ἂν δυνηθῶσι, μετ' αὐτῶν διαφύγωσιν. ὡς οὖν καὶ ὁμολογοῦντας αὐτοὺς ἀσθενεστέρους ἡμῶν εἶναι, καὶ τὰ ἆθλα τῆς νίκης ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶ φέροντας, μὴ περιίδωμεν ἄλλοσέ ποι πλεύσαντας,*[2] *ἀλλὰ αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ κρατήσαντες πάντα αὐτὰ ἀφελώμεθα.*"

[1] *ἐμοῖς* M, *αὐτοῖς* V.
[2] *πλεύσαντας* Pflugk, *πλεύσοντας* VM.

by fleeing, since they are so heavy that they are entirely too inert to inflict any damage, and so huge that they are exceptionally liable to suffer it. B.C. 31

"Indeed, what need is there to spend time in speaking further of them, when we have already often made trial of them, not only off Leucas but also here just the other day, and so far from proving inferior to them, we have everywhere shown ourselves superior? Hence you should be encouraged not so much by my words as by your own deeds, and should desire to put an end forthwith to the whole war. For be well assured that if we beat them to-day we shall have no further trouble. For in general it is a natural characteristic of human nature everywhere, that whenever a man fails in his first contests he becomes disheartened with respect to what is to come; and as for us, we are so indisputably superior to them on land that we could vanquish them even if they had never suffered any injury. And they are themselves so conscious of this truth—for I am not going to conceal from you what I have heard—that they are discouraged at what has already happened and despair of saving their lives if they stay where they are, and they are therefore endeavouring to make their escape to some place or other, and are making this sally, not with the desire to give battle, but in expectation of flight. In fact, they have placed in their ships the best and most valuable of the possessions they have with them, in order to escape with them if they can. Since, then, they admit that they are weaker than we, and since they carry the prizes of victory in their ships, let us not allow them to sail anywhere else, but let us conquer them here on the spot and take all these treasures away from them."

31 Τοιαῦτα δὲ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ εἶπε. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐβουλεύσατο μὲν παρεξεῖναι αὐτούς, ὅπως φεύγουσί σφισι κατὰ νώτου ἐπίθηται (αὐτός τε γὰρ ταχυναυτῶν διὰ βραχέος σφᾶς αἱρήσειν ἤλπισε, καὶ ἐκείνων ἐκδήλων ὅτι ἐκδρᾶναί πῃ ἐπιχειροῦσι γενομένων ἀμαχεὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐκ τούτου προσ-
2 άξεσθαι προσεδόκησεν), κωλυθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀγρίππου φοβηθέντος μὴ ὑστερήσωσιν αὐτῶν[1] ἱστίοις χρήσεσθαι μελλόντων, καί τι καὶ θαρσήσας ὡς οὐ χαλεπῶς κρατήσων ὅτι ὑετός τε ἐν τούτῳ λάβρος καὶ ζάλη πολλὴ ἔς τε τὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ναυτικὸν μόνον ἐσέπεσε καὶ πᾶν αὐτὸ
3 συνετάραξε, τούτου[2] μὲν ἐπέσχε, παμπόλλους δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς πεζοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐπιβιβάσας, καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἑταίρους ἐς ὑπηρετικὰ ἐμβαλών, ὅπως ἐν τάχει περιπλέοντες τοῖς τε ναυμαχοῦσι τὰ δέοντα παραινέσωσι καὶ ἑαυτῷ τὰ προσήκοντα
4 διαγγέλλωσι, τὸν ἔκπλουν σφῶν ἐπετήρει. καὶ αὐτῶν ἀναχθέντων τε ὑπὸ σάλπιγγος, καὶ πυκναῖς ταῖς ναυσὶν ὀλίγον ἔξω τῶν στενῶν παραταξαμένων καὶ μηδαμῇ προϊόντων, ὥρμησε μὲν ὡς καὶ ἑστῶσί σφισι προσμίξων ἢ καὶ ἀναχωρῆσαί σφας ποιήσων· ἐπεὶ δ' οὔτ' ἀντεξώρμησαν οὔτ' ἀνέστρεψαν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ χώραν ἔμενον καὶ προσέτι
5 καὶ ἰσχυρῶς τῇ συντάξει ἐπεπύκνωντο, ἐν ἀπόρῳ τε ἔσχετο, καὶ τὰς κώπας ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ τοῖς ναύταις καθεῖναι κελεύσας ἀνέσχε χρόνον τινά, καὶ μετὰ

[1] αὐτῶν R Steph., αὐτὸν VM.
[2] τούτου Xyl., τοῦτο VM.

BOOK L

Such were Caesar's words. After this he formed a plan to let them slip by, intending to fall upon them in the rear as they fled, for he hoped on his own part that by swift sailing he should speedily capture Antony and Cleopatra, and expected that then, when they had made it clear that they were attempting to run away, he could in consequence of their act win over the rest without fighting. He was restrained, however, by Agrippa, who feared that they would be too slow for the fugitives, who were going to use sails, and he was also confident himself that he would conquer without difficulty, because in the meantime a violent rainstorm, accompanied by a mighty wind, had struck Antony's fleet, though not his own, and had thrown it utterly into confusion. Hence he abandoned this plan, and following the plan of Antony, put large numbers of infantry on board his ships also, and placed all his friends in auxiliary boats in order that they might quickly sail here and there, giving the necessary advice to the men in action and reporting to him what he ought to know; then he waited for the enemy to sail out. And when they set sail at the sound of the trumpet, and with their ships in dense array drew up their line a little outside the strait and advanced no further, Caesar set out as if to engage with them, if they stood their ground, or even to make them retire. But when they neither came out against him on their side nor turned to retire, but remained where they were, and not only that, but also vastly increased the density of their line by their close formation, Caesar checked his course, in doubt what to do. He then ordered his sailors to let their oars rest in the water, and waited

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τοῦτο τὰ κέρατα ἐξαίφνης ἀμφότερα ἀπὸ σημείου ἐπεξαγαγὼν ἐπέκαμψεν, ἐλπίσας μάλιστα μὲν περιστοιχιεῖσθαί σφας, εἰ δὲ μή, τὴν γοῦν τάξιν 6 *αὐτῶν διαλύσειν. ὁ οὖν Ἀντώνιος φοβηθεὶς τήν τε ἐπίκαμψιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν περίσχεσιν ἀντεπεξηγάγετο ὅσον ἐδύνατο, καὶ ἐς χεῖράς οἱ καὶ ἄκων ἦλθε.*

32 Καὶ *οὕτω συμπεσόντες ἐναυμάχησαν, πολλὰ μὲν παρακελεύσματα*[1] *ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἑκάτεροι καὶ τῆς τέχνης καὶ τῆς προθυμίας ποιούμενοι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ κελεύματα παρὰ τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἠπείρου σφίσιν* 2 *ἐπιβοώντων ἐσακούοντες. ἠγωνίζοντο δὲ οὐχ ὁμοιοτρόπως, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν*[2] *τοῦ* Καίσαρος, *ἅτε καὶ μικροτέρας καὶ ταχυτέρας τὰς ναῦς ἔχοντες, ῥοθίῳ τε ἐχρῶντο καὶ ἐνέβαλλον πεφραγμένοι πάντῃ τοῦ μὴ τιτρώσκεσθαι· καὶ εἰ μὲν κατέδυσάν τινα, εἰ* 3 *δὲ μή, ἀνεκρούοντο πρὶν ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν, καὶ ἤτοι τοῖς αὐτοῖς αὖθις ἐξαίφνης ἐνέβαλλον, ἢ τοὺς μὲν εἴων ἐπ' ἄλλους δὲ ἐτρέποντο, καί τι καὶ τούτους*[3] *ὡς διὰ βραχέος ἐργασάμενοι πρὸς ἄλλους καὶ πάλιν μάλα ἄλλους ἐχώρουν, ὅπως ὡς μάλιστα* 4 *ἀπροσδοκήτοις τισὶ προσφέρωνται. οἷα γὰρ φοβούμενοι μὲν τὴν ἐκ πολλοῦ αὐτῶν ἀλκὴν φοβούμενοι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐν χερσὶ μάχην, οὔτε ἐν τῷ πρόσπλῳ οὔτε ἐν τῇ συμμίξει ἐνεχρόνιζον, ἀλλ' ὑποδραμόντες αἰφνίδιον*[4] *ὥστε τὴν τοξείαν σφῶν φθῆναι, καὶ τρώσαντές τινα ἢ καὶ συνταράξαντες μόνον ὥστε τὴν κάθεξιν ἐκφυγεῖν, ἀνεχώρουν ἔξω* 5 *βέλους. οἱ δ' ἕτεροι τούς τε προσπλέοντάς σφισι*

[1] *παρακελεύσματα* Dind., *παρακελεύματα* VM.
[2] *μὲν* M, *μὲν ὑπὸ* V. [3] *τούτους* V Xiph., *τούτου* M.
[4] *αἰφνίδιον* St., *ἀναιφνίδιον* VM.

for a time; after this he suddenly, at a given signal, led forward both his wings and bent his line in the form of a crescent, hoping if possible to surround the enemy, or otherwise to break their formation in any case. Antony, accordingly, fearing this flanking and encircling movement, advanced to meet it as best he could, and thus reluctantly joined battle with Caesar. B.C. 31

So they engaged and began the conflict, each side indulging in a great deal of exhortation to its own men in order to call forth the skill and zeal of the fighters, and also hearing many orders shouted out to them from the men on shore. The struggle was not of a similar nature on the two sides, but Caesar's followers, having smaller and swifter ships, would dash forward and ram the enemy, being armoured on all sides to avoid receiving damage. If they sank a vessel, well and good; if not, they would back water before coming to grips, and would either ram the same vessels suddenly again, or would let those go and turn their attention to others; and having done some damage to these also, so far as they could in a brief time, they would proceed against others and then against still others, in order that their assault upon any vessel might be so far as possible unexpected. For since they dreaded the long-range missiles of the enemy no less than their fighting at close quarters, they wasted no time either in the approach or in the encounter, but running up suddenly so as to reach their object before the enemy's archers could get in their work, they would inflict injuries or else cause just enough disturbance to escape being held, and then would retire out of range. The enemy, on the other hand, tried to hit the approaching ships with

πολλοῖς καὶ πυκνοῖς καὶ λίθοις καὶ τοξεύμασιν ἔβαλλον, καὶ ἐς τοὺς προσμιγνύντας[1] χεῖρας σιδη-
6 ρᾶς ἐπερρίπτουν. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐπιτύχοιεν αὐτῶν, κρείττους ἐγίγνοντο, εἰ δ' ἁμάρτοιεν, τρωθέντων ἂν σφισι τῶν σκαφῶν ἐβαπτίζοντο, ἢ καὶ περὶ τὸ μὴ[2] παθεῖν τοῦτο ἀποδιατρίβοντες εὐεπιθετώτεροι ἄλλοις[3] τισὶν ἐγίγνοντο· δύο τε γὰρ ἢ καὶ τρεῖς ἅμα τῇ αὐτῇ νηὶ προσπίπτουσαι αἱ μὲν ἔδρων ὅσα
7 ἐδύναντο, αἱ δὲ ἔπασχον. ἐπονοῦντο δὲ καὶ ἔκαμνον τοῖς μὲν οἵ τε κυβερνῆται καὶ οἱ ἐρέται μάλιστα, τοῖς δὲ οἱ ἐπιβάται· καὶ ἐῴκεσαν οἱ μὲν ἱππεῦσι τοτὲ μὲν ἐπελαύνουσι τοτὲ δὲ ἐξαναχωροῦσι διὰ τὸ τούς τε ἐπίπλους καὶ τὰς ἀνακρούσεις ἐπ' αὐτοῖς εἶναι, οἱ δὲ ὁπλίταις τούς τε πλησιάζοντάς σφισι φυλασσομένοις καὶ κατέχειν αὐτοὺς
8 ὅτι μάλιστα πειρωμένοις. κἀκ τούτου ἐπλεονέκτουν τε ἀλλήλων, οἱ μὲν ἔς τε τοὺς ταρσοὺς τῶν νεῶν ὑποπίπτοντες καὶ τὰς κώπας συναράσσοντες, οἱ δὲ ἄνωθεν αὐτοὺς καὶ πέτραις καὶ μηχανήμασι βαπτίζοντες· καὶ ἠλαττοῦντο αὖ οἱ μὲν ὅτι τοὺς[4] προσιόντας σφίσιν οὐδὲν κακουργεῖν ἐδύναντο, οἱ δὲ ὅτι, εἰ μὴ καὶ[5] κατέδυσάν τινας ἐμβαλόντες, οὐκέτ' ἐξ ἴσου σφίσιν ἐν τῇ συνέρξει ἠγωνίζοντο.

33 Ἀγχωμάλου οὖν ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς ναυμαχίας[6] οὔσης καὶ μηδετέρων ὑπερέχειν πῃ δυναμένων τέλος τοιόνδε τι ἐγένετο. ἡ Κλεοπάτρα κατόπιν τῶν μαχομένων ἀποσαλεύουσα οὐκ ἤνεγκε τὴν πολλὴν
2 καὶ ἄκριτον τοῦ ἀδήλου μέλλησιν, ἀλλ' ἀποκναι-

[1] προσμιγνύντας Dind., προσμιγνύοντας VM Xiph.
[2] τὸ μὴ M Xiph., μὲν τὸ V.
[3] ἄλλοις M Xiph., ἀλλήλοις V.
[4] τοὺς Bk., τοὺς μὲν VM.
[5] μὴ καὶ Reim., καὶ μὴ VM.
[6] ναυμαχίας M, μαχίας V.

dense showers of stones and arrows, and to cast iron grapnels upon their assailants. And in case they could reach them they got the better of it, but if they missed, their own boats would be pierced and would sink, or else in their endeavour to avoid this calamity they would waste time and lay themselves more open to attack by other ships; for two or three ships would fall at one time upon the same ship, some doing all the damage they could while the others took the brunt of the injuries. On the one side the pilots and the rowers endured the most hardship and fatigue, and on the other side the marines; and the one side resembled cavalry, now making a charge and now retreating, since it was in their power to attack and back off at will, and the others were like heavy-armed troops guarding against the approach of foes and trying their best to hold them. Consequently each gained advantages over the other; the one party would run in upon the lines of oars projecting from the ships and shatter the blades, and the other party, fighting from the higher level, would sink them with stones and engines. On the other hand, there were also disadvantages on each side: the one party could do no damage to the enemy when it approached, and the other party, if in any case it failed to sink a vessel which it rammed, was hemmed in and no longer fought an equal contest. B.C. 31

The battle was indecisive for a long time and neither antagonist could get the upper hand anywhere, but the end came in the following way. Cleopatra, riding at anchor behind the combatants, could not endure the long and anxious waiting until a decision could be reached, but true to her nature

σθεῖσα, ἀπό τε τοῦ γυναικείου καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου, τῇ τε ἐπὶ πολὺ μετεώρῳ ἀγωνίᾳ καὶ τῇ ἀεὶ ἐφ' ἑκάτερα περιδεεῖ προσδοκίᾳ αὐτή τε ἐς φυγὴν ἐξαπιναίως ὥρμησε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ὑπηκόοις
3 σημεῖον ἦρε. καὶ οὕτω τά τε ἱστία αὐτῶν εὐθὺς ἀραμένων καὶ ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἀφέντων, ἀνέμου τινὸς κατὰ τύχην φοροῦ συμβάντος, νομίσας ὁ Ἀντώνιος οὐχ ὑπὸ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας αὐτοὺς ἐκ παραγγέλσεως ἀλλ' ὑπὸ δέους ὡς καὶ νενικημένους
4 φεύγειν ἐφέσπετό σφισι. γενομένου δὲ τούτου καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ στρατιῶται καὶ ἠθύμησαν καὶ ἐταράχθησαν, καὶ προσαποδρᾶναι[1] καὶ αὐτοὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἐθελήσαντες οἱ μὲν τὰ ἱστία ἦρον,[2] οἱ δὲ τούς τε πύργους καὶ τὰ ἔπιπλα ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν
5 ἐρρίπτουν, ὅπως κουφίσαντες διαφύγωσι. καὶ αὐτοῖς περὶ ταῦτα ἔχουσιν οἱ ἐναντίοι προσπεσόντες (τοὺς γὰρ φεύγοντας, ἅτε καὶ ἄνευ ἱστίων ὄντες καὶ πρὸς τὴν ναυμαχίαν μόνην παρεσκευασμένοι, οὐκ ἐπεδίωξαν) πολλοὶ[3] ἑκάστῃ νηὶ καὶ ἔκαθεν καὶ ἐν χρῷ ἐμαχέσαντο, ὥστε καὶ ποικιλώτατον καὶ ὀξύτατον ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων ὁμοίως τὸν ἀγῶνα
6 γενέσθαι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τά τε κάτω τῶν νεῶν πάντα πέριξ ἐκακούργουν καὶ τὰς κώπας συνέθραυον τά τε πηδάλια ἀπήραττον, καὶ ἐπαναβαίνοντες ἐπὶ τὰ καταστρώματα τοὺς μὲν κατέσπων ἀντιλαμβανόμενοι[4] τοὺς δὲ ἐώθουν, τοῖς δὲ ἐμάχοντο ἅτε
7 καὶ ἰσοπληθεῖς αὐτοῖς ἤδη ὄντες· οἱ δὲ τοῖς τε κοντοῖς σφᾶς διεωθοῦντο[5] καὶ ταῖς ἀξίναις ἔκο-

[1] προσαποδρᾶναι Rk., πως ἀποδρᾶναι VM.
[2] ἦρον Polak, ἤγειρον VM.
[3] πολλοὶ Bk., πολλοί τε VM.
[4] ἀντιλαμβανόμενοι R. Steph., ἀντικαταβανόμενοι VM.
[5] διεωθοῦντο Bk., διωθοῦντο VM.

as a woman and an Egyptian, she was tortured by the agony of the long suspense and by the constant and fearful expectation of either possible outcome, and so she suddenly turned to flight herself and raised the signal for the others, her own subjects. And thus, when they straightway raised their sails and sped out to sea, since a favouring wind had by chance arisen, Antony thought they were fleeing, not at the bidding of Cleopatra, but through fear because they felt themselves vanquished, and so he followed them. When this took place the rest of the soldiers became both discouraged and confused, and wishing to make their own escape also in some way or another, they proceeded, some to raise their sails and others to throw the towers and the furnishings into the sea, in order to lighten the vessels and make good their escape. While they were occupied in this way their adversaries fell upon them; they had not pursued the fugitives, because they themselves were without sails and were prepared only for a naval battle, and there were many to fight against each ship, both from afar and alongside. Therefore on both sides alike the conflict took on the greatest variety and was waged with the utmost bitterness. For Caesar's men damaged the lower parts of the ships all around, crushed the oars, snapped off the rudders, and climbing on the decks, seized hold of some of the foe and pulled them down, pushed off others, and fought with yet others, since they were now equal to them in numbers; and Antony's men pushed their assailants back

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πτον, πέτρους τε καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς ὄγκους ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο παρεσκευασμένους ἐπικατέβαλλον, καὶ τούς τε ἀναβαίνοντας ἀπεκρούοντο καὶ τοῖς ἐς χεῖρας 8 ἰοῦσι συνεφέροντο. εἴκασεν ἄν τις ἰδὼν τὰ γιγνόμενα, ὡς μικρὰ μεγάλοις ὁμοιῶσαι, τείχεσί τισιν ἢ καὶ νήσοις πολλαῖς καὶ πυκναῖς ἐκ θαλάσσης πολιορκουμέναις. οὕτως οἱ μὲν ἐπιβῆναί τε τῶν σκαφῶν ὥσπερ ἠπείρου[1] καὶ ἐρύματός τινος ἐπειρῶντο, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐς τοῦτο φέροντα σπουδῇ προσῆγον· οἱ δὲ ἀπεωθοῦντο αὐτούς, ὅ τι ποτὲ ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ φιλεῖ δρᾶσθαι μηχανώμενοι.

34 Ἀντιπάλως οὖν αὐτῶν μαχομένων ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀπορήσας ὅ τι πράξῃ, πῦρ ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου μετεπέμψατο. πρότερον μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἠθέλησεν αὐτῷ, ὅπως τὰ χρήματα περιποιήσηται, χρήσασθαι· τότε δὲ ἰδὼν ὅτι ἀδύνατόν οἱ εἴη ἄλλως πως κρατῆσαι, ἐπ' ἐκεῖνο ὡς καὶ μόνον σφίσιν 2 ἐπικουρῆσον κατέφυγε. κἀνταῦθα ἄλλο[2] αὖ εἶδος μάχης συνηνέχθη. οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολλαχῇ ἅμα προσπλέοντές τισι βέλη τε πυρφόρα ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐξετόξευον καὶ λαμπάδας ἐκ χειρὸς ἐπηκόντιζον καί τινας καὶ χυτρίδας ἀνθράκων καὶ πίττης πλήρεις πόρρωθεν μηχαναῖς ἐπερρίπτουν· 3 οἱ δὲ ταῦτά τε ὡς ἕκαστα διεκρούοντο, καὶ ἐπειδή τινα αὐτῶν διεκπίπτοντα τῶν τε ξύλων ἥπτετο καὶ φλόγα αὐτίκα πολλήν, ἅτε ἐν νηί, ἤγειρε, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τῷ ποτίμῳ ὕδατι ᾧ ἐπεφέροντο ἐχρῶντο, καί τινα κατέσβεσαν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνο 4 καταναλώθη, ἤντλουν τὸ θαλάττιον. καὶ εἰ μὲν πολλῷ τε καὶ ἀθρόῳ αὐτῷ ἐχρῶντο, ἐπεῖχόν πως

[1] ἠπείρου Bk., ἐπ' ἠπείρου VM.
[2] ἄλλο M, ἂν ἄλλο V.

with boathooks, cut them down with axes, hurled B.C. 31 down upon them stones and heavy missiles made ready for just this purpose, drove back those who tried to climb up, and fought with those who came within reach. An eye-witness of what took place might have compared it, likening small things to great, to walled towns or else islands, many in number and close together, being besieged from the sea. Thus the one party strove to scale the boats as they would the dry land or a fortress, and eagerly brought to bear all the implements that have to do with such an operation, and the others tried to repel them, devising every means that is commonly used in such a case.

As the fight continued equal, Caesar, at a loss what he should do, sent for fire from the camp. Previously he had wished to avoid using it, in order to gain possession of the money; but now that he saw it was impossible for him to win in any other way, he had recourse to this, as the only thing that would assist him. And now another kind of battle was entered upon. The assailants would approach their victims from many directions at once, shoot blazing missiles at them, hurl with their hands torches fastened to javelins and with the aid of engines would throw from a distance pots full of charcoal and pitch. The defenders tried to ward these missiles off one by one, and when some of them got past them and caught the timbers and at once started a great fire, as must be the case in a ship, they used first the drinking water which they carried on board and extinguished some of the conflagrations, and when that was gone they dipped up the sea-water. And if they used great quantities of it at once, they would somehow

τῇ βίᾳ τὸ πῦρ· ἀδύνατοι δὲ δὴ πανταχῇ τοῦτο ποιεῖν ὄντες (οὔτε γὰρ πολλὰ ἢ καὶ μεγάλα τὰ ἀντλητήρια εἶχον, καὶ ἡμιδεᾶ [1] αὐτὰ ἅτε ταραττόμενοι ἀνέφερον) οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ὠφελοῦντό τι, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσπαρώξυνον αὐτό· ἡ γὰρ ἅλμη ἡ θαλαττία ἂν κατ' ὀλίγον ἐπιχέηται φλογί, ἰσχυρῶς αὐτὴν
5 ἐκκαίει. ὡς οὖν καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἥττους ἐγίγνοντο, τά τε ἱμάτια αὑτῶν [2] τὰ παχέα καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐπέβαλλον· καὶ χρόνον μέν τινα ἐκολούσθη τε ὑπ' αὐτῶν τὸ πῦρ καὶ ἔδοξέ πῃ λωφᾶν, ἔπειτα δὲ ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ ἀνέμου σφοδρῶς ἐπισπέρξαντος ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐξέλαμψεν, ἅτε καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων
6 αὐξανόμενον. καὶ μέχρι μὲν μέρος τι νεὼς ἐκαίετο, προσίσταντό τέ τινες αὐτῷ καὶ ἐς αὐτὸ ἐσεπήδων, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀπέκοπτον τὰ δὲ διεφόρουν· καὶ αὐτὰ οἱ μὲν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐρρίπτουν, εἴ πως καὶ ἐκείνους τι
7 λυμήναιντο. καὶ ἕτεροι πρὸς τὸ ἀεὶ ὑγιὲς αὐτῆς μεθιστάμενοι ταῖς τε χερσὶ ταῖς σιδηραῖς καὶ τοῖς δόρασι τοῖς μακροῖς τότε δὴ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐχρῶντο, ὅπως τινὰ ἀντίπαλον ναῦν προσαρτήσαντές σφισι μάλιστα μὲν μετεκβῶσιν ἐς αὐτήν,
35 εἰ δὲ μή, καὶ ἐκείνην συγκαταφλέξωσιν. ὡς δ' οὔτε τινὲς ἐπέλαζόν σφισιν, αὐτὸ τοῦτο φυλασσόμενοι, καὶ τὸ πῦρ τούς τε τοίχους πέριξ ἐπενέμετο καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος κατῄει, ἐνταῦθα τὰ δεινότατα
2 αὐτοῖς ἐπεγένετο. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ καπνοῦ, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ ναῦται, πρὶν καὶ πλησιάσαι σφίσι τὴν φλόγα ἐφθείροντο, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ μέσῃ ὥσπερ ἐν καμίνοις ὠπτῶντο. ἄλλοι ὑπὸ τῶν
3 ὅπλων πυρουμένων κατετήκοντο. ἄλλοι πρίν τι

[1] ἡμιδεᾶ Bk., ἡμίσεα VM. [2] αὑτῶν Bayfius, αὐτῶν VM.

stop the fire by main force; but they were unable to do this everywhere, for the buckets they had were not numerous nor of large size, and in their confusion they brought them up half full, so that, far from helping the situation at all, they only increased the flames, since salt water poured on a fire in small quantities makes it burn vigorously. So when they found themselves getting the worst of it in this respect also, they heaped on the blaze their thick mantles and the corpses, and for a time these checked the fire and it seemed to abate; but later, especially when the wind raged furiously, the flames flared up more than ever, fed by this very fuel. So long as only a part of a ship was on fire, men would stand by that part and leap into it, hewing away or scattering the timbers; and these detached timbers were hurled by some into the sea and by others against their opponents, in the hope that they, too, might possibly be injured by these missiles. Others would go to the still sound portion of the ship and now more than ever would make use of their grappling-irons and their long spears with the purpose of binding some hostile ship to theirs and crossing over to it, if possible, or, if not, of setting it on fire likewise. But when none of the enemy came near enough, since they were guarding against this very thing, and when the fire spread to the encircling walls and descended into the hold, the most terrible of fates came upon them. Some, and particularly the sailors, perished by the smoke before the flame so much as approached them, while others were roasted in the midst of it as though in ovens. Others were consumed in their armour when it became heated. There were still others, who, before they

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τοιοῦτο παθεῖν, ἢ καὶ ἡμίκαυτοι, οἱ μὲν ἀπορριπτοῦντες τὰ ὅπλα ἐτιτρώσκοντο ὑπὸ τῶν πόρρωθεν βαλλόντων, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐκπηδῶντες ἀπεπνίγοντο ἢ καὶ παιόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων ἐβαπτίζοντο ἢ καὶ ὑπὸ θηρίων ἐσπαράττοντο.
4 μόνοι τε ἀνεκτῶς, ὡς ἐν τοιούτοις παθήμασιν, ἀπήλλαξαν ὅσοι, πρίν τινι αὐτῶν συνενεχθῆναι, οἱ μὲν ἀλλήλους οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀπέκτειναν· οὔτε γὰρ κολαστήριόν τι ὑπέμειναν, καὶ νεκροὶ ὥσπερ ἐν πυρᾷ ταῖς ναυσὶ συγκατεκαύθησαν.

5 Ὁρῶντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Καισάρειοι πρότερον μέν, ὡς ἔτι ἀμύνεσθαί τινες αὐτῶν ἐδύναντο, οὐ προσέμισγόν σφισιν· ἐπεὶ δὲ τά τε σκάφη τὸ πῦρ συνῄρει, καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὐδὲ ἑαυτοῖς ἔτι βοηθῆσαι, μὴ ὅτι πολέμιόν τινα λυπῆσαί τι ἐδύναντο, σπουδῇ τε προσέπλεον αὐτοῖς, εἴ πως τὰ χρήματα περιποιήσαιντο, καὶ κατασβεννύναι τὸ πῦρ,
6 ὃ αὐτοὶ παρεσκεύασαν, ἐπειρῶντο. κἀκ τούτου συχνοὶ καὶ ἐκείνων καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς φλογὸς καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἁρπαγῶν[1] ἀπώλοντο.

[1] ἁρπαγῶν Dind., ἁρπάγων VM.

should suffer such a death, or when they were half-burned, threw off their armour and were wounded by the shots which came from a distance, or again leaped into the sea and were drowned, or were struck by their opponents and sank, or were mangled by sea-monsters. Those alone found a death that was tolerable, considering the sufferings which prevailed, who were killed by their fellows in return for the same service, or else killed themselves, before any such fate could befall them; for they not only had no tortures to endure, but when dead had the burning ships for their funeral pyres. B.C. 31

When Caesar's forces saw the situation, they at first refrained from approaching the enemy, since some of them were still able to defend themselves; but when the fire began to destroy the ships, and the men, far from being able to do any harm to an enemy, could not even help themselves any longer, they eagerly sailed up to them in the hope that they might possibly gain possession of the money, and they endeavoured to extinguish the fire which they themselves had caused. Consequently many of these men also fell victims to the flames and to their own rapacity.

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